संस्कृति

संस्कृति

डा॰ आदित्य नाथ झा अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ

डॉ० आदित्यनाथ झा अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ
संयोजन-समिति
द्वारा
प्रकाशित

(प्रथमावृत्ति १०००)
मूल्य २०० रुपये
(तीन खण्ड)

चैत्र शुक्ल चतुर्दशी
शक संवत् १८९१
बुधवार, २ अप्रैल, सन् १९६९

श्यामसुन्दर गर्ग, हिन्दी प्रिंटिंग प्रेस
१४९९, शिवाश्रम, क्वींस रोड
दिल्ली
द्वारा मुद्रित

सर्वस्याऽऽप्त्यै सर्वस्य जित्यै
सर्वमेव तेनाऽऽप्नोति सर्वं जयति ।

तैत्तिरीय संहिता ५।४।१२

Dr. Aditya Nath Jha, Lt-Governor of Delhi.

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आ	ā
ई	ī
ऊ	ū
ओ	ō
ऋ	ṛi
अं	aṁ
अः	aḥ

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च	ca
छ	cha
ञ	ña
ट	ṭa
ठ	ṭha
ड	ḍa
ढ	ḍha
ण	ṇa
श	śa
ष	ṣa
स	sa
ज्ञ	jña

Personality and Achievements

DR. ĀDITYANATH JHA
FELICITATION VOLUME

"Life is but zest:
A dream, a doom;
A gleam, a gloom —
And then — good rest!

Life is but play:
A throb, a tear;
A sob, a sneer —
And then — good day."

A.N. Jha
1969

THE Jha family has been more a tradition than a dynasty, and Aditya Nath Jha has added to the heritage of father Ganganath and elder brother Amarnath with his irrepressible clan. Three Vice-Chancellors of this variety of talent and character and personality could make an entire university. Aditya Nath was the enfant terrible of the Indian Civil Service. As Chief Secretary, he was more than the Chief Minister. Whatever he has done has had a gubernatorial air, and as Governor, he has been viceregal except for the syntax. In Delhi's mixture of pantomime and party politics, he has been a Brobdingnagian in Lilliput.

Aditya Nath has been a mixture of immeasurable dignity and immense sense of fun, of an abiding interest in scholarship and an enormous capacity for management of men. He may have been a Raleigh, without losing his head, in Queen Elizabeth's time, a

buccaneering cavalier of the coffee houses in Queen Anne's. In spite of his Johnsonian carriage, robust looks and an occasional rumbustious air, he has combined litheness and blitheness of spirit, wit and humour and narrative gifts, wrapped up in guffaws of Chestertonian laughter. He has added new sonoroties to Sanskrit and a touch of gaiety to the most serious of discussions.

A literary lion with a memory not only for what is good but for what is odd, Aditya Nath is not afraid of being himself, whatever the situation. Behind his cataract of quotations. stories and anecdotes, there is a high seriousness which few know but those in authority have to reckon with. He is a man of action who can make other men act, and that is how he finds relief from red-tape. The mixtute is not the bovine bureaucratism which most civil servants achieve but a refusal to conform to type. In spite of his achievements, he is high on the waiting list of India's men of yet unfulfilled promise, ready to match himself to his opportunities. Behind the air of lassitude is a nimble brain armed with a dauntless wit. His infinite variety remains and age has not withered him. In a larger field of service, free from the deadness of routine and the dust and grime of pettiness and mediocrity, he would loom larger than life.

A Model Administrator

DR. C.D. DESHMUKH

THE highest Civil Service in India, as in many other countries of the world, has during historical times produced distinguished administrators who have enriched their environment not only with achievements in their own professional field but also in other fields besides administration. This type, not at all common, leaves its mark on its times which is the compounded fruit of these administrators' many endowments and talents, of significance in the fields of achievement, scholarship and culture. To this rare type belongs Aditya Nath Jha. It was in the rare fitness of things that this gifted and erudite son of the celebrated Sanskrit Vidwan Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganath Jha was appointed the first Vice-Chancellor of the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishwa Vidyalaya. I came to know of his proficiency in Sanskrit and creative capacity in that language about 30 years ago, through common friends ; but it was many years later that we met. By that time Adityanath had already shown his high quality in both administrative and academic fields. During the last few years, in the present office as Head of the Delhi State, circumstances have brought us much closer together, and both as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Delhi (1962-1967), and as President of the India International Centre, I have had occasion to appreciate Adityanath's outstanding qualities and achievements—Conscientiousness, courage, quick grasp of essentials, understanding and firm decisions, keen awareness of the aesthetic side of life and an indomitable sense of public service. It is no wonder that through his determined efforts, despite political and other difficulties, the face of the Delhi is fast being transformed so that it bids fair to wear a look, within a measurable period of time, more worthy than to-day of the metropolis of a great country.

May Adityanath be spared for many long years to be an examplar to younger men in the public services of the country, so that India can hold her head high in the comity of nations.

⚜

Tribute to Mr. A.N. Jha

MELVILLE DE MELLOW

BEFORE I met him for the first time, I had been briefed on his manifold attainments and attributes, but strangely enough as I waited outside his office, for that first meeting, the one thought that kept running through my mind was his pugilistic prowess for which he earned a 'blue' at Oxford. The year was 1964 and he was now Secretary of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry. As I entered his room, to face for the first time this broad-shouldered hill

of a man—who not only filled his chair but seemed to fill the whole room with his personality, he peered at me through dark glasses and with a gentle float of his hand, a sensitive hand—not boxer's paw—invited me to sit down. The conversation inevitably drifted to Sport and the Indo-Pakistan Hockey final at Tokyo, which had been broadcast "live" largely on his initiative. As he talked on, I could detect in this sincere—dynamic—humorous—generous man, with a chest like a barn-door—a believer in action—who went about a job with "beak and claws" and who had in his make-up the tang of adventure and a zest for life. with it, he had a monumental memory for detail and a steel-trap mind. As I left his office an hour and a half later, I remember thinking to myself that in a world, which is a vast conspiracy of money and power, it was like a breath of fresh air to encounter such a man as A. N. Jha. He was Secretary of the I&B Ministry from 1964 to 1966 and during that time he was tireless competence in motion. He had the elegance of the aristocrat—the literacy of a scholar and the drive of the executive. When he came to us, his achievements had already added up to dazzling catalogue. How can the power of his personality be analysed? It rose, I think, from an inherited wisdom—from profound experience and from the ability to detach himself, from the deeper traditions of his native land, and be, first of all a humanist. He is utterly human. He had passed through an area of the old I. C. S., an area of over-stuffed chairs and assassinated tigers glaring scornfully through glass eyes in select clubs. Though belonging to this specially privileged cadre, he had realised very early in his career that no social advance rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. Every step towards the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering and struggle ; the tireless exertion and the passionate concern of dedicated individuals. He was one such individual who wherever he went put a current, where before there was only a dead wire. His two observant eyes missed nothing and his successes grew largely out of his ability to get at the very narrow of an experience or problem. Added to this was his tremendous drive and ability to work with a volcanic intensity. He was a "do-er" and much of AIR's dramatic expansion today is the result of his energy, initiative and resolution to get things done. "Action notes" flowed in a steady stream from his table. The inefficient felt his heavy hand and those who tried to drag their feet on his orders received an immediate summons. His watchword was "Get things started and we will see about the rest

later". He sized up his man—set the task and then trusted absolutely.

Years later I was to see the other side of this successful man. This was at his home at the end of a day's work, when between urgent telephone calls from outside, he relaxed with the members of his family and his friends. This is A.N. Jha, the husband, the father and the story-teller. Every story he tells brings back memories of an unforgettable youth and manhood, like an immense burst of laughter. He has the ability to make the familiar small change of language clink and chime into high melody. His humour is like an aviary, always punctuated with the laughter of bird-song. Inside every man there is a pixy struggling to be let out to play. A.N. Jha has inside him an army of pixies. His mouth becomes a long amusing sentence as he picks at random from the scrap-book of his memories which are fat with the stories of ICS days. He never repeats a story, but as he warms to his subject, his listeners rock with laughter and when at last it is time to say good-bye, you are sure that you have met a man, who not only understands people, but has learnt the art of living, and perhaps more important yet, the ability to put it into life, what you get out of it. He is a humanist with an infectious sense of humour and it is probably this facet—his humour, out of all his other worthy and commendable attributes, that has made A.N. Jha, a popular man of action, who is respected and loved by all those with whom he has come into contact. For successful men of action are not necessarily loveable characters. But A.N. Jha is the exception. As one who has been privileged to work under him and later to know him as a friend, I am grateful to have this opportunity, in placing my small garland of random thoughts and impressions about his neck on this occasion of the presentation of the Abhinandana Grantha. May he continue to add lustre to all he touches in the years to come and may he continue to scatter the stardust of his good humour and laughter, on those who need it most and the many who have lost the ability to laugh and smile.

Dr. Aditya Nath Jha

IT is commonly believed that humanism is not a quality which flowers amongst civil servants. But the example of Dr. Aditya Nath Jha should suffice to dispel any doubts there may be about the possibilities of such coexistence. In large measure this is because he is very much more than a civil servant of distinction. Those of us who began our careers in the public service under his benign and discerning eye, had the good fortune to be schooled by a sophisticated and urbane mentor whose depth and range of scholarship was matched by a mellow appreciation of human nature. To men who came to him fresh from University, the quality of his intellect provided the discipline of humility and encouraged the spirit of enquiry. And his ease of manner and fund of humour made it easy for him to communicate to younger men some of his own zest for a rational and cultivated life. His example was a reminder—and the lesson is too often forgotten—that the essential end of all administrasion is the human being and not a disembodied perfection. To refuse to take people as they are, and to refuse to mould measures along the often imperfect contours of human nature, is to do damage to human nature itself. That was his lesson, and its essential verity is proof both against the passage of time and the voices of detractors. Dr. Aditya Nath Jha has brought to his profession the qualities of scholarship, of tolerance and of humanity. In paying tribute to him, we pay tribute to those great traditions of which he has been so distinguished a representative.

⚜

Michael Angelo of Indian Civil Service

VISHNU SAHAY

"I have known Shri Aditya Nath Jha for many years, and at the risk of calling blushes to his face, I shall repeat what I often say in his absence—I call him the Michael Angelo of the Civil Service. There is nothing he cannot turn his hand to from reciting, for the benefit of his friends, on hilarious and friendly evenings, the poetry of Jaideva to Shakespeare, and, then by easy transition, moving on to the modern developments in tha art of Semanties."

Some Personal Glimpses

BIPIN CHANDRA

INTEREST was tending to flag. It was the special convocation of the Allahabad University to celebrate its 70th Anniversary and distinguished educationists and Vice-Chancellors had been delivering felicitations and messages of goodwill, one after another, in graceful time worn phrases for almost an hour. Suddenly there was a stir. Everyone sat up curious and admiring. At the mike was someone distinguishable even among the distinguished. Impeccably dressed in the traditional robes of a scholar, saffrom pagree, silken kurta and neatly folded scarf and the flowing dhoti, he was delivering his message in classical Sanskrit. Vice-Chancellor of the Varanaseya Sanskrit University ? Yes. But who could imagine that he was also an eminent member of the Indian Civil Service and the Chief Secretary of the most populous State in the country ! Only in Shri Aditya Nath Jha could one have found this unique combination of such diverse talents. Son of late Mahāmahopādhyāya Pt. Ganga Nath Jha, the well known Sanskrit scholar and for long Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University, Shri Jha was born and brought up in an atmosphere steeped in scholarship and learning. An outstandingly able administrator, now devoted, as the first Lt. Governor of the Metropolis, to the delicate and difficult task of giving Delhi a cleaner Govt., his first love was, and continues to be scholarship, learning and teaching. He gave up the Chief Secretary ship of U.P. to become the first Director of the newly established National Academy of Administration at Mussoorie, and imparted to it a life and vigour and an atmosphere which only he and his warm and enlivening personality could have given.

His sense pf humour and his large heartedness make memories of those days spent in enjoyable learning, cherishable. One day, heving been delayed for lunch I was quietly slipping into the dining hall. The afternoon session of the lectures had already begun.

As I took a turn into the lounge-cum-library, through which I had to pass, I found myself face to face with him. It was too late to beat a hasty retreat. His voice boomed out "H' m, cutting classes ?" I "knew" I had lost my job. Yet how little did I know, for the next moment, he laughed-his loud hearty infectious laughter. Even I, in my predicament, could not help joining in.

There were other occasasions too. During a discussion on the Economics of the Five Year Plans I, no economist myself, had pointed out an apparent inconsistency between too sets of proposals made in the syndicate's paper. The leader of the syndicate, a proud product of a well known School of Economics reeled out enough economic theories, laws and doctrines to silence a Hyde Park heckler. But as he was about to sit down in a gesture of inflationary triumph. Shri Jha pricked the bubble with a single terse comment "theories or no theories there seems to be much sense in what he (the questioner) says." I soon acquired a reputation for asking pertinent questions and, at times, as we entered the hall to hear VIPs invited to deliver lectures he would jocularly ask "Ready with your questions ?".

It was a sad day when the Foundation Course for which we, the probationers from Central Services had joined the Academy for the first time, was over. Charleville, as the picturespue group of buildings housing the Academy was called had, thanks to Shri Jha carved a niche in our hearts. A personal farewell dinner for nearly 150 of us given by him added to the poignancy of the occasion.

As we said our good byes, we assured him that it would be our unceasing endeavour not only to maintain the traditions of efficiency and integrity in the Services which we had inherited but also to promote among them a tradition of harmony of which we as the first set of officers passing out of the portabls of the National Academy, were the progenitors. We also recorded our special debt of gratitude to him for the training in the pursuit of excellence which we had received from him. He however told us the story of the mendicant, who after years of wandering in search of God was ultimately led to discovering the Lord within himself! Thus, with becoming modesty did he tell us that ultimately we would have to look to ourselves for faith and guidance in moments of crisis.

His advice full of wisdom and learning, given at the informal Deekshant Samaroh has stood us in good stead on many occasions. Only sometime back I had occasion, as an auditor to question the constitutionality of certain powers delegated by the Central Government to him in his capacity as Lt. Governor of Delhi. It got the undue publicity which seems normally to attach itself to every thing that happens in the Municipal Corporation of Delhi. I was summoned to the Raj Niwas. He seemed very annoyed. Even as I entered his chamber his voice boomed out "Bipin, since when have you become a constitutional expert ?" I paused in my tracks. "I studied it at the Academy, Sir." I said, adding, in a lower key "under you." Out came his laughter. Loud and hearty as ever. I explained my points of doubt. He rang up the Additional Secretary of the Home Ministry, for issue of necessary clarifications. Other matters also were discussed incidentally. I was advised to conduct audit more strictly and given the freedom to see him at any time for that purpose !

One now hears of his likely retirement in the near future. If it comes, the Government will be very much the poorer for having lost one of its ablest administrators; but the world of education, scholarship and learning will have regained what has long been its due.

Adityanath Jha

BUREAUCRATS, unlike politicians, are only seen and seldom heard. The rare distinction of being quoted enthusiastically both by friends and newspapers, hostile and otherwise, goes to Mr. A.N. Jha—Aditya Nath—(now Chief Commissioner of Delhi), who has truly become a legend in his lifetime. Physically as well as intellectually he has much in common with the famed Dr. Johnson and G.K. Chesterton of another area. His rollicking humour and shrewd common sense which endeared him to all sections while he was in U. P. as its Chief Secretary, have not been muted in the starchy, snobbish atmosphere of the republican capital. His "grass-roof durbar" has livened up the place and his aphorisms are as much packed with good sense and punch as the sayings and findings of the 'qazis' of old. A newspaper account of how he disposes of tricky matrimonial disputes makes hilarious reading. "Sir, my wife has turned me out of my house, and when I protested she collected some half a dozen people and they beat me up." So a simple-looking middle-aged man complained to the Chief Commissioner at his weekly public hearing of Wednesday last. Mr. Jha, reports the dutiful scribe, looked up at the complainant and suggested that he report the matter to the police. "That won't help," replied the complainant sceptically. "What else can I suggest ?" asked the Chief Commissioner. "Sir, I have made my complaint to you and you have to do something about it." "Then beat up your wife," was Mr. Jha's answer, which was drowned in a roar of laughter.

A Jha story can only be capped by another Jha story. It happened in Uttar Pradesh. A world Bank team visited Lucknow to make an on-the-spot inquiry about the State's needs and resources. As usual, they were served with an enormous dish of statistical data by the then Finance Secretary, a very lean and lanky figure. This they found confusing. Elucidation came like a flash of lighting when Mr. Jha, then Chief Secretary, stepped in with this vivid

word picture : "Gentlemen, to put it in a nutshell, I represent U.P.'s needs and my friend the Finance Secretary, Mr. Rao, represents the State's resources." The World Bank team had a good look both at Mr. Jha's hulking bulk, more than 6 feet in height and weighing in the neighbourhood of 220 lb., and at Mr. Rao, the Finance Secretary, looking almost like a straight line and weighing in the neighbourhood of 120 lb. or less and sized up the situation with a burst of uproarious laughter.

Another story—the locale is again U. P.—is still going the rounds in the Secretariat. The Central Tractor Unit had been busy for days reclaiming the land in the Terai area when tigers literally appeared on the scene. The tractor unit took umbrage and sent panic-stricken telegrams to the U.P. Government asking for instructions and help. The Chief Secretary did all that was possible but still the head of the Tractor Unit was not satisfied. He despatched an urgent telegram demanding information about the precise steps that the State Government proposed to deal with the situation. Mr. Jha sent this laconic but very effective reply : "Hunters on the way. Meanwhile we are asking the tigers to behave." That put the lid on all further representations and the tigers and the tractor unit lived happily ever after in the Terai area.

(*The Pioneer, May 4, 1966*)

H.E. Dr. A.N. Jha—
Some reminiscences of a friend of the family

P.N. SINGH

SOME four decades and half ago, to be exact in 1923 one after-noon, while I was taking tea with Dr. Amarnath Jha, my teacher and friend, that a boy of 11 or 12 years was introduced to me as the brightest in the family—a family of brilliants, beginning with Dr. Ganganath Jha D. Litt. then Vice Chancellor of Allahabad University, a profound scholar of Sanskrit and held in high esteem, being his father, his eldest brother Dr. Amarnath Jha himself, and other brothers, with equally brilliant educational careers. To be called the brightest at that age by a person who knew what he talked, was a rare prophecy indeed as the future proved what a Hindi proverb goes—"Honahār birwān ke hot chīkne pāt". The next thing I heard of this boy Aditya Nath was that he had been selected for I.C.S. and was presently in U.K. to be groomed for the job.

A decade or so after, I met Aditya as Jt. Magistrate with a girl-wife. Srimati Adya Jha of the family of Maharajadhiraj of Durbhanga, who later developed into a great lady of charming manners, brilliant talks and one sometimes wonders as to who helped whom, in their growing into high statures—perhaps husband helped the wife and wife the husband. Yes, he was found in charge of the City and with his tact and humour and intelligent grasp he endeared himself to members of the Bar, who are proverbially critical otherwise, so much so that for the first and last time, the Bar resolved to eulogise his services as a Magistrate, an achievement indeed !

Destiny, however, called him to different places and offices, till he became Chief Secretary in the Government of late Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant, about whom the feeling still continues that he left nothing untouched and touched nothing without an indelible mark

of gold. With such Chief Minister, it was our friend Aditya who proved himself as one of the ablest of counsellors and administrators.

Late Dr. Sampurnanand, succeeded Pant Ji as Chief Minister, and with his great Love for Sanskrit, chose our friend Aditya to organise and establish Sanskrit University.

The success be achieved as the founder of the University was later appreciated by his successors who conferred the Degree of D. Litt. Honoris Causa as the Ist Vice Chancellor of the University. What is important to note is that he attended the centenary celebrations of Allahabad University and with a Pandit's pagri and choga on, he offered felicitations in his fluent extempore Sanskrit which went in as the record speech on the occasion.

Fates, however, chose him to be Founder of another Institutions and late Pant Ji, then Home Minister of Indian Union selected him as the Ist Director of National Academy of I.A.S. and I.P.S. Trainees at Mussourie. It need not be mentioned that he built up the Academy which could be an object of emulation and jealousy to any Academy of Civil Services all the world over. As the first Director he proved himself to be an Officer who could not be spared by the Government of India, and he was asked to take over as Secretary Defence Productions and then of Information and Broadcasting.

With the I.C.S. Officer of great capabilities like Sarvasri Vishnu Sahai, Dharmvir, Bhagwan Sahai and L.P. Singh, he has left an indelible impact on the administration of the Country—a fact accepted by powers that be by appointing him as the first Lieutenant Governor of Delhi Administration.

Tennyson has so aptly said that self reverence, self knowledge self control—all three lead to sovereign Power. perhaps fewer human beings can claim to have these virtues, which are found in abundance in our dear friend. With indefatigible energy, suave manners and humorous talks, he has endeared himself to every body with whom he came in contact.

Nevertheless his life has not been a bed of roses. His illness, his arduous buffets with serious problems, a smaller man then him would have succumbed long back. But God has gifted him with a heavenly humour, which has always kept him, mentally, in good shape and in his heart to heart talk he has always quoted

"Chala jata hum hansta khelta mouji havadis se,
Agar asonian hon zindgi dushwar ho jai".

A man with robust common sense, a person of divetre tastes, each of highest order, Dr. A. N. Jha is gifted with unlimited largeness of human heart, full of milk of kindness, a dear and sincere friend with transparent sincerety of p.rpose, he is destined to occupy highest positions, and old friends of family like me pray for long and happy life to dear Aditya and his consort Srimati Adya to serve the longest the humankind.

Achievements

The Proclamations of the Leaders of the Struggle of 1857

(A new approach to the study of the aims and objectives of the Fighters for Independence)

THE most significant features of the struggle of 1857 are the existence of extraordinarily cordial relations between Hindoos and Muslims and the close collaboration maintained between the leaders of the different groups participating in movement. As the months rolled on and British reprisals gained momentum, the determination to fight the foreigners with dogged tenacity became more and more pronounced. Evidence adduced regarding the secret organisation of the leaders of the movement before the outbreak may, in absence of direct and positive proof, be suspect. But it is obvious that country-wide upheavals like the one of 1857 can never be sporadic and unplanned. The magnitude of the struggle itself which lasted for about two years shows that this simultaneous and wide-spread rising could never have occurred without careful planning.

The initiative in the premature uprising did uudoubtedly lie with the soldiers but the various outbreaks at Meerut, Delhi. Lucknow, Barailly, Jhansi, Kanpur, Varanasi, Patna and Arra show that this was a people's movement born out of a widespread dissatisfaction and sense of grievance. It has been established that women at Meerut instigated the sepoys and aroused the masses. The volunteer force at Delhi did commendable work. At various places the zamindars rose en masse. Hindus and Muslims joined hands in the uprising at all the places. At Lucknow, proclamations in Hindi, Urdu and Persian heralded the outburst of a popular successful uprising which later on resulted in the crowning of an independent boy king who continued to reign in defiance of the might of the British forces for a period of nine

months i.e. from June 1857 to March 1858. In Rohilkhand, Nawab Khan Bahadur Khan—a Government pensioner-established an independent and ruled for a period of 11 months. Kunwar Singh, Tatia Tope and the Rani of Jhansi. obtained remarkable successes against the English and carried on prolonged and vigorous campaigns. All the leaders of the movement—big and small, Hindu or Muslim were swayed by one common ideal—to drive the foreigner out of India, and their appeal to the masses was characterised by a remarkable and gratifying unanimity of approach.

The success of this appeal can best be judged by the results secured, but the public utterances of these leaders throw flood of light on their aims and aspirations. Many of these appeals and proclamations have been recently discovered and these will be published in full by Goverment in the first volume of the History of Freedom entitled '*Source Material of the History of Freedom Struggle in Utter Pradesh*' in August 1957. These documents bave been culled from the U. P. Government Secretariat Record Room and the contemporary English newspapers. At present only their English translations are available although vigorous efforts are being made to trace the original documents. The translations are at places defective and vague but on the whole they reveal the true spirit behind the struggle. Apart from appealing generally to Hindus and Muslims alike to join together in a common uprising against the foreign government, the proclamations emphasise the political, economic, social and religious grievances of the masses under the company's rule.

One of the earliest proclamations of the Delhi Darbar was published originally in the Urdu papers *Doorbin* dated 8th June 1857 and *Sultan-ul-Akhbar* dated 10th June 1857 and was later on reproduced in the *Bengal Harkaru* and the India Gazette on 13th June 1857. The most significant portion of the appeal runs as follows.

"It is, therefore, neccessary that all Hindus and Mohammedans should be of one mind in this struggle, and make arrangements for their preservation with the advice of some creditable persons. whenever the arrangements shall be good, and with whomsoever the subjects shall be placed, those individuals shall be placed in high offices in those places.

And to circulate copies of this proclamation in every place, as far as it may be possible, be not understood to be less than a

stroke of the sword. That this proclamation be stuck up at a conspicuous place in order that all Hindoos and Mohammedans may become apprised and be prepared. If the infidels (English) now become mild, it is merely an expedient to save their lives, whoever will be deluded by their frauds, he will repent. Our reign continues."

That a simultaneous rising was planned throughout Northern India has been proved by J. C. Wilson, Commissioner on Special Duty; but his conclusions have been subjected to criticism by J. W. Kaye and other historians. No simultaneous rising, unfortunately, could however take place. In the proclamation quoted above Hindoos and Muslims have been exhorted to pick out local leaders and work under them. It is this popular aspect of the rising which was very aptly summed up by Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad in his presidential address read at the 31st session of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Mysore. He says, "What happened was that in the course of 100 years, the Indian people developed a distaste for the Company's rule and gradually realised that power had been captured by a foreign race. As this realization became widespread, the conditions were created for an outburst which was due not to the conspiracy of a few individuals or groups but growing discontent of the entire people."

The importance of the proclamation and the gravity of the situation may be judged by the consternation which spread amongst the English people. As a result the press had immediately to be gagged.

The most significant of all the proclamations is that of Bahadur Shah which was issued on 25th August 1857. Delhi was besieged by the English forces and the defence of the city was becoming weaker day by day. It was essential to bolster up the morale of the people in general and the inhabitants of Delhi in particular. The document was published in the Delhi Gazette, 1857 and was reproduced by the 'Friends of India', published from Serampur in its issue of October 7, 1858. The proclamation reminded the zamindars of the oppressive revenue policy of the British and the merchants of the various taxes and tolls to which they were subjected; it sought to arouse the public servants against the racial discrimination practised by the British; it appealed to the artisans, the pandits, the faqirs and all other learned persons. It was hailed

by the contemporary press under the heading 'The Delhi Millennium' with the following comments : "The *Delhi Gazette* published a most valuable contribution to the history of the rebellion. It is the first manifesto (in the European sense) published in India. the first step to stir up the people by promises unconnected with religion. It is in the form of a proclamation issued by the King of Delhi dated 25th August 1857, to the people of Hindoostan. The grievances of each class are specified, and a remedy promised if they would but fight boldly for the old regime. It is scarcely conceivable that such a document can be wholly without foundation, that intriguers plotting for a throne should promise reforms they knew were not desired, guarantee the removal of grievances they knew were not there : And yet if these were indeed the changes for which the Indian people yearned, how the Anglo-Indians mistook their temper and their wants. The declaration that the land tax is oppressive and ought to be lowered was only to be expected. Leaders who appeal to the populace, from Jack Code to Mr. Cobden, have always promised cheap bread and lower rents. The promise, too, that every zamindar should be absolute on his domain, was but natural from one who knew what we did not know, that the feudal aristocrary was still strong.

A letter calling for a joint effort by Hindus and Muslims was published by Maulvi Sayid Qutub Shah at the Bahaduri Press in the city of Bareilly. It was produced during the trial of Bahadur Shah and was said to have been issued by the King. It appears that in Bareilly it was utilised by Khan Bahadur Khan, the leader of Ruhelkhand also. According to the unpublished Agra Narratives Foreign (Department) for the week ending 14th February 1858, preserved in the U. P. Government Secretariat Record Room, this letter may be ascribed to the Rani of Jhansi. The same proclamation utilised by the leaders of different groups bears ample testimony to the fact that everyone acted in close collaboration with each other. The Bahaduri Press, Bareilly, seems to have been the official press of the leaders of the struggle and Maulvi Qutub Shah to be its publisher. The proclamation is addressed to the Rajahs and its earlier paragraphs enumerate some of the main grievances. In its later portion it deals with an appeal to the Hindus and Muslims to fight against the English, in the following words : "I conjure the Hindus in the name of Ganga, Toolsee and Saligram, and the Mahommedans by the name of God and the Koran and entreat them to join us, in

destroying the English for their mutual welfare. The killing of cows brings to the esteemed one amongst the Hindus the greatest of sins, the Mohamedan chiefs have agreed to abolish that custom from the day the Hindus came forward to kill the, Europeans. If any Mahomedan acts contrary to this arrangement, he is to be considered as guilty of a heinous crime before God, and should be eat beef, it shall be deemed as pig, and if the Hindoos do not exert themselves to destroy the Europeans, they will be considered in the sight of God as responsible for the crime of cow killing and eating the flesh of cows. Perhaps Europeans for their own ends may stipulate with the Hindus to kill cows, if they will join them, I assure the Hindoos that no man of sense will be deceived by this pretence, as they have notoriously violated their promises......"

Bahadur Shah had himself on the occassion of Iduz-Zuha on July 28,1857, decreed capital punishment for cow sacrifice. Repeated orders were issued by the King and the Commander-in-Chief to the Kotwal to ensure strict compliance. The original drafts are still available in the National Archives, New Delhi, and their facsimiles are given in Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi's recent publication *'Swatantra Dilli 1857'*. Fascimiles of two such important documents are being published here also. All necessary precautions were taken to see that these orders were not disobeyed. Later on, cow-sacrifice was totally banned and was declared to be a crime punishable with death. Mrs. Aldwell in her statement during the trial of Bahadur Shah remarked, " believe that not a single ox (cow) was killed in Delhi during the whole time of the rebellion. On the festival of the Bakreed, when Mahommedans usually slaughter an ox (cow), a disturbance was expected, but the Mahommedans refrained from doing so on this occasion."

A very significant proclamation was issued on 3rd Rujjab 17th February 1858 by Mirza Feroz Shah Shahzada. The Parliamentary papers observe that "the more important rebels are all at Bareilly and a proclamation by Feroz Shah, son of the King of Delhi, has attracted much attention." This proclamation was also lithogrophed at Bareilly. Recalling the excesses and tyrannies committed by the English, the proclamation goes on to state, "When God saw this fact, he so altered the hearts of the inhabitants of Hindustan, that they have been doing their best to get rid of the English themselves; now the *Feringees* have been destroyed, but still they overrun the

whole country to its destruction, and persever in their vain endeavours. Giving a list of fourteen main grievances, the prince exhorted the people in most touching words, "Oh Hindoostani brethren ! you have heard what measures these have resolved to carry out. You must now wash your hands, and becoming their enemies exert yourselves in exterminating them for the sake of your religion and of your lives. Through God's grace we shall be victorious... Let it be known that the only inducement to enter into these plots, is the call of our ancient religion. Threfore the proclamation is distributed alike among Mahommedans and Hindoos and let all those to whom God has granted determination stake their lives and property and joining us, who rise for our faith obtain happiness in the world and in that to come. Therefore God orders all who may receive this *ishtihar* to aid us, the old and infirm by their prayers, the rich by their contributions, and the hale and vigorous by devoting their lives. When you determine on joining the ranks of the Jehadees, you must consider the following points : (I) the chiefs subject to the king of Oudh and Nawab of Barcilly must not join without first obtaining the permission of their sovereigns, because they are doing all they can to destroy (bury) the Kafirs, and if they are abandoned, the Nazorines will be strengthened. (2) Let zeal for religion alone be the motive which prompts those who determine to join me, not any worldly aspiration, that they may obtain everlasting rewards, besides obtaining to great dignity and rank in a wordly sense when our power is consolidated. (3) The reason of the delay there has been in burying the English, is that the commands of God have been disregarded in as much as the soldiers have wickedly put women and children to death, and have, without the orders of their leaders, given themselves upto loot in such a way that they generally convert victory into defeat and the common people have been much oppressed. When you have rectified these faults, you will succeed as I have promised you. (4) Great and small will all be on an equality in this army because all brethren are equal when they are fighting for their religion. On such an occasion it is not permitted that worldly means alone should be made use of."

The proclamation lays down clearly and in detail the plan of the fighters for independence. They knew that they could not beat the superior forces of the British, their siege trains, and their artillery but they were confident that the united efforts of all Indians would

undoubtedly crown the struggle with success. The proclamation also condemns the atrucities committed by the sepoys and stresses the need for avoiding such excesses. All the fighters for the great struggle have been declared in it as brethren irrespective of class or creed. The proclamation shows clearly that all that the leaders were concerned with was the liberation of the motherland from foreign yoke. It is proof of the fact that the struggle was a national one.

The activities of Shahzada Feroz, the battle in Gwalior, in the Doab, in the Nepalese Tarai and lastly in Etawah, show how he cooperated with the forces from different quarters of the country. How he finally made good his escape to Madina against heavy odds shows how daring he was.

The proclamation issued by the Begum of Oudh, after her retreat from Lucknow, as a rejoinder to Queen Victoria's proclamation of Ist November 1858, is significant and interesting. It catalogues the many broken promises of the rulers and appeals to the people not to be led away by falsehood and deceit. Charles Ball says, "The beneficial effect produced by the promulgation of the terms of amnesty among the people of Oudh was soon apparent, although on the part of the Begum and her adherents, no means were neglected that might caunteract the influence which the proclamation of the Queen of India was likely to acquire ever the temper and cool reflections of the people. Among other expedients to this end, the following counter proclamation of the Begum was extensively circulated, not only through the distant provinces of Oudh, but even in the capital itself, although now completely at the mercy of its captors.."

In short the fervent appeals of the leaders and the bitter and unceasing resistance to the British forces, reinforced as they were from the U. K. and its colonies during 1857 and 1858, show that the upheaval was not the mere mutiny it has been made out to be but a movement that shook the foundations of the British Empire. The ultimate disappearance of leaders like Nana Sahib, the Begum of Oudh, Shahzada Feroz, Azimullah and a host of others show that they survived and escaped the wrath of the British because the people of India were behind them. A number of others fell fighting, a host of them were arrested and sentenced to death, other swere

driven underground. The pitched battles of 1857 and the intermittent guerilla warfare that followed during the subsequent two years are proof positive of the fact that the rising was a war of Independence led by people with a common aim and motivated by the lofty ideal of liberating India from the yoke of the feringees.

Some Thoughts on University Education

I do not consider myself competent enough to present to you any sort of easy on educational reorganisation or to venture to suggest any sure-fire remedies for the disease of unemployment. While I must refer, however inadequately, to these questions in the course of my address, I wish to devote myself to matters that more vitally and permanently affect the lives and thoughts of those who are today sent out into the world by our Universities with the confidence that they will be faithful to the light within them. You see so much around you to depress and dishearten. The entire age seems to be so lacking in moral grandeur. But in the words I am to address to you, I shall, if you will bear with me, try to persuade you that, despite the many circumstances which make you imagine that weary thoughts and hours of pain and hopeless moods are your appointed it, he was a false teacher who said that the happiest were those who were never born and the next happiest those who died as soon as they were born.

It has become fashionable to talk these days of wasteful university education, of indiscipline amongst students, of the problem of the vast mass of unemployed graduates, as if they were all one problem capable of one solution, *viz.*, the reduction in the number of university students particularly in the Arts Classes. It is too often forgotten that the chief problem facing our recent democracy is not educated unemployment but that of an uneducated electorate. If we need more teachers in our Universities to maintain the proper ratio of one teacher for every 15 students, we must provide for more teachers. If our Universities and Degree Colleges are becoming unwieldy, we must have more Universities and Colleges—whatever the cost to the country. But please, for goodness' sake, do not deprive our young men of higher education.

Highly educated men benefit not only their class but the entire nation, whose efficiency gains by their knowledge and labour. The uplift of the masses would be impossible without the social and professional services of those whose natural aptitudes have been fully developed by university training. Just imagine how flat, stale, and unprofitable, life would be if mankind were deprived at one stroke of its higher amenities of libraries and laboratories, of the inventions of science, of the triumphs of art, of history, poetry and philosophy. True, only one in a thousand scholars achieve anything of conspicuous value to society. That, however, is an inexorable sort of nature. Much waste is necessary for a little gain, especially in the region of art, science and learning. Well-meaning gentlemen, whose sympathies are keener than their vision, suggest that there is too much university education in this country, without realising that education can become a cure for our ills only when it is associated with conditions in other departments of life. Education can become really effective only when there are good social conditions and, among individuals, good beliefs and feelings. Those who can think do not need to be told that mere wealth-giving training, education that has only an economic significance, serves only one—and that not the higher-side of human nature. A community may be economically prosperous and competent in every other way, but it will still need something which will minister to its higher needs. Much of it may have no direct bearing on the earning of one's daily bread, but it undoubtedly determines what a man is and what a nation will be.

So much for all this talk of waste. Let us come to indiscipline. Many reasons are attributed for it and all of them are only partially correct. Teacher-student ratio is one ; lack of adequate recreational facilities is another ; lack of adequate hostel accommodation is the third ; and so on. There is no doubt that adequacy of recreational facilities and hostel accommodation would go a long way towards solving this particular problem. So also, a larger number of teachers would be beneficial for providing that contact between the teacher and the taught which is so necessary in any educational system and this is not a problem peculiar to this country. It was disclosed in a debate on Education in the House of commons on January 22, 1959, that for the Primary Stage alone in the United Kindom, 110,000 teachers over and above the existing 260,000 would be needed in that country.

But what is not fully appreciated by many of those who lament the present deplorable lack of discipline in our students is that a certain amount of questioning of authority is a necessary concomitant of democracy and that the spread of enlightenment has had two main effects in relation to authority. On the one hand it has tended to disrupt and transform it by insisting on *reasons* for policy rather than authoritarian edicts, and by claiming that authority is only to be tolerated if it has some rational justification...... On the other hand, by encouraging the trust in reason, it has put on men the joy—or burden—of making decisions for themselves on many matters which were previously left to tradition or to authoritative pronouncements ! We would be foolish, therefore, to except from the student of today the docility that characterised the pupil of yesterday. But we have every reason to expect students to have an attitude of reverence towards elders, for without humility and reverence no one can rise high.

As for unemployment, there is so much discussion on this vexed subject of the difficulty of recent graduates to find jobs, so much vague talk, so much mischievous agitation, that it is necessary to utter a brief word of warning. A report on Unemployment issued as far back as 1935, by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, observed, "Unemployment is mainly a symptom of industrial maladjustment." Dr. Kotschnigg says in his 'Overcrowding in the Learned Professions' (1937), "What is needed is a clear insight into existing trends on the labour market, a full understanding of the shifts in occupational patterns caused by technological progress and its repercussions upon the economic structure and the social concepts of the various countries." It should be obvious to us in India that a careful survey of the country's needs and a clear view of the social and economic structure of the future must precede the educational planning which is admittedly necessary and indeed urgent.

It has been rightly said that the main task of the political thinker in a democracy is to make institutional provision for the implementation of social principles. Institutions must be devised for making sure that the experience of citizens is not neglected. For in so far as the democrat believes that government should be concerned with the 'common good' he has to ensure that it should not be conducted for the benefit of purely sectional interests and that minority claims shall not be completely disregarded. In so

far as he believes in equality he has to see how provision can be made so that people shall not be treated differently without relevant grounds being produced for treating them differently. In so far as he believes in liberty, he has to see that individual interests are protected and that they are not interfered with unless good reason is given to justify such interference. All these are institutional matters of great complexity. But as some one has so admirably put it, 'Institutions are like fortresses ; they must be well designed and manned.' The educator's function in a democratic society is to ensure that those who man the institutions have that attitudes and principles without which democracy can degenerate into a merely formal facade. Such 'education for democracy' consists largely in young people being initiated, on an apprenticeship basis, into the working of democratic institutions. Without this, democracy itself becomes an 'inert idea'.

Thus we see that, that is needed is a proper survey of what types of educated men the country needs and where they can be fitted into our social and economic structure. Mere tinkering with the problem by, for instance, reducing admissions to the Universities and opening a large number of vocational and technical training institutes will not prevent the revolution which is inevitable if there is in the country a large number of dejected, hopeless and hungry intellectuals and even technicians. In fact, an ill-planned training programme in recent years has produced a glut of overseers and, if we are not careful, we may soon have a similar glut of higher technical personnel. The point I wish to make is that careful planning is vital. Mere restriction of admission to Universities will result only in reducing the number of enlightened people and not that of the unemployed.

But what about the quality of our teachers on whom so much depends ? I have said earlier that the educator's function in a democratic society is to ensure that those who man our educational instituions have the attitudes and principles essential for real democracy. Whatever the idiosyncratic aims of an educator may be, his social function is surely the passing on of rules, information and skills in a community which are essential to the life and continuance of that community. Men differ from animals in that they regulate their lives according to rules and use a whole mass of information which it has taken centuries to acquire, in the process. Unlike animals they have traditions, a history, and

culture. They write books and keep records. The information so stored is essential for the continuance of civilisation. The main function of the educator is to pass on his priceless human heritage. Men have a paltry instinctive equipment when they are compared with some animals and insects. They survive only because of the great plasticity of their responses and because of their social heritage. What is this heritage but culture in the widest sense which is no more or less than activity of thought and receptiveness to beauty or humane feeling? Education is the acquisition of the utilisation of knowledge. The problem of education is to make the pupil see the wood by means of the trees. Teaching means the transformation of wearisome hours into a time of joy and revelation.

Have we teachers today who are capable of not merely opening the door to knowledge and culture but of sweeping their pupils through with them. I hope teachers will not mind what I am going to say but being the son of a teacher, the younger brother of one, and being somewhat of a teacher myself now, I, by my affection for you, may be beguiled.

The very great danger from the teaching profession's point of view is the tendency of persons maintained in comfort and not bound to show results to become slack and lazy. How rare, even in highly cultivated circles, is an active conscience, emancipated from periodical scrutiny, secure from criticism and responsible to no authority. In a famous Śloka, Kālidāsa has indicated the great need of keeping alive the spirit of inquiry and the desire for progress among men of learning. "If a scholar or Paṇḍit having attained a safe position and salary ceases thereafter to engage in emulous debate and becomes callous to the censure of his peers, he has debased his learning into a livelihood, and people may well call him a trader in 'knowledge.'

Then again, exemplification of honourable citizenship is to be considered not as a right so much as a duty in particular. I would, at the risk of being misunderstood, look to the teaching profession for a higher standard of conduct in electioneering matters. It behoves one of our most educated electorates to show how elections ought to be conducted. Corrupt practices, threats and inducements, appeals to the lower passions of human nature and more particularly any appeal to students' minds but those of personal

scholarship and good character—these must be at a minimum where candidates and electors have passed through university discipline and may be expected to know the full purpose and significance of citizenship.

But how can we find teachers possesing the virtues and lacking the vices mentioned by me unless their pay-scales are revised radically so that they might compare favourably with those of other professions and services like mine own, which, in any sane view, are less vital to the mental and spiritual health of our nation at present and in future ? In a world where social prestige is measured by a person's emoluments and at a time when everyone is determined to show up a teacher as an object of ridicule rather than of respect, it is too much to expect brilliant scholars, unless they are saints, to stick to the teaching profession.

We have much to learn from the West and modern science and technology, it is true. But it is true also that our civilisation and culture are possessions of which we may legitimately be proud. Whether we look to the Vedas or whether we listen to the sonorous lines of the Upaniṣads, the oldest philosophical compositions in the world, or whether we travel in the realms of gold of Bhāravi, Daṇḍin, Bāṇa Māgha, Bhavabhūti and Kālidāsa, whether we lose ourselves in the philosophical mazes of Kapila, Jaimini, Śankara, Kumārila, and Vācaspati; or whether we read the ever-fresh legends of the heroes of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa; in whatever direction our tastes may lead us, whether in astronomy or Mathematics, the fine arts or the useful arts, Sanskrit will offer us some of the sublimest achievements of the human mind. As our Prime Minister said the other day—"If India forgets Sanskrit, India will not remain India at all."

Today the power of science has shrunk the dimensions of time and space. The span of human life has been extended. Comforts of life abound. Man seems to be more a master of his fate than ever before. The various parts of the world have come closer together and the way would seem to be open for the development of the spirit of universal brotherhood. It is nevertheless evident that man has neither more happiness nor greater peace of mind than he had before these great discoveries of science. The world is haunted by fear, distrust, and ambitions of extending spheres of influence. Everywhere, the fires of conflict are about to burn. Is it not then permissible to ask whether the blind extolment of science

is not as much irrational superstition as belief in outworn dogmas and shibboleths ?

The leaders and thinkers of the world now perceive that humanity, if it is to survive, must have a specific faith and ideal in something above and beyond the individual. The more thoughtful of even modern scientists agree with Eddington when he said, "Physical science is by its own implications led to recognise a domain of experience beyond its frontiers but not to annex it."

"But thought's the slave of life, and life's time's fool;

And time, which takes survey of all the world,

Must have a stop," says the dying Hotspur in Shakespeare.

The relations of thought, life and time imaginatively presented in these arresting lines are also the subject of scientific and philosophic thought. When Hotspur says 'Life's time's fool', he is thinking of the life of the individual, of his own life, the vanity of human wishes. Eccelesiastes and Omar Khayyam insist that one Fate comes alike to all king and commoner, hero and coward, saint and sinner. So, if life is to be limited to the phenomena that form the subject-matter of biology, there is nothing more to be said. Nevertheless, the representatives of scientific humanism refuse to surrender to the pessimism, the social apathy and individual self-indulgence so easily associated with the recognition of the hopeless plight of the individual. Modern scientific culture makes a much needed contribution to moral health in that scientists will not admit that because the *individual* condition is tragic, the *social* condition must, therefore, be tragic too. Perhaps there is in this sense of social purpose a faith or conviction concerned with life other than mere physical existence. Both renderings of verse eleven in the third chapter of Ecclesiastes are true. "He hath set the world in their heart." Man has physical animal needs, but he has also spiritual needs, "an instinctive yearning for a larger life", an abiding desire to recover a standard of justice which is not merely the expression of the wishes of a community. As Eddington again so aptly put it in his Giffort Lectures, "Either there are no absolute values so that the sanctions of the inward monitor in our consciousness are the final court of appeal beyond which it is idle to inquire. Or there are absolute values. Then we only trust optimistically that our values are some pale reflection of those of the Absolute Values or that we have insight

into the mind of the Absolute from whence come those strivings and sanctions whose authority we usually forbear to question."

In short, whether or not we trace them to the will of our creator ? the need to love, and be loved, the longing to know the truth for its own sake and the sense of duty related to both seem to be deepseated in human nature. The pursuit or love of truth which is the inspiration of scientific enquiry is the distinctive glory of human personality embodied in human heritage and culture.

Against this background of world thinking even in modern times, the study of our classical literature acquires profound significance, for our own culture teaches us that mere material prosperity and surrender to the senses, cannot bring peace and happiness to man.

In one of our Upaniṣadas the God of Death declares—

"The Good and the Pleasant are two quite distinct things A choice between them confronts man everywhere. This light never dawns on that fool who has an itch for Kudos. Convinced that there is no other world beyond this, he repeatedly succumbs to me." "A hundred human joys just about equal that one Bliss of the Seer who is not subdued by desires."

The great Jaina teachers also hold False Vision relating to the Atman to be the original cause of pain and of bondage and Good Vision, Good knowledge, and good conduct as the path of release from bondage and pain.

In the Buddhist system of philosophy desire is stated to be at the root of all sorrow, and detachment and abandonment of desire are said to be the path of salvation and happiness.

Thus not only does our ancient literature, embodied in Sanskrit, provide a potent means of preserving the unity of our country, all the wellknown currents of philosophical thought in India are agreed that ignorance with its corollariess-excessive attachment to worldly goods and to sense-objects is at the root of all conflicts born of passions like affection and hatred. It was with the object of finding a remedy for this ignorance that the philosophers of our land set out to determine the real nature of Atman and reached by stages, including the stage of the Nyāya system of philosophy, the magnificent concept of Monism arrived at the time-tested truth that a vision of diversity is means to pain and a vision of unity is a means to absence of pain, Hence Lord Kriṣṇa

in Bhagwad Gita commends Monism as being Sātvika and a Vision of diversity as Rājas :

One who sees all beings as part of one's self and see in all beings a part of himself and he who despises none, and in whom all beings become manifestations of the Atman—what grief or illusion can ever touch this person."

The Indian science of polity also corroborates this Upaniṣadic principle.

"It is the mean-minded who discriminate between fellows and foreigners. For men of noble character, however, the whole world is one family."

What better article of faith to cleave to and what greater message can there be for you to carry to the people in these days of conflicts between castes, between communities, between nations and blocks of nations ?

Patriotism that takes us out of the narrow grove of self; art of that nurses the unconquerable hope; philosophy that makes one see all creatures in oneself and oneself in all creatures; literature that enlarges our interests and extends our sympathies; music untying all the chains that bind the hidden soul of harmony; science that sets no limits to its achievements and discloses a world that appears more and more as a world not closed but pointing beyond itself; religion that brings the glory of all glories, all the needful preludes of the drama in which men play a part—all add to man's stature and keep him erect and elevate him, and make him approximate nearer to the True, the Good, and the Beautiful.

Graduates of the year, a University must cultivate the intellectual imagination. It betrays its trust if it is concerned only with imparting useful knowledge. It must fill the minds of its sons and daughters with that unspeakable longing with which the mind burns to learn the design of those things which we perceive to have been made by God. It must above all build up character—that "enduring disposition to inhibit instinctive impulses in accordance with a regular principle."

Lascelles Abercromie's 'Ceremonial Ode' intended for a University, interprets aright the spirit and purpose of a University. I quote the last stanza :

> This, then is yours : to build exultingly,
> High and yet more high,

"The knowledgeable towers above base wars,
And shameful surges reaching up to lay
Dishonouring hands upon your work and drag
Down from uprightness your desires, to lag
Among low places with a common gait,
That so man's mind, not conquered by his clay,
May sit above his fate,
Inhabiting the purpose of the stars,
And trade with his Eternity."

A Tribute to Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant

I consider it a great privilege to have been offered this opportunity of paying my humble tribute to Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant.

Those of us who have been educated at Allahabad remember some of the anectodes which are still current at the University there about this great man. Pant ji's contemporaries could hardly visualise that a staunch Brahman from the hills who used to cook his own food and devote himself to his studies only after attending to his daily rituals would one day be one of the ablest statesmen and administrators heading one of the biggest states of the country and probably the strongest Home Minister and ablest Parliamentarian on the Treasury Benches at the Centre, indeed probably in the whole Parliament.

I had the good fortune of having been associated with Pant ji almost throughout my service till the great man passed away. To know Pant Ji was an education. The ablest of administrators benefited by his advice and his scrupluous attention to detail. Notwithstanding his grasp of the minutest points (a quality which was aided by his prodigious memory) he never missed the wood for the trees.

Whenever he raised a draft, put up by the most seasoned of bureaucrats, it was always to improve upon it and no one could get away with a slipshod draft or a superficial note where he was concerned. I would quote only an instance of his meticulous insistance on the proper word or phrase. In a draft that I had occasion to submit to him I had used the words 'importunate and just'. He was quick to ask me to explain what 'importunate' meant I said 'unreasonably solicitous' and he immediately reported 'How can any request be just and at the same time unreasonable ?" Time was running short as the letter had to be despatched to Delhi within half an hour and I somehow managed to get away with the unfortunate concatennation only by saying that I regretted the use

of the word 'importunate' but that when I was dictating this particular sentence I had been thinking of a particularly obstreperous agitator. He smiled and then gave his approval to the draft as it was—to my very great relief.

Pant ji's knowledge of men and affairs was unparallel. Very often we Civil Servants lost our patience with what we thought were his dilatory methods, only to discover subsequently that the delay had been deliberate, for he well knew that time itself is capable of solving many problems.

His ability as a Parliamentarian and his consummate capacity for discovering the most widely accepted solutions to knotty political problems are well known and those in touch with him in politics have borne ample testimony to these qualites. Suffice it for me to pay my tribute here to one from whom I learnt much about administration, to a great man who in the most troublous times never lost the human touch or the sense of humour which helped him to deflate the pontifical and the pompous, and his mastery of the subject under discussion—a mastery which devastated all critics, howsoever able.

He set an example to us all by his untiring zeal and indefatigable energy notwithstanding poor health. His keen intellect, thoroughness and quick perception very soon impressed many in Delhi who had thought he would not shine at the Central as he had in the sphere. But those who came to scoff remained to pray to this intellectual giant who gave a stature to the Ministry of Home Affairs it had never had before. It would be no exaggeration to say that his death deprived Pandit Nehru of his most trusted and loyal adviser.

Pt. Pant is no more but those of us who had the privilege of knowing him and had the good fortune of working with him will always cherish his memory. The best tribute that any of us can pay to this great man is to pledge himself to follow Pandit Pant's ideals of consecrated service to the motherland and try to emulate as best he can the unfailing courage which he brought to bear on the problem of national unity. He worked right up to the last days of his life and did not spare himself as he refused to spare any of us in the Service of India.

Never more than during the present critical times have we felt the need for one like him who lived and toiled only for India's independence and solidarity.

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Can president Ayub Talk of self-Determination ?

PAKISTAN'S RECORD EXAMINATED

IN his reply to the foreign Powers' appeal for peace President Ayub stated that no cease-fire would be acceptable to Pakistan unless it provided for self-determination for the Kashmiris.

What exactly is the real motive of Pakistan's rulers in assuming this role of protectors of the Kashmiris ? What right moral or legal have they to speak in the name of the people of Kashmir ?

Hitler once wrote that territorial demands on other nations must always be wrapped up in moral phrases and in the language of idealism to win over the simple masses. His grand design for the European continent to be ruled by a master German race was executed in its early stages under the slogan of self-determination. And let it be remembered, he managed completely during these early stages, to fool the Western Powers into believing his protestations.

Let us consider whether President Ayub's solicitude for the principle of self-determination is genuine or just a cover for a similar design.

What is Pakistan's record ? No other Government in the world has violated the principle of self-determination as blatantly as the Government of Pakistan has. West Pakistan consists of several states which were occupied by Pakistan without giving their people any opportunity for whatsoever self-determination. These areas are : (1) Pakhtoonistan, (2) Baluchistan, (3) Chitral. (4) Kolat, (5) Bahawalpur, leaving aside the Pakistan-occupied part of Kashmir, for Pakistan will have to disgorge that pretty soon. None of those areas was part of what was called "British" India. No elections were held to ascertain the wishes of the peoples residing

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in these states. Why were they handed over to Pakistan and what is Pakistan's title to them

Pakhtoonistan :

In the case of Pakhtoonistan—the homeland of the Pakhtoon race—a solemn pledge was violated. This area never formed part of India under British rule, which was confined to the................ districts of Peshawar, Mardan, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. It was not even considered British territory, for the entire area comprising the homeland of the Pakhtoons was called "ghair ilaqa" (foreign territory). The Pathans have nothing in common with the Western Punjabis, or Sindhis or Eastern Bengalis. They were forcibly brought under British rule in or about 1898 and have ever since then fought fierce wars to regain their independence. They did not accept the Moghul yoke and the Emperor Aurangzeb's expeditions to conquer them failed signally—a fact which proves that they do not recognise Islam as giving a good title to any Muslim ruler to occupy their homelands.

A Solemn pledge broken :

In 1946 a pledge was given to them by the British Viceroy, Lord Wavell, in a speech delivered at Landikotal. He said in effect "On behalf of His Majesty's Government I give you an assurance that the coming political changes in the Indian sub-continent shall not effect your right to freedom". But in 1947 this solemn promise was ignored they were handed over to Pakistan, and today President Ayub's Government rules over them—against their wishes. They are being kept down by force. In the winter of 1948, there was a firing at Sardaryab, near Peshawar, which has passed into history as the Massacre of Sardaryab comparable to the one at Jallianwala. Why does not President Ayub apply the principle of self-determination to Pakhtoonistan ?

The Pukhtoons complain that they never joined Pakistan but were pushed into it. The Indian Independence Act of 1947, which created Pakistan, contained no provision for their inclusion in Pakistan. On the contrary, Section 7 of the Act expressly stated that the suzerainty and all rights and responsibilities of His Majesty's Government over the "tribal area" would terminate on the 15th August 1947. Then how did Pakhtoonistan become a part of Pakistan ? No Pathan ruler or Jigra sat in any Constituent Assembly, or signed any Instrument of Accession to that country. No

Pukhtoon ruler or leader acted or even purported to Act on their people's behalf. They were just handed over to Pakistan. Why does not President Ayub grant self-determination to the Pukhtoon race ?

Let us now take Baluchistan which is the homeland of the Baluchis, a sister race of the Pokhtoons, speaking a language akin to Pushto. What is President Ayub's title to rule over their homelands ? This area consisted originally of two parts : (1) Baluchistan, and (2) the territories formerly ruled by the Khan of Kalat. The division was artificial because the people are of the same race and speak the same language. Baluchistan became a part of the British Empire in 1891, and under the Indian Independence Act it was handed over to Pakistan. The Baluchis were given to choice. The Khan of Kalat acceded to Pakistan in 1947 only when he was handed Mr. Jinnah's ultimatum enforced by Pakistani battalions.

Next take the people of Chitral and Swat in the far north of West Pakistan. They are Pukhtoons too. After the Partition, the Wali of Swat and the Mehtar of Chitral acceded to Pakistan exactly in the same manner as the ruler of Kashmir did to India.

Thus Pakistan today includes territories of Pathanistan and parts of Baluchistan which were pushed into Pakistan against their wishes, and also the former states of Swat, Chitral, Bahawalpur, whose rulers signed Instruments of Accession to Pakistan (as did the ruler of Kashmir to India) and Kalat whose ruler was forced by the Pakistani troops, and not by his people as in the case of Kashmir, to sign the instrument of aecession. Therefore, if Pakistan claims that Kashmir's accession to India was invalid, then so was that of Kalat, Chitral, Swat and Bahavalpur.

The Indian Independence Act Scheme for the partition of India was complete and exhaustive. Under this Scheme the only method by which the former Indian States could join India or Pakistan was by means of executing an Instrument of Accession signed by the rulers of the State. Pakistan has taken full advantage of this part of the Scheme and will disintegrate completely if this essential part is held to be invalid. The rulers of Pakistan fully realise this, and rely on the principle of "Accession by the Ruler", in so far as it suits them. Actually Mr. Jinnah said in 1947, "The right to accede vests exclusively in the Ruler."

But in the case of Kashmir they want to apply a different principle. This policy of acceptance of a principle in some areas

and its rejection in others is a part of Pakistani tradition. The late Mr. Jinnah demanded partition in the name of religion but also demanded the whole Bengal and Punjab in the name of Bengali and Punjabi nationalism. Lord Mountbettan observed in his address to the Royal Empire Society in London on October 6, 1948, "When I said that it logically followed that this would involve partition of the Punjab and Bengal he was horrified. He produced the strongest arguments why these provinces should not be partitioned. He said they had national characteristics and that partition would be disastrous for them. I agreed, but I said how much more must I now feel that the same considerations applied to the partitioning of the whole of India. He did not like that, and started explaining why India had to be partitioned, and so we went round and round the mulberry bush until finally he realized that neither he could have a United India with an unpartitioned Punjab and Bengal or a divided India with a partitioned Punjab and Bengal, and he finally accepted the latter solution."

President Ayub says that he will not stop the war unless India concedes the principle of self-determination for the people of Kashmir. He has thus proclaimed a virtual protectorate over the Kashmiris. What is the moral or legal basis of this right ? Does President Ayub claim this right in the name of Islam—because the people of West Pakistan are Muslims ? India cannot concede this claim because there are nearly 50 million Muslims in India—more than that in the whole of West Pakistan put together. India has the third largest Muslim population in the world. Some of the great holy shrines of Islam are in India. Every office in the Republic is open to Muslims. We have a Muslim Vice-President, and a Muslim Governor, several Muslim Cabinet Ministers (both in the Union Government and the State Government), Muslim Judges (including Chief Justice) in the Supreme Court and every high Court in India, and Muslim officers occupying some of the highest positions in the armed forces and the police. In the face of these facts, India must reject Pakistan's role as "protector" of any section of Indian Muslims as an impudent claim manufactured for the purpose of hiding their real designs in Kashmir.

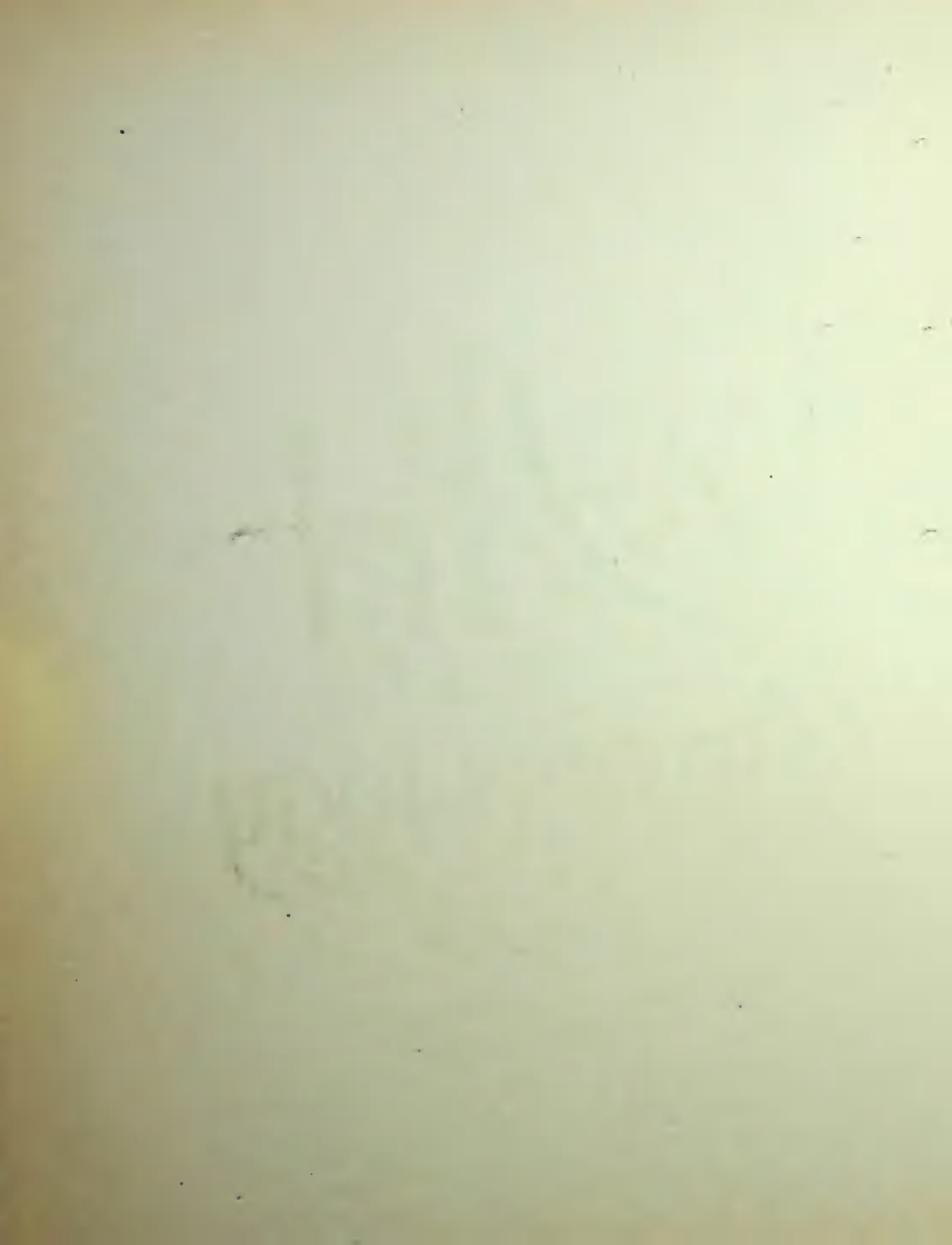
If this role of "protector" is once conceded, where will the "protector" end ? Scattered all over India are many Muslim-majority areas—in Uttar Pradesh, and elsewhere. A large number of towns have large Muslim populations. If today President Ayub

is permitted to "protect" the Kashmiris, tomorrow he will claim all the Muslim majority areas in India as pockets of Pakistan. If India concedes President Ayub's right to wage war on India for taking over the Indian Muslims in Kashmir, she will take the first step towards disruption and disintegration of the country.

If President Ayub is entitled to be the "protector" of Indian Muslims, what about the Muslims in other lands ? Beyond Pakistan, is Afghanistan and beyond that the Muslim republics in Soviet Central Asia. If President Ayub is to be allowed to set himself up as the "protector" general of Muslims in other countries, particularly non-Muslim countries, his next victim will logically be the Soviet Union.

Today India is fighting for its very existence as a secular democracy. Indian soldiers—Muslims and non-muslims alike—are dying to save secular democracy in Kashmir. Indeed, Mr. Bhutto has accused India of colonialism. What is colonialism ? It means economic exploitation—of the masses of East Pakistan by West Pakistan. It means the suppression of the popular will of Pukhtoons and Baluchis. It means the continuance of the dire poverty of the people of the Pakistan occupied territory of Kashmir. It means the recent arrest of thousands of persons and denial of freedom of the Press in that territory and indeed the whole of Pakistan.

The accession of Kashmir to India was in accordance with a principle accepted by Mr. Jinnah in the case of Chitral, Swat and other States, ratified by the Constituent Assembly elected by the people of Kashmir. The accession was accepted by the people of Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah himself proclaimed at the time that the accession was irrevocable and Kashmir was an integral part of India. The world should not allow itself to be beguiled by Pakistan's lip service to the cause of self-determination. What is at stake in Kashmir is not self-determination but the future of secular democracy in India and South Asia.

DR. ADITYANATH JHA
FELICITATION VOLUME

Naravāhanadatta and Madanamañchukā

PADMAŚRI C. SIVARAMAMURTI

A small terracotta of the Śuṅga period exhibited in the early sculpture gallery of the National Museum is a very striking one. It would be interesting to know the exact significance of this musical scene. To understand it we have to draw from an early literary text that has disappeared. Fortunately it survives and is available to us in a later version of Somadeva where he has given the story in a more amplified form in his *Kathāsaritsāgara* than Kṣemendra in his *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī* slightly earlier.

The story of king Udayana has been always a great favourite in India. Udayana's capital was Kauśāmbī where the popularity of the anecdotes concerning the king is clear in the famous terracotta plaque showing Udayana carrying away Vāsavadattā on an elephant. The repute of Udayana was not confined to Kauśambī alone. He was a 'prince charming' loved all over the land. In Vidiśā, the aged folk delighted in narrating the story of prince Udayana, how he carried away and wedded Vāsavadattā, the beautiful princess of Ujjayinī. Kālidāsa refers to it pointedly in his *Meghadūta* :

teshām diksṣu prathitavidiśālakṣanām rājadhānīm.

The story of Udayana is narrated even in far off Orissa in the early Jaina caves from Udayagiri.

This was in the 2nd century B.C. in Śuṅga territory as well as the territory of the Chedis in Kaliṅga. Even in the 7th century the royal poet Harṣavardhana chose, as often all Sanskrit poets in India had always chosen, the story of Vatsarāja Udayana for his theme, and his justification is also contained in the line

loke hāri ca Vatsarājacaritam in his *Prịyadarśikā*.

Udayana was popular, but probably his son and daughter-in-law, Naravāhanadatta and Madanamañchukā, who were believed to be Manmatha and Rati reincarnate, were probably even more

popular. At any rate, it is this popularity of the theme of this young couple, that accounts for this beautiful early Śuṅga plaque. It illustrates the story in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* where the prince and the princess are narrated to have been born pre-destined to be husband and wife. Naravāhanadatta was attracted by the accomplishments of Madanamañcukā, the Vidyādhara princess, the daughter of Kaliṅgasenā. He would meet her in the celestial garden, specially created for her by Somaprabhā, the daughter of Maya, the celestial architect, and a friend of Kaliṅgasenā, and he would watch the dance of his beloved princess Madanamañcukā, himself playing musical instruments as an accompaniment to dance. In his company would be always one of his play fellows Gomukha, his chamberlain or Tapaṁtaka, a companion of his lighter hours.

In the terracotta the prince is shown seated on a wicker (Pl. IV) couch, playing the harp, and besides him is a companion, while dancing opposite him gently waving her arms is a young woman. We have here to recall the description in the *Kathāsaritsāgara.*

tatra svayaṁ ca Saṅgītaveśmanyudyānavartinī naravāhanadattas sahrepayan varacāraṇān tasyām pṛiyāyāṁ nṛityantyāṁ sarvatodyānyavādayat. Kathāsaritsāgara vi, 8, 160-161.

In the terracotta the prince is seated playing the harp, *vīnā* which is the early type. Seated close to him is probably Gomukha or Tapaṁtaka.

The trees in the scene are Aśoka in blossom. To show the joyous nature of the scene the flowers in bloom are made very prominent. That the scene is laid in a garden is also made very clear in the plaque. The tree entwined by the creeper nearer the princess suggests that she is like a creeper to be looked after by the prince, her lover. This would recall the line from Kālidāsa in Ajavilāpa.

yadanena tarur na pālitaḥ kṣapitā tadviṭapāśritā latā.

Raghuvaṁśa VIII,

Śaṅkara in defining *Bhakti* brings together tree and the creeper, the latter entwining the former, and the loving beloved inclining towards her lover, as examples resembling the yearning mind of the devotee inclined to the feet of the Lord.

sadhvī naijavibhuṁ latā kṣitiruhaṁ sindhussaridvallabhaṁ :

Śivānandalaharī.

The garden in bloom suggests also the advent of spring and joy. Spring also suggests the advent of Kāma and Rati who are, according to the story, reincarnate in the form of Naravāhanadatta and

Madanamañcukā, which is again a very interesting suggestive factor.

Since the story of Naravāhanadatta is as popular as that of Udayana himself and is an important one in the *Bṛihatkathā,* the *Kathāsaritsāgara* being only another and late poetical version of it, it is interesting that not only the theme of Udayana but also of Naravāhanadatta is popular in sculptural representation.

Udayana of Kauśāmbī was a historical figure and a contemporary of Buddha. Welcome on this score also is sculptural representation of a scene from the life of the crown prince of Kauśāmbī.

The fair 'town-crier' from Jalasaṅgvi—a symphony of art, literature and history

K. V. SAUNDARA RAJAN

THE constructions of temples by great kings in India had been highlighted, in certain instances, by the engraving of inscriptions on them either directly referring to the erection of the temple or to a notable historic event or even to a methodical narration of the ruling dynastic genealogy ending with the immediate local chief or patron who caused a donation for the temple or even arranged its erection and consecration. The temple walls thus serve as open air archives for the documentation of passing and permanent historic data. But it is given only to a highly imaginative sculptor or artist to integrate art, with history and epigraphy, thus mitigating the purely secular use of the temple walls for engraving records not directly connected with the shrine and its origin. When this becomes a crystallisation of the sculptural idiom of the times, and when the passage engraved has a pleasing subtlety of import, the artist almost reaches the true fulfilment of his purpose and leaves a unique vestige for posterity. To this category would unquestionably belong, the charming sculptural panel (Pl. V.) from Jalasaṅgavi in Bidar district. It was part of the wall carvings of the temple there and is now housed in the Kannada Research Institute Museum, Dharwar.[1] The carving is that of a *nāyikā*, fully adorned after the fashion of mediaeval femininity and has a fastidious hair-do to cap it all. She stands in

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1. The author is deeply grateful to Dr. P. B. Desai, M.A., Ph.D., Director, Kannada Research Institute, and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Karanāṭaka University, Dharwar, for his supply of a photograph of the sculpture under reference, and his ready approval of the use of the photograph in this publication. His courtesy is hereby pleasantly acknowledged.

an alluring posture half-turned to the side while still having her lower torso planted firmly frontally and shows by slight bend of right leg at the knee, the hip and the cheerfully thrown back head a *tribhaṅga* body flexture. She is actually serving almost as a town crier—packing all her appeal into this seemingly matter-of-fact chore—and is raising aloft and displaying a scroll carrying engraved lines on it. She does hold the stylus in her right fingers and is indeed pressing the tip of the stylus against the corner of the stretched out scroll to prevent its curling in—and is thus the scribe as well as the server of the message, although at the time of the carving, she is finished with the engraving of the three lines of writing on the scroll and is only presenting it over her head, for clear view as well as out of respect for the contexts of the record. Notwithstanding the direct impact of the highly captivating physical charm of the lady which the sculptor had least cared to veil, he has yet managed to focus the attention of the onlooker on the scroll rather than on its bewitching bearer. He has further introduced into the composition, a sympathetic organisation of the parts, by setting off the heavy hips against the tapering legs, by lifting the right ankle ever so slightly, by balancing her thrown back head against the scroll held askew and gingerly supported along its lower edges by the tendril like left finger, by the concentration of ornamentation in the head, hands, hip and thighs, and above all, by the realistic rendering of the frayed zones of the parchment-like material of the scroll.

When such is the key-note of the carving, it is needless to say that the message the scroll carries would be fully worthy of such exhibition. The passage on the scroll, however, add not a little piquancy to the situation by its suppressed suggestion and expressed naivete. The message is quite brief and laconic is couched in futuristic style, after the *Purāṇic* device, introducing an element of prognostication into what is seemingly a material fact. It runs in two full lines and a third half line on the parchment, in a modest *anuṣṭup* couplet running as follows :—

Saptadvipōdarībhūtaṁ bhūtalaṁ svīkariṣyati
Cālukyō Vikramādityaḥ saptamō Viṣṇuvardhanaḥ

Freely rendered, it says that Chālukya Vikramāditya the VI conquered and appropriated the far-flung empire on this earth, (literally encompassing the seven *dvīpas* comprising the whole universe). As a statement of fact, it could be taken to convey the information that

the temple on which this script-sculpture is found, would belong to the time of the later Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI who was sufficiently mighty and illustrious to merit the pardonable exaggeration in the verse of his imperial status ; who had initiated, as we know, the new era called Chālukya-Vikrama era from his first regnal year, namely 1076 A. D.—who was the subject-matter of the great work '*Vikramāṅkadevacarita*' of Bilhaṇa, the Kashmiri poet who graced his court along with the no less celebrated Vijñāneśvara, the author of the noted legal treatise *Mitākṣarā*.

In having chosen to establish the age of the writing and the temple in such an *indirect* manner, it would have been expected that the scribe at least was more explicit in regard to the royal patron Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126), whose glory was accepted on all hands. The almost deliberate exercise of *double entendre* in the second half of the couplet, would seemingly divulge a new and hitherto less known fact about the closing years of the reign of Vikramāditya VI. As we know, he had three brothers, Someśvara II (whom he succeeded), Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya, and Jayasiṁha, all of whom had wielded administrative posts under his father Someśvara I, and the latter two having served under Vikramāditya VI himself. It is also generally known that around the year 1118 A.D., as gathered from a Śravaṇabelgolā inscription, Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana of Gaṇgavādi with whom Vikramāditya came into conflict, had encroached into the Chālukya empire, and even had some initial success as at Kannegal where Tribhuvanmalla Vikramāditya VI was camping, and one Gaṅgarāja, the general of the Hoysalas, is taken as responsible for this victory, although the Sinda Chief Acha II of Erambarage is said to have repulsed further attacks and driven away the Hoysala army. Viṣṇuvardhana's own inscriptions, however, claim that he conquered Belvola, Hanungal, Banavāsi and Nolambavādi and that his horses victoriously bathed in the Krisṇa, sometime before 1120 A. D. While the supremacy of Chālukya sovereign Vikramāditya over the Hoysalas was never seriously in doubt, it would seem that the closing year of the king and indeed the opening years of his son Someśvara III again saw Viṣṇuvardhana leading an expedition against the Chālukyas, capturing Banavāsi, Ucchangi and Panungal, ruled by the Kādaṁba feudatory Mallikārjuna, though invaders were said to have been routed and Someśvara III, according to an inscription from Shikarpur Taluk dated in 1129 A.D., came personally south and

encamped in Hulluritīrtha. All these clearly suggest that all was not well with the Chālukyas in their relationship with the Hoysalas, towards the closing years of Vikramāditya's reign.

Coming to this inscribed sculpture, we see that it only passingly mentions the sovereignty of Vikramāditya, almost to suggest that he is no more, and refers to one Viṣṇuvardhana as the seventh (*Saptamo Viṣṇuvardhanaḥ*). This is rather strange because we know that Vikramāditya VI was succeeded by his son Someśvara III. We, however, know that one of the former's brothers—in fact the next in seniority to Vikramāditya VI—was Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya. Does the scribe of the sculptural record want to convey that this Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya made some serious attempts to succeed his brother, and perhaps made common cause in this with Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana and that was the real background against which the Hoysalas made bold attempts to nibble at the domains of the Chālukyan overlord. Are we to take that Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya did make any attempt to crown himself king ? If so, it might have been plausible that he would have called himself as the 7th (*Saptamo*) Vikramāditya, perhaps. For, the record under reference is very unambiguous about the fact that the 7th (and after Vikramāditya) was Viṣṇuvardhana. If so, this record is certainly of the time when Someśvara III had *not* ascended the throne, and since the last known date of Vikramāditya VI is 1126 A.D., we are more or less able to pinpoint the date of the sculpture and the temples also as perhaps the very same year. The pressure mounted upon Someśvara III by Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana, on the one hand, early in his reign, and the lack of adequate information about Viṣṇuvardhana—Vijayāditya the younger brother of Vikramāditya VI, on the other, lend great plausibility to the interpretation of the last part of the inscription as a clear statement of the attempts made by Vikramāditya's brother to succeed him and thus the scribe has used a *double entendre* effectively making it mean equally well Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana as well as Chālukya Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya. The absence of any other Viṣṇuvardhana at that time in the royal family, the linear import of the word '*Saptamo*' of the record, and the lack of any reference to Someśvara III or his titles Bhūlokamalla or Tribhuvanamalla in the record, would be very important clues to the little known chapter of the contention for the throne after Vikramāditya. The scribe was apparently fully seized of the troubled times and, in trying to please all and provoke none, had indulged in a superb exercise in

clairvoyance, notwithstanding its tendentious character. The hearty manner in which he had extolled the supremacy of the august Vikramāditya VI and the speculative way in which he hazards a guess about the royal successor add not a little wit and tactfulness on the part of the sculptor—scribe, and the fact that he chose to document this information, despite its controversial character, would clearly show that the sculpture and the temple would be not a day earlier than 1126 A.D. and indeed not later than that year, since the next few years see Someśvara III organising expedition against the delinquent Hoysala subsidiaries. The captivatingly coquettish lady, flamboyantly flaunting the 'loaded' words regarding royal succession, with a *naivete* that could only fit an *alasā-nāyikā* like her, crystallises the spirit of the times ; of a nonchalant devotion to the lyrical medium by the artist and the established acceptance of the theory of monarchial continuum by the scribe, both fusing in one unified sculptural document, undated but yet eloquent in its understatement, unobtrusive in its inscribed message, and unparallelled in the visual appeal of the message-bearer, and fittingly displayed at a place which was close to Kalyāṇa, the capital of the Later Chālukyas. It is a fine example of integration of art with the wisdom of the age.

Gaṇeśa and Gaṇapati cult in India and South-east Asia

DR. BAIJNATH PURI

GAṆEŚA or Gaṇapati, described as the source of obstacles (*vighneśa)* and also as their remover *(vighnanāśeśvara), and* propitiated at the beginning of every auspicious ceremony in every Hindu household in India, seems to have an obscure origin[1]. The term Gaṇapati is first noticed in the Ṛig-veda[2] signifying Brihaspati Gaṇeśa as such does not figure in Vedic mythology. It is presumed by scholars that he was a non-Aryan deity who eventually found a place in the Aryan pantheon, or was basically one of the Yakṣas venerated along with such imps and pimps—evil spirits—as Śala, Kaṭaṁkaṭa, Usdmita, Kuṣmāṇḍarājaputra, Devayajña, and others mentioned in the Mānava *Gṛihasūtra* and *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*[3]. They are collectively described as Vināyakas in the Mahābhārata as well as in these texts. The Gaṇapati-Vināyaka is described as the king of obstacles *(vighnarāja)*, their destroyer *(vighnanāśana)* and the bestower of success *(siddhidātā)*. Mythological origin and stories were

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1. See, Bhandarkar : *Vaishnavism, Śaivism, and other minor religions*. pp 148 ff ; Coomaraswamy : *Yakshas*. Part I p. 7; Rao : *Elements of Hindu Iconography* I. Pt I pp 35 ff ; Sampurnananda : Gaṇeśa p 66 ff ; *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics :* II. pp 80 ff, VI. pp 175 ff (henceforth ERE)
2. II. 31.1 *gaṇānāṁtvā gaṇāpatiṁhavā mahe.* Brihaspati is addressed as *gaṇānāṁgaṇapati,* and as something like a Vedic counterpart of Gaṇeśa, as god of learning.
3. Banerjea : *Development of Hindu Iconography* p 354. *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* I. 270, 289, 293. He is the latest of all Brahmanical gods for he is not mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa and in some of the Purāṇas. He was absent from the original Mahābhārata. ERE. II p. 807.

eventually associated with him,[4] and in the *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, one Vināyaka is described as the son of Aṁbikā. The association of Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati with Śaivism seemd closer in literature, although in the *Viṣṇusahasranāma,* Gaṇeśvara is one of the names of Viṣṇu. Śiva is also described in the Mahābhārata as Ganeśvara. His association with Skanda and his elephant-headed form are also traced in the Mahābhārata. The latter point might be explained with reference to the animal faces of the Mahāpariṣadas of Rudra, as described in the Skandhābhiṣeka chapter of the Śalya-parva of the Mahābhārāta[5]. These pāriṣadas are described as so many attendants on Skanda with faces of animals and birds. Tradition also associates Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa as the amanuensis of the sage Vyāsa when the latter was engaged in composing his Mahābhārata. Inscriptions no doubt shed light on the worship of this divinity in the post-Gupta and especially in the early medieval periods in northern India. The Ghatiyāla inscription of Kakkuka[6] inscribed on the pillar containing the four images of Gaṇapati facing the four sides, propitiates the deity for the success of the business enterprise of the local traders. The images of this deity varying in postures with uniform characteristics have been found in India and in south-east Asia and these testify to the popularity of his cult, and also shed light on the development of his iconographic traits.

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4. Gaṇeśa is the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, or rather of the latter, for he was produced from the unguents with which the goddess had annointed herself. With the water of her bath they were conveyed to the mouth of the Ganges and were there imbibed by Mālinī, a goddess with the head of an elephant. Gaṅgā chose him for her son, but Śiva declared him to be the son of Pārvatī. He reduced his five heads to one and enthroned him as Añjanigiri, the remover of obstacles (ERE. II. 808) These details are given in the 18th canto of the *Harṣacarita* of Jayadeva, a native of Kashmir in the 13th century A.D. The third Book of *Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa* also contains an account of Gaṇeśa. It is narrated that Gaṅgā's head fell off when Pārvatī in the pride of her heat invited the god Sūrya to look at her body, and that Viṣṇu afterwards substituted for it the head of an elephant. Gaṇeśa figures with a single tusk *(ekadanta)*. The loss of the other of it variously accounted for. According to *Śiśupālabadha* (I. 60) it was cut off by Rāvaṇa, and according to the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa* by Paraśurāma (111.40). According to the *Harṣacarita,* quoted above, it was due a bet with Kumāra as to who should quickly go round the earth (ERE. II. p. 808).
5. Banerjea, op. cit.
6. E. I. Vol. IX. p.

The earliest reference to Gaṇeśa, according to Coomaraswamy,[7] is traced in Amrāvatī sculptures as a Yakṣa with an elephant head. In Mathurā as well such a figure is noticed among the copings of the Kushāṇa period[8]. A study of Gaṇeśa statues in India and abroad would reveal interesting details. The earliest statue of Gaṇeśa, standing or sitting, shows him with two arms, holding a hatchet *(paraśu)* and a radish *(mūlaka)* with a single tooth *(ekaviṣāṇa)* protruding from the elephant head, and the usual pot-belly *(Pralambajatharaḥ)*. There is no trace of the pot of sweets. Several texts, including *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Rūpa maṇḍanaṁ* endow the divinity with four hands holding any four of the following : his own tooth *(svadanata)* wood apple *(kapittha)*, sweetmeat*(modaka)*, elephant goad *(aṅkuśa)*, noose *(pāśa)*, snake *(nāga)*, rosary, lotus etc. In these later texts the mouse is often described as his mount, and his consorts are sometimes mentioned as Bhārati—another name of Sarasvatī, Śrī (Lakṣamī), Vighneśvarī. Buddhī, and Kubuddhī. Several other characteristics gathered from the texts include three eyes, slightly bent *(abhaṅga)* or straight *(samabhaṅga)* standing pose *(sthānaka)*, tiger skin garment, *(vyāghra-carmāmbaradhara)* and sacred thread made of a serpent *(Vyālyajñopavītī)*. The deity is also given different names in texts such as Bīja Gaṇapati, Bāla Gaṇapati, Taruṇa Gaṇapati, Vīra-Vighneśa, Mahā Gaṇeśa. Haridra-Ganeśa, Unmatta-Vināyaka, Nṛitya Gaṇapati, Ucchishṭa Gaṇapati, Heramba Gaṇapati etc. Some of these types are actually noticed in art both in India and abroad. The Śakti or Unmatta-Ucchiṣṭa Gaṇapati might have associated with the cult of the Vāmamārgis—the left-handed Tantric people.

7. *Yaksha* I. p. 7.
8. Ram Asrey Avasthi : *Khajurāho kī Deva Pratimāyen.*
9. Banerjiea. *op. cit* ; D. N. Shukla : *Canons of Hindu Iconography.*
10. According to *Śaṅkara-vijaya* of Ānandagiri, probably written in the 10th century A. D. the six sections into which the Gāṇapatyas were divided differed mainly in the form or title under which the god was adored, and in the words of the mantras or initiatory formulas. They all looked upon him as the great first cause, who alone exists eternally and through whose *Māyā* or illusion the other gods are created (ERE. VI. p. 175). The worshippers of Uchchiṣṭa-Gaṇapati followed some Saiva sects in adopting the so-called left hand worship considering Devī as the Śakti or energetic power of Gaṇeśa, not of Śiva. The name of the deity worshipped by this sect was Uchchiṣṭa—Gaṇapati-left food or Gaṇeśa worshipped with food in the mouth. The principal scriptures of the Gāṇapatyas were the Gaṇeśa-khaṇḍa of the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa* and *Gaṇeśa Purāṇa* (See Wilson : *Essays on Sanskrit Literature* I. p. 103).

The development of the Gaṇapati form in the initial stage seems to have been accomplished in the Gupta period, as is evident from the red sand stone figure of Gaṇapati from Mathura,[11] and the terracotta plaque from the Gupta temple at Bhitargaon[12]. The former is a standing figure, while the latter is a flying one with the trunk touching the pot of sweetmeat in his left hand. Among the seated figures of Gaṇeśa of the Gupta period are one from Bhumara[13], and another from the facade of the Udayagiri cave[14] bearing the inscription of Chandragupta II. In the former he is shown seated on a raised seat with bell adornments-armlets, bracelets and anklets, while in the latter sitting in the *ardha paryaṅka* pose, he holds a cup containings Sweetmeat (*modaka-bhāṇḍa)* to which the trunk, now broken was applied. The mouse as his *vāhana* is absent in both. Seated images of Gaṇapati of the medieval period have been found all over India[15], and in south-east Asia,[16] the latter closely following the Indian pattern. The Gaṇeśa statue from Chaṇḍi Banon is in a well preserved state with the usual attributes : a rosary, a piece of right tusk, a cup filled with sweets and a fly whisk. The god is depicted in a very peaceful manner.[17], as compared to the one from Bara Blitar, dated in A.D. 1239,[18] and another from Chaṇḍi Singhsāri[19]. In the former the god carries his usual attributes, a tusk, a fly whisk, a hatchet, and a skull bowl. The pedestal has more skulls. These are important features in the god's dress and ornaments in the statue from Singhsāri. Skull bowls are in the god's forehand. The axe and the rosary are in the backhands.

11. Diskalkar : *Brahmanical Sculptures in the Mathura Museum, Journal U. P. Historical Society*, V. pp. 45 ff. ; Getty : *Gaṇeśa*, P. 13 fig. 1; Diskalkar refers to some forty images of Gaṇeśa in the Mathura Museum, but only five, according him deserve a special mention. These range from the Gupta to the Medieval periods.
12. A. S. I. An. Rep. 1908-9 pp 10-11. fig. 2.
13. Banerjiea. op. cit. p. 359 ; Getty : op. cit. p. 13. fig. a.
14. Ibid. Pl. XV. fig. 1.
15. For a comprehensive list of the images of Gaṇeśa found in India See Kaye : *Index to the Archaeological Survey Reports* 1902-1916, pp. 61-62.
16. The information is based mostly on Majumdar : *Suvarṇadvīpa* Vol. II ; Kempers : *Ancient Indonesian Art*, and papers published in different numbers of *Arts asiatiques*, and references in the *Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*-Kern Institute.
17. Kempers : *op, cit.* p. 36. pl. 39.
18. Ibid pl. 232.
19. Ibid. pl. 235.

The standing type Gaṇeśa image from Khajurāho and Kitching (Mayūrbhanj, Orissa) of the early medieval period provide an interstring study. The Nṛitya-Gaṇapati from Kitching stands on a beautifully carved lotus in the *abhaṅga*—slightly bent pose, having bell necklets and a few other ornaments arranged over the different limbs. He holds a rosary and his own tusk in the right hands, and a cup of sweetmeat to which the fore part of the trunk, now being partly broken, is applied and indistinct object in his left ones. The snake serves as his sacred thread. Another well-carved image from the same locality[21] depicts the god in a vigorous pose. The god is eight-armed. The front right one is in the *daṇḍa* or *gaja-hastā* pose, the other three carry his own tooth, a rosary *(aksha-sūtra)* and an indistinct object. The front left hand holds a pot of sweetmeat balls, one of which is lifted by his trunk. The sacred thread is as usual depicted by the snake. The whirling motion is emphasised by the pose of the two legs, the three or more bends (*atibhaṅga*) in the body and the disposition of the number of arms. This Nṛitya Gaṇapati from Orissa may be compared to the one depicted at Khajurāho, and the Bengal Nṛitya Gaṇapati statues. In Bengal the deity is depicted dancing beneath a hanging branch of a mango tree[22].

At Khajurāho statues of dancing Gaṇeśa are conspicious and varied. Besides the usual eight-armed ones, two, four, twelve, and sixteen-armed ones have been found. The best eight-armed Gaṇeśa statue depicts him in his dancing pose, though in a serene mood. He is adorned with the usual ornaments round the neck and the limbs, and a single row of pearls adorning his head with the snake sacred thread round his belly. The main right hand is in the *gaja-hasta* or *daṇḍa-hasta* pose. He is holding a *paraśu* in the second right hand ; the objects in the other two are indistinct. The main

20. Banerjica : *op. cit.* p 360. He compares it with the Cham style standing figure of Gaṇeśa, now in the Touraine Museum, of the 9-7th century A.D. There the god is figured as a well-fed householder. According to Rousset, the sculpture was directly inspired by Pallava India of the Tamil period. (*Civilisations of the East*, Vol. II. pp 330-31 fig. 162).

21. Banerjica : op. cit. p. 361. Pl. XV fig. 2.

22. Majumdar : *History of Bengal* Vol., I, p. 448.

23. A detailed classification of the Gaṇeśa images and their description are provided in Avasthi's work on *Khajurāho ki devapratimāyen*. The classification is also done in Shukla's *Vāstuśāstra*, Vol. II. pp 290-91.

left hand holds the pot of sweet balls, to which the trunk is applied. The statue is broken from the right thigh but a part of it is resting on the mount, the mouse shown standing on his two hind legs. Below the left thigh a small human figure is shown playing on the drum[24]. Another equally interesting dancing Gaṇeśa staue is from Kannauj. It could be dated to the Gurjara-Pratihāra[25] times. In this statue the deity is shown holding the sweet balls in his lower right hand and knot int he usual left in which he holds a noose. Two other right hands are shown in dancing postures. The body is bent to the right. The ears of the deity are usually long (*śūrpa*)

Besides the dancing Gaṇeśa statues, Khajurāho also provides statues of Śakti Gaṇeśa. Here the deity is portrayed, along with his Śakti (*Vighneśvarī* or Lakṣmī). One such statue in the local museum depicts him in an amorous embrace. This four armed Gaṇeśa is seated on a pedestal holding the pot of sweet balls in his right hand to which the trunk is applied. The other one holds the *paraśu.* The Śakti is seated on his left lap. Another statue portrays Gaṇeśa in a quietly standing posture, while the Saptamātṛikās along with Vīrabhadra are dancing[26].

In the south, Gaṇeśa is worshipped along with Pārvatī and Subrahmaṇya[27]. The black granite Gaṇeśa statue from the Museé Guimet, Paris of the late Dravidian art is very interesting. The god is portrayed with the head of an elephant, the tusk resting on the sweet balls held in the right hand. The upper right one holds a *paraśu* while the corresponding left one has a *paśa* (noose). His belly is very conspicous overshadowing the legs. The mouse as his *vāhana* is very prominent[28]. The Gaṇeśa from the Hoysaleś-vara temple at Halebid[29] is seated on a pedestal with an ornamented head dress and with his usual attributes, and strings of pearls round his body. The tusk is applied to the pot of sweetmeat balls in his left hand.

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24. Photograph supplied to me by Mr. Nalinakshan, an I. A. S. probationer at the Academy ; Avasthi. *op. cit.* p. 113.
25. Munshi : *Saga of Indian sculpture* fig. 67b.
26. Avasthi : op. cit. Pl. 14.
27. Eliot : *Hinduism and Buddhism* Vol. II. p. 222.
28. Denek : *Indian Sculptures* (Spring Books, London, fig. 338. text p. 29.
29. Munshi. *op. cit.* fig. 116.

Images of Gaṇeśa have also been found in south-east Asia, independently as well as in the temples of Śiva. Sculptures in Siamese temples also include those of Gaṇeśa[30]. At Nhatrang in Vietnam (ancient Champā) along with the Śakti or Śiva under names like Umā, Bhagavatī, the goddess of Kauṭharī, there was also a temple of Gaṇeśa (Śrī-Vināyaka), but statues of this deity as well as of Skanda are rare[31]. In Java the Saivite temples at Banon and those at Prambdanan include shrines containing images of Mahādeva and Gaṇeśa[32]. The two most interesting images of Gaṇeśa are those from Chaṇdi Banon, now in the Djakarta Museum, and from Bara Blittar[33]. The former Gaṇeśa has his usual attributes : a rosary, a piece of his right tusk, a cup filled with sweets and a fly-whisk. The god here is shown in a very peaceful manner. The latter belonging to the thirteenth century A.D. also shows the god with his usual attributes : a tusk, a fly whisk, a hatchet, and a skull bowl. There are more skulls on the pedestal. The god is protected by a large Kāla head against dangerous influences threatening from the rear, although he himself is described as the remover of obstacles and difficulties. Images of Gaṇeśa have also been found in Sumatra, North Borneo and from Lembang in Sarawak[34]. Images from Singhsāri include Gaṇeśa seated on a cushion surrounded by human skulls.[35] In Cambodia, ancient Kambujadeśa, several statues of Gaṇeśa were found, and he is also noticed in inscriptions[36]. The two-headed Gaṇeśa from Srah Taset (Angkor), now in the Museé Guimet[37], is unique in several ways. The god is seated in the *padmāsana* with the left hand holding a sweetmeat ball, and the right one probably holding a rosary or part of a fly whisk. The snake girdle sacred thread is conspicuous. The tusk touches the belly and is not applied to the *modaka*. He puts on a fine conical head gear. The left hand has a bracelet of Nāga or serpent. A three-headed six armed Gaṇesa has been noticed from the temple called Prasat Srame. He may be

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30. Eliot : *op. cit.* III. p. 93.
31. Ibid. p. 147.
32. Ibid. p. 167.
33. Kempers : *op. cit.* pl. 39.
34. Majumdar : *Suvarṇadvīpa.* Vol II. p. 149.
35. Ibid. p 290.
36. Majumdar : *Inscriptians of Kambujadeśa.* no. 60. p. 74.
37. Dereck : op. cit. fig. 195.

compared with the three similar representations from[38] Sidaṃ. Statues of Gaṇesa have also been found at Khotan[39], at Polonnaruva in Ceylon,[40] at Mison in ancient Champa—now[41] Vietnam, and at Singhasāri in Java (now in the Leyden Museum,[42] and in Nepal.[43]

The rise of the Gāṇapatya sect is supposed to be in the Gupta period when the elephant-headed and pot-bellied divinity is depicted in art, and his statues began to be carved out. The sect gradually progressed. Its sub-division are noted by Anandgiri, the biographer of Śaṅkara. We have alredy referred to the Ghatiyala inscription of Kakkuka. The pillār containing the four images of Gaṇapati facing the four quarters was erected for the successs of the businesss enterprise of the local traders through the grace of this divinity. As the bestower of success, he was venerated by the Hindus, the Buddhists and the Jains alike. Two other inscriptions, one from the north and the other from the south may be noticed here. The one from the north of the time of Hammira of Ranthambhor[45] begins with the usual invocation of Gaṇeśa and Kapaliśvara Śiva : *Oṃ Sāṁbo Lambodaro Deyadeka kalaṁ kalatriyo* In the Pañchadharala (Vizagapatam district) inscription[46] of King Choda III, in the Śaka Saṁvat 1325, Gaṇeśa is invoked in the first verse *(Sriyamvatu gajāsyaḥ şreyasāṁ vo guṇānām sa bhuvanajananādau ramyaharmyaṁ surāṇām)*. An

38. Noticed in the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology Vol. XVII. no. 1323. Original reference. Arts. As. XXI, nos. 3-4, (1958) pp. 269-72.
39. Coomaraswamy : *A History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 149.
40. Ibid no. 147.
41. Ibid no. 196.
42. Ibid no. 208.
43. Eliot : *op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 118.
44. The cult and the name of Gaṇapati are named indirectly in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and in an interpolated passage of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* (Alain Panielou : *Hindu Polytheism* London 1964 p.) The *Agnipurāṇa* and *Yājnavalkya Smriti* briefly describe a ritual for him. In the latter he is shown as a demoniacal being. He plays a significant part in Tantrism. The *Prapañchasāra Tantra* gives an elaborate description of him. For the followers of the Gāṇapatya sect he is supreme divinity. He is one of the five divinities of the Smāratas. The principle of all classifications through which the relations between the macrocosm and microcasm can be understood is called the lord of categories (Gaṇapati). According to the *Gaṇapati Upaniṣad*, Ganapati, the ruler of all the categories can be identified with the divinity in its perceptible manifestation. (*Gaṇapati Upaniṣad* 2.524. quoted from *Hindu Polytheism*' pp. 291 ff.
45. E. I. XIX, p. 45.
46. E. I. XIX. p. 158.

inscription of Mahāraja Meruvarman of Chamba[47] records the construction of a Gaṇeśa image by an artisan named Gugga for the king. Instances can be multiplied to suggest that the worship of Gaṇeśa had become very popular in the medieval period, both in India and in south-east Asia, as is evident from the statues of the god set up in Indonesia in the thirteenth century A.D. In India there were worshippers of six different aspects of Gaṇapati known as Mahā, Haridrā, Svarṇa, Santāna, Navanīta, and Unmatta Ucchiṣṭa.[48] Gaṇeśa came to be associated in the category of five major divinities along with Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, and Sūrya who were to be regularly worshipped according to the Smārtas[49]. The *Tantras* or *Sādhanas* were also associated with the divinity[50]. In the Vinayapatrikā of Tulsidāsa, we find his first prayer addressed to Gaṇeśa[51]. The Gaṇeśa chaturthī festival in Mahārāshtra, in which Gaṇapati worship is performed with great splendour and gorgeous procession, is symbolic of the importance attached to this deity who does not figure in the Hindu Trinity, but still has precedence over others on all auspicious occasions as the remover of obstacles and giver of Siddhī.

47. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions*. no. 1814.
48. Shukla. op. cit. p. 292
49. *Cultural Heritage of India* Vol. IV. p. 21,507.
50. Ibid. p. 241.
51. Ibid. p. 397.

Gaṇeśa

DR. B. N. SHARMA

Ūrddhvīkṛitaḥ surasarit-salil-āvagāhād-uddaṇḍ-caṇḍatara cāru-karo vidhāti (tā) I vra (bra) ter-avatād-ajasram II 1

(May that lovely trunk of Gaṇapati for ever guard you, which at day-break, when lifted out of the water of the celestial river into which it has been dipped, raised up and threatening, possesses the charm as it were the stalk of the great lotus—the circle of the universe.)

—*Epigraphia Indica*, I, pp. 40f, v. 2.

Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati[1], the God of wisdom and success[2], is one of the deities of the *Pañcāyatana* form of worship[3]. His followers are known as *Gāṇapatyas*. *Purāṇas* mention several stories of his birth as a son of *Pārvatī*[4]. The elephant-headed god Gajendra is mentioned also as a cult god to whom offerings could be made at the cross-roads[5]. A special day for his worship was the fourth day of the bright half of *Māgha* and the *Agni Purāṇa* in a general manner, mentions the ceremony of his worship[6].

In Kashmir, the worship of the deity was popular as far back as the days of Pravarasena II (c. 6th century A.D.)[7]. He was specially worshipped on the 8th of the darker *Āṣāḍha* of every year which was known as *Vināyaka-aṣṭamī*[8], and also at the time of the

1. *Amarakośa* (*Svarādi-kāṇḍa*, v. 38) mentions some other names of the god like Vināyaka, Vighnarāja, Dvaimātura, Gaṇādhipa, Ekadanta, Heramba, Lambodara, Gajānana, etc.
2. *Greatness of Gaṇapati*, *JISOA*, VIII, 1940, pp. 41-51, pl. I.
3. The *Garuda Purāṇa* includes Gaṇapati among the five great gods.
4. Gopi Nath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, pp. 35f. Even Haribhadra's *Dhūrtākhyāna* notes the Paurāṇic story (*Skanda*, *Kaumāri khaṇḍa*, V, XXXII) of his birth from the dirt of Pārvatī's body.
5. *Kuvalayamālā*, pp. 2, 14, 256.
6. *Agni Purāṇa*, 138, 8, Ch. 179 and 313.
7. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, III, 35.
8. *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, vv. 698-700.

anointment of a king[9]. Avantipura was probably a centre of Gaṇeśa worship in the Kashmir valley as proved by the find of a stone image and some terracotta plaques bearing his figure; and that he continued to hold the same importance during the mediaeval period also, is evident from Kṣemendra's statement that the bowls of sweets offered to Gaṇeśa were sold again in the town of Avantipura[10].

The Karaṇbēl inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva invoke the blessings of Gajānana along with Śiva and Sarasvatī[11]. The Vāḍnagar *praśasti* of Kumārapāla Chāulukya of Gujarāt, dated V. S. 1208 mentions the setting up a statue of Gaṇeśa Siddhi-Vināyaka along with that of other four deities in the *antarālas* of one of the five temples[12]. The god was worshipped as a benevolent deity at the beginning of every religious and social ceremony. An inscribed image of Gaṇeśa, now in the Alwar Museum informs us that on Monday, the third day of the bright-half of Vaiśākha, V. S. 1101, it was erected by Mahālokas, who had come there from Barbaranagara (which is probably Bāwal near Rewari).

Ghaṭiyāla (about 20 miles north-west of Jodhpur) inscription No. 1 of Kakkuka, dated V. 918 begins with a salutation to Vināyaka[13]. The Ghaṭiyāla inscription No. 2 refers to the figure of "Vināyaka on the pillar[14] and even now we have on it the figure of a four-faced Gaṇeśa showering as it were his benediction on the people from all the four quarters[15]. We may also mention another image of Gaṇeśa bearing an inscription of V. S. 1245 and pertaining to the period of Pṛthvīrāja III[16]. It is now kept in a niche in the temple of Mīāṁ Mātā near Bajāṭā in the Ajmer District. Some images of the deity in the dancing pose have been found from Harṣanātha Sīkar and Abanerī[17].

Gaṇeśa worship was also popular in the parts now known as Uttar Pradesh. The Mathurā inscription of V. S. 1207 opens with

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9. *Ibid.*, v. 847.
10. *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 77.
11. *JASB*, XXX; pp. 330 f, v. 6.
12. *Ep, Ind.*, I, pp. 296 f, v. 45.
13. *Ibid*, IX, p. 279.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
15. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 356.
16. See *Ann. Rep. Rajputana Muesum, Ajmer*, (1912), p. 2.
17. *Jour. of Indian History*, XXXV?II, pp. 497 ff.

a verse in honour of Gaṇapati[18]. Mahāban inscription (from Mathurā) of V. S. 1227 also begins with salutation to Gaṇapati[19], and records the building of a temple of the deity at Mahāban. From Shahzādapur in the same reigon, has been found an image of *nṛitya*-Gaṇapati, which is now deposited in the Mathurā Museum. Another finely executed image of similar type from Kanauj, is preserved in the Bhārat Kalā Bhawan, Vārāṇasī.

Gaṇeśa was also worshipped in the Chandella Kingdom. In the Khajurāho record of V.S. 1059, he is praised with other deities[20]. A large number of his various types of icons have been discovered from Khajurāho, and a lovely four-armed image of the Chandella period is on display in the National Museum at New Delhi (48.3/57).

The Chedi kings were also devotees of Gaṇeśa and several of their epigraphs invoke the blessings of the god.[21] A pleasing and poetic praise of the deity is given in the Ratnapur inscription of Pṛthvīdeva (III) of V. S. 1247 (?) as follows :—

Sat—sindūra—viśāla—pāṁśu—paṭal—ābhyakt—aikakumbha—sthalaḥ su (śu) ṇḍā—tāṇḍava—maṇḍit—ākhila—nabho—diṅ—maṇḍa [p—ādamv (b)a]⏑|— —
mīruha—vyūh—ōnmūlana—kēlir astu bhavatāṁ bhūtyai Gaṇagrāmaṇīḥ ||2||

—*Epi. Ind.*, I, pp. 47f, v. 2.

A temple of Gaṇapati is also known to have been built at Raṇapur by one Gaṅgādhara during the reign of Ratnadeva III.[22]

Blessings of the god have also been invoked in some other epigraphs like Udepur *praśasti* of Udayāditya, dated V. S. 1116[23] and Bherāghāṭ stone inscription of queen Alhaṇadevī of K. 907[24], etc.

At Bārsūr, 55 miles west of Jagdalpur in Madhya Pradesh, among the ruins also stands a temple dedicated to Gaṇeśa. Outside this temple, there is a colossal statute of the deity, 17′ in circumference and about 8′ high.[25]

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18. *Epi. Ind.*, I, p. 289, v. 1.
19. *Ibid.*, II, p. 276, line 1.
20. *Ibid.*, I, p. 140, vv. 1-6.
21. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 40f, v. 2.
22. *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 160 f.
23. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 233 f, v. 4.
24. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 10 f, v. 5.
25. *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 160 f.

Gaṇeśa occupies an important place in the Orissan sculptures and is very often found with other deities on the Liṅgarāja and other temples at Bhubneswar. The nṛitya Gaṇapati figures inside the niches of the Khichingaswāmī temple at Khitching have been wonderfully carved. A standing image of Gaṇeśa found from Khitching is now exhibited in the local Museum. The four-armed deity stands gracefully carrying his own tusk and a cup of *modakas* in the rear hands ; a rosary and an indistinct object in the front hands. The tip of the probosis, twirled to the left is placed on the sweets. This remarkably executed sculpture is a glowing tribute to the Orissan artist.

The master artists of the Pāla period also did not lag behind in fashioning the images of Siddha-Vināyaka.[26] Numerous images of the deity discovered from various parts of Bihar and Bengal indicate the popularity of his worship in that region of India.

The epigraphical as well as the archaeological evidence at our disposal proves that Ganeśa was also worshipped in ancient Kāmarūpa (Assam)[27]. A grant of Vallabhadeva (1175-95 A.D.) invokes Gaṇpati as Lambodara. The rock-images of the deity of the early mediaeval period have been found on the Viṣṇu-Janārdana temple at Kāmarūpa. Some more images of Gaṇeśa can also be seen in a temple of 11th-12th century, at Chari Duār, which is now in a very dilapidated condition.

This shows in brief that the worship of Gaṇeśa was quite popular in Northern India during early mediaeval period.

26. S. K. Sarasvati, *Dancing Gaṇeśa, Calcutta Review*, LXVI, pp. 70-80 ; A Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, pp. 38 f.

27. *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, III, pp. 39 f.

Ekapāda Śiva from Hirāpura

R. C. AGRAWALA

THE *Ekapāda Mūrti* represents Śiva standing on one leg, evidently based on the Vedic concept of *Aja-Ekapāda* as described in the epic texts, both as one of the eleven Rudras and an epithet of Śiva. In such images, the figures of Viṣṇu and Brahmā project from the left and right sides of Śiva respectively, with their hands in *añjali* pose[1]. The earliest extant representation of *Aja-Ekapadā*, with a single leg, elephantine foot and goat's face, may be seen in the early Gupta terracotta plaque from Rangamahal and now preserved in the G. G. J. Museum at Bikaner[2], in Rajasthan.

The motif of Śiva as one-legged with a human head appears to have been quite popular in Orissa and South India, during the mediaeval period. At Madurai, he is shown with a human head, he carries a deer and an axe in upper hands, the lower hands are placed in *varada* and *abhaya* pose[3]. The second variety comprises of such a four-armed deity standing on his vehicle bull *Nandī*,[4] it hails from Jambukeśvara in South India. The motif of Śiva standing on a bull recalls to our minds the Bengali sculptures where also Śiva is shown dancing on the back of the bull. In both these South Indian sculptures, of one-legged Śiva, the *ūrdhvaretas* aspect is conspicuons by its absence.

The earliest extant representation of *Ekapāda* Śiva from Orissa may well be studied on the exterior of Śiśireśvara Temple at Bhubaneśvara and datable to 800 A. D.[5] Here he holds a rosary, a trident and rosary in 3 hands while the palm of lower left hand

1. J.N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, (1956 Calcutta), P. 232.
2. *Lalit Kalā*, No. 8, (1960) PL. 34, Fig 15.
3. *Arts Asiatignes*, (Paris) U (4(, 1958. PP. 303-306, fig 1 on page 304.
4. *Abid*, fig. 2 on page 305; T.G. Rao. *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (Madras) II. P. 410 PL. 119, fig 1.
5. K.C. Panigrahi *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneshwar*, Calcutra, (1961) PP. 28-83 and 144-45.

is shown upturned with a lotus flower. Elsewhere he wears a garland of skulls and carries the trident *ḍamarū* and rosary of beads; he stands on a human corpse lying below. Mrs. J. Dwala Mitra[6] also reportssuch a representation of one-legged Śiva on the Durgā Temple at Rāmeshwar, near Bhubaneṣhwar, where the ithyphallic deity stands erect with a *ghaṭa* in his lower left hand, a deer in upper left and a rosary in the lower right. Scantily clad in a tiger's skin, he is flanked by two attendants having *jaṭā* on their heads and carrying water-pot and rosary in their hands. It is regretted that none of the aforesaid *Ekapāda* statues from Orissa have been illustrated so far. They were popular during the Gaṅga period as well.

Let us add one more interesting specimen (Pl. VII) to this group from Orissa itself : it hails from Hīrāpura, the famous centre of the *Yoginī* Cult, during the mediaeval period. Dozens of *Yoginī* statues are still preserved there along with one-legged Śiva. Ekapāda Śīva here stands on a lotus seat; he is shown as *ūrdhvaretas* quite prominently. Matted locks on the head, bearded face with teeth clearly visible and moustaches above, have been delineated to present the terrific aspect. Two hands are completely mutilated but the lower right hand appears to carry a long staff[7] *(Lakula ?)* which is so characteristic of *Lakulīśa;* Under these circumstances, the existing statue of one-legged deity, with a *Lakula* in hand and *ūrdhvaretas* pose, may represent an interesting aspect of "Standing Lakulīśa". We are, of course, not aware of any image of standing Lakulīśa (with a *lakula*) from Orissa so far. If that be so, the *Hīrāpura* statue under study is of great iconographic interest. Let us make a search for better specimens of this particular variety from Orissa itself, before any opinion is exponded with a definitive.

The neighbouring region of Madhya Pradeśa also presents some impact of iconographic traits from Orissa during the mediaeval period. During my visit to Shahḍol (M. P.) in year 1966, I happened to notice such a statue studded into a niche on the exterior right of the sanctum of Virāṭeśvara Temple at Sohāgapur, distant about two miles from Shahḍol itself. It appears just above the niche containing the image of goddess Chāmuṇḍā. The sculpture

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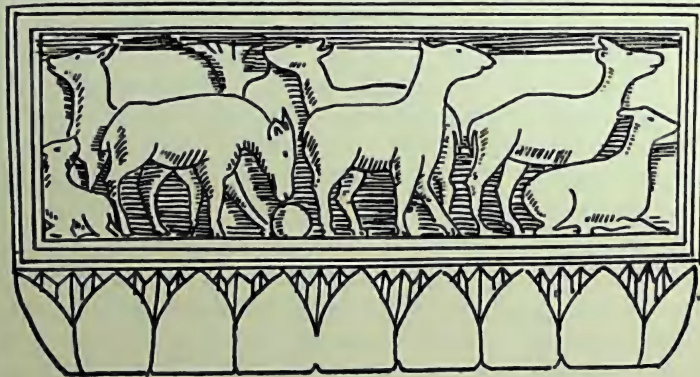
6. *JASB*, Calcutta, II (i) 1960, P. 20.
7. It may be a 'sword' as well. The lower left hand of the main deity holds an elongated shield and that very well suits the combination of a 'sword' in relation to a shield.

presents the deity as one-legged in the Chedī art of 11th century A.D. He carries a serpent in the upper left hand, a trident in the upper right, a vase in the lower left while the lower right hand is stretched below in *varada* pose. *The utter absence of such statues in the mediaeval art of Rajasthan and Gujrat is, of course, noted with great interest.* It is just possible that we may discover such specimens in Western India at some later stage. Till then, the above statue at Sohāgpur has got an important bearing on the cult of *Ekapāda Śiva* in the eastern part of Madhya Pradeśa.

NOTE : Photograph of Hīrāpur Śiva, illustrated above, has been supplied by the Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi ; Negative No. 749-1962

A Unique Liṅga from Baijnath in the Kumaun Hills

M. C. JOSHI

BAIJNATH[1] (29° 54′ 24″ Lat. ; 79° 37′ Long.) in District Almora, Uttar Pradesh, abounds in vestiges of the past in the form of temples and images dating from the eighth to the eighteenth centuries A.D. The sculptures, entirely of Brahmanical association, can be seen lying within and around the old temples and in the neighbourhood. Of such icons, *catuścakra-liṅga*,[2] a *liṅga* faced with a *cakra* on each of its four sides, is a unique sculpture from the standpoint of iconography.

At Baijnath, only two almost identical specimens of this peculiar variety of *liṅga* have so far been found—one near the old stone platforms called Nīlī-Chauri in Tailihat village and the other forming a part of the collection in the sculptures' shed within the Baijnath group of temples. In this paper, I propose to study this unique variety of *liṅga* with special reference to the latter (Pl. VII)[3].

Made on the locally available siltstone, this *liṅga* is approximately 42 cm. in length with a width of about 12 cm. It simulates a miniature pillar and is fairly well-preserved. Having a square base turned into an octagon upwards, the *liṅga* has a rounded central band, marked with vertical grooves, over which is again a square portion, embellished with *aṣṭāra-cakra* ('wheel with eight

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1. Baijnath, a corrupt form of Vaidyanātha (Sanskrit), owes its name to an ancient shrine dedicated to Śiva bearing the same name. But, generally, it is supposed to mark the site of the ancient city of Kārtikeyapura (also called Kīrtipura or Kartṛpura), the capital of the Katyūrī rulers of Kumaun and Garhwal.
2. As none of these *chatuṣcakra-liṅgas* are *in situ* it is not possible to ascertain the particular shrines wherein they were originally installed.
3. Photograph—Copyright of the Archaeological Survey of India.

spokes') on each face, the upper square terminating into a regular *liṅga* comprising a rounded body and convex top.

In the absence of any definite clue it is difficult to ascertain the antiquity of this icon in exact terms. It appears to have been modelled following the basic pattern of the *caturmukha-liṅgas*. Being a simplified version of the latter, a date around the tenth/eleventh century A.D. can be assigned to it. Significantly, it was the period when the earlier *caturmukha-liṅga* tradition of the Pāśupatas had been losing popularity in Kumaun. By this period probably most of the earlier strongholds of the Lakulīśa Śaivas passed into the hands of the Nāthapanthīs, despite the ascendency of the Brahmanical-Smārta tradition in the region.

The iconographical purport of this object of worship is not easy to determine. An accurate and direct scriptural reference sanctioning the creation of such an image is also not available. Yet, it is possible to analyse and unfold the unified concept latent in the representation of *cakra* with *liṅga*. None can dispute its essentially Śaiva character. But how to explain the association of *cakra* with it ? As a symbol of Viṣṇu and Śakti, the *cakra* is held in esteem in the Brahmanical tradition. It is quite tempting to postulate the intermingling of two ideas, Śaiva and Śākta or Vaiṣṇava. And there is a distinct tradition in the *Śiva-Purāṇa* (chap. 70) recording Śiva's offering of the *cakra* to Viṣṇu :

तथा तस्मै स्वयं शंभुश्चक्रं च दत्तवान् प्रभुः
तेनेव पीडते विष्णु दैत्यांश्च वलवत्तरान् ।।२२।।

Śiva-Purāna (Bombay, 1896) chap. 70, verse, 22

The same tradition also finds mention in the famous *Mahimnastava* wherein a reference to the *cakravapus,* a form of Viṣṇu,, has been made in one of the verses :

हरिस्ते साहस्रं कमलवलिमाधाय पदयो-
र्यदेकोने तस्मिन् निजमुदहरन्नेत्रकमलम् ।
गतो भक्त्युद्रेकः परिणतमसौ चक्रवपुषा
त्रयाणां रक्षायै त्रिपुरहर जागर्ति जगताम् ।।

Mahimnastava, verse 19

To a Smārta-Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava, the combination of *liṅga* and *cakra* was nothing but a symbolic manifestation of the Haryardha

or Harihara conception, the former representing Śiva and the latter Viṣṇu.[3]

But in the eyes of orthodox Śaiva, who considered only Śiva to be the Supreme Lord responsible for *sṛiṣṭi*, *sthiti* and *saṁhāra*, the *liṅga* was perhaps a representative of the Mahākāla (the eternal Cycle of Time) or Śiva himself, for each *cakra* symbolized the Wheel of Time[4] (*Kāla-cakra*) or the *Bhava-cakra* (Wheel of Becoming or Śiva). The eight spokes of each *cakra* thus may stand for the all-pervasive eight forms of Śiva[5] and the central *liṅga* proper for the eternal *jyotikūṭa* (Sadāśiva) embodying the undernoted idea :

लयं गच्छन्ति भूतानि संहारे निखिलं यतः ।
सृष्टिकाले पुनः सृष्टिस्तस्माल्लिङ्गमुदाहृतम् ॥

Liṅga Purāṇa, 99.18

The *cakra*, according to the ideal of a Śākta devotee, was perhaps an expression of the supreme power (Śakti or Goddess) unified with Śiva as mentioned in a commentary on *Bhairava-yāmala* :[6]

कलाविद्या पराशक्तेः श्रीचक्राकाररूपिणी ।
तन्मध्ये बैन्दवस्थानं तत्रास्ते परमेश्वरी ॥
सदाशिवेन संपृक्ता सर्वतत्वातिगा सती ।
चक्रं त्रिपुरसुन्दर्या ब्रह्माण्डाकारमीश्वरि ॥

The *Jñānārṇava*[7] also states :

विन्दुचक्रं वरारोहे सर्वानन्द मयं परम् ।
सदाशिवमयं चक्रनायकं परमेश्वरि ॥

Jñānārṇava, X-87

Probably the inner circle shown as hub of *cakra* symbolizes the *vindusthāna*. For a Śākta, Śiva without Śakti is just static or

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3. अतश्चभगवान्विष्णुश्चक्ररूपी व्यवस्थितः ।
हन्यते तेन चक्रेण विश्वे दैतेयदानवाः ॥
Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā (Adyar, 1916), Chapt. 30, *śloka* 16.
4. *Cf*. Rigveda 1-22/164/48 ; and *Mahābhārata* :
एवं कालविभागेन कालचक्रं प्रवर्त्तते ।
Mahābhārata, Virāta Parva, 52/1
5. For a detailed discussion on the eight forms of Śiva, please see V. S. Agrawala in *Jour. of Oriental Institute Baroda*, Vol. XIV, No. 3-4, pp. 280 ff.
6. Quoted by Janardan Mishra in *Pratīka-Vidyā* (in Hindi) (Patna 1959), p. 200.
7. Quoted by K. C. Pandey in *Abhinavagupta An Historical and Philosophical Study* (Vārānasi, 1963), p. 850.

lifeless. This aspect has been poetically emphasized by Śaṅkarā-cārya in his *Ānandalahrī*.[8]

अपर्णैका सेव्या जगति सकलैर्यत्परिवृतः ।
पुराणोऽपिस्थाणुः फलति किल कैवल्यपदवीम् ॥७॥

The *catuscakra-linga,* therefore, may also be taken as an expression of eternal unity between Śakti and Śiva (Sthāṇu).

It will not be out of context to mention here the significance attached to the conception of *cakra*[9] (or *cakras*) as a distinctive feature in the Krama-system of the medieval Kashmir Śaivism. An early author on the subject, Abhinavagupta, analysing the meaning of the root of the word *cakra* gives various derivations. 'Cakra is so called because it (i) shines (*Kāśī vikāse*) (ii) gives (spiritual) satisfaction (*Caka tṛptau*) (iii) cuts the bondages (*Kṛtī chedana*) (iv) possesses the power of action (*Dukṛñ-karaṇe*)'[10].

The following statement is of special interest in regard to *cakras*' relation with Śiva.

'The Mahārtha Mañjarī enjoins a form of worship distinct from that ordinarily known, inasmuch as it consists in the realisation of the identity of all that is objective with the inner subject, the Parama Śiva present in the body surrounded by powers of perception and action. In this connection the worshipper is enjoined to remember different circles (cakras), Pītha, Pañcavāha, Netra-Traya and Vṛinda, each of which is constituted by a number of powers, Kalās and Śaktis.[11]

It would, however, be premative in the present state of our knowledge to say positively that such a *liṅga* was conceived under the influence of the Krama-system, although we cannot totally rule out the probability.

The rare combination of *cakra* and *liṅga* revealing various syncretic concepts, discussed above, seems to be an outcome of an ideological synthesis marking religious trends of the time. Moreover, we also know it for certain that around this period liberal ideas based on compromise were in the fore in the Kumaun region under

8. *Stotra Ratnāvalī* (Gorakhpur, V. S. 2018), p. 76.
9. The *cakras* according to the Krama-system are moving circles or wheels. They have been conceived on the analogy of the circle of light. See for further information K. C. Pandey, *op. cit.*, p. 525.
10. K. C. Pandey, *ibid* p. 525 and p. 837.
11. K. C. Pandey, *ibid*, p. 484.

the influence of the Nāthapanthīs and Smārtas. The former, basically a Śaiva school, professed liberalism[12] accommodating various concepts and practices other than their own. As regards the Smārtas, it is well known that they did recognize the *pañcāyatana* form of worship.

This *catuścakra-liṅga* was perhaps a result of some sectarian compromise aimed at showing the unity of Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva-Śākta orders. Thus its similarity with almost contemporary *pañcāyatana-liṅgas* of the same region is significant, though both the former and the latter do not appear to be the products of the same tradition. The very appearance of the *pañcāyatana-liṅga* suggests that it was carved under the influence of the Smārtas, whereas the *catuṣcakra-liṅga* was a creation of certain catholic Śaiva teachers, probably belonging to the Nātha-Sampradāya, who attempted to unify various sectarian ideas in accordance with their old liberal tradition reflected in a verse of the *Mahimnastava* :

त्रयी साङ्ख्यं योगः पशुपतिमतं वैष्णवमिति
प्रभिन्ने प्रस्थाने परमिदमदः पथ्यमिति च ।
रुचीनां वैचित्र्यादृजुकुटिलनानापथजुषां
नृणामेको गम्यस्त्वमसि पयसामर्णव इव ॥

Mahimnastava, Verse 7.

12. Raṅgeya Rāghava, *Gorakhanāthā aur unkā yuga* (Agra, 1963), pp. 125, 145-46.

The Amoghapāśa from Bhatgaon and its Parivār

DR. P. H. POTT

DURING a recent exhibition of Nepalese art, shown at the Hague, Netherlands, at the occasion of a state visit of H. M. the king Mahendra Bir Bikram Shan Deva of Nepal, a rather fine wooden sculpture was shown from the Bhaktapur Museum, Nepal, representing *yama-kiṅkara* according to the opinion of the specialist who prepared the descriptions for the catalogue of this exhibition. It was not surprising that his thoughts went into that direction. However, he made himself already some remarks to the effect that the figure did not fully respond to the iconographical details peculiar for such an assistant of the god of death Yama. There is, however, one very peculiar detail in the appearance of the figure, which at once cautions us to look into another direction for the identification of the figure, e.g. the small horse's head protruding from the crown of figure's head. Another very striking detail is the very well deliniated third eye in the forehead of this figure, which together with its dress and ornaments, shows all the characteristics of that class of gods which in later Buddhism is usually classified as that of the protective deities. In fact, we have no option than to identify the figure as that of the well-known Hayagrīva, the 'horse's necked one'. (See, Plates IX, X a-b, and XI a-b)

From the whole attitude displayed by the sculpture, however, it is clear at once that it was meant to be a subsidiary figure in a larger group. This is not astonishing as Hayagrīva figures among the regular four attendants of Amoghapāśa; he is mentioned in many *sādhanas* as such and he is many times shown in the company of that important deity in the later Buddhist art of India, Nepal and Tibet, but also in that of Java and Sumatra. Lately Dr. P. Pal from Calcutta has published an article on the iconography of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara (*Oriental Art,* XII, no. 4, 1966) in which

he discusses a number of forms of this special type of Avalokiteśvara, who was not only popular in Tibet and Nepal, but as well in Java. In an elaborate *sādhana* quoted from the Tanjur, and said to have been composed by Śākyaśrībhadra, a description is given of this eight-armed Amoghapāśa together with his four attendants: Sudhanakumāra, Tārā, Hayagrīva and Bhṛikutī. About Hayagrīva the *sādhana* says that he has one face, two arms, and is of a red complexion. He is dwarfish, corpulent, with tawny raised hair and beard. He is grinning with a frown and has three eyes. Around his loins he is wrapped in a tiger's skin, and he has a green horse's head in his hair. In his left he holds a stick and the right is raised above. Now the figure under discussion is in complete accordance with these prescriptions, safe that its stick has got lost. The left hand, however, is moulded in such a way and position that originally it must have held some object of that type. There remains not a shadow of a doubt about the identification of the sculpture as representing Hayagrīva as an attendent of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara.

This, however, would not be sufficient reason to ask special attention for it, however beautiful the figure as a sculpture might be, for it is of high artistic quality. The most remarkable fact is that the sculpture has been illustrated in two Nepalese *thangkas* in the collection of the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, both of which belong to the oldest Nepalese painted scrolls in Western collections. Both paintings represent the group of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara together with his four attendants in perfect agreement with the iconographical rules, and both paintings show at the bottom a line of donor figures together with a dedicatory inscription. One painting is in a very bad condition and of its inscription only a few words are still to be read; the other painting is of a better state of conservation and when acquired about 1930 by Dr. A.A. Bake its inscription was still clear enough to allow its deciphering and translation by a Nepalese *paṇḍit*. In the English translation this inscription runs as follows: [1]

"Hail! In the year 655, in the month of Māgha, in the bright half, on the 9th day, a Friday, during the reign of Rājā Prāṇamalla,

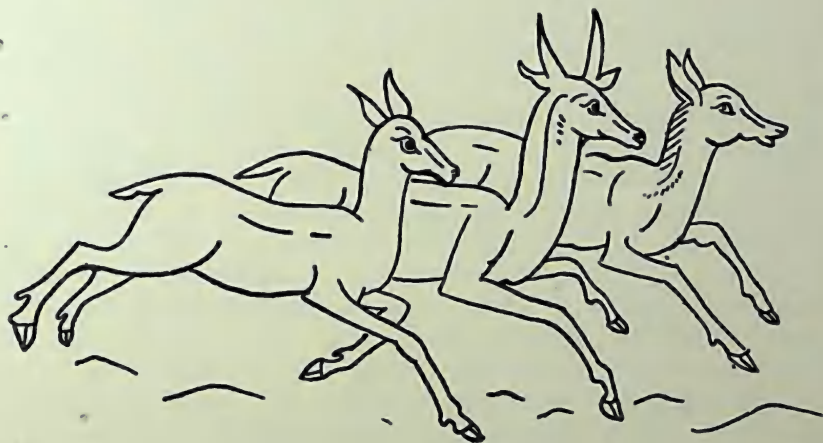
1. The painting was published by Stella KRAMRISCH, *The Art of Napal* (Catalogue of an Asia House Exhibition, 1965), No. 82, and—in colour—in my chapter in *Burma, Korea, Tibet* (Art of the World Series, Methuen 1964), p. 197, in both cases with a wrong dating, however.

the *yajñamana* Bhikṣuśrī, his wife Jirulakṣmī, his son called Kamalasiṅgha and his wives Basulakṣmī and Daralakṣmi, having taken this supplication at the foot of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, living, at the temple of Gośain-Kumāra Ṭhakura in the (*vihāra*) Mahābhūta : that he may live his life without illness, with children and riches, fortune and have an uninterrupted offspring, that he may become old, and receive all the fruits predicted in the śastra."

The Gośain-Kumāra temple is at Bhatgaon, and the dating in Nevari saṃvat 652 corresponds with 1532 A.D., which is at the end of the reign of one of the first kings of the small kingdom of Bhatgaon.[2]

When we compare the wooden sculpture from the Bhaktpur museum with the figure as illustrated on both of the *thangkas*, we cannot fail to recognize it at once : it is indeed the very sculpture that has been depicted on the painted scrolls. This results in the undeniable conclusion that the Hayagrīva sculpture once belonged to a special temple dedicated to Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara at Bhatgaon, to all probability dating from the reign of king Prāṇamalla, who ruled between 1524 and 1533 A. D. This does not only give us a rather close dating to the sculpture, but we can also draw another and in my opinion an even more important conclusion : from the text of the inscription as combined with the curious circumstances that the wooden sculpture of the temple still exists and is clearly recognizable in the paintings, it is clear that the devotion is not only directed towards an abstract Amoghapāśa, but to the Amoghpāśa of Bhatgaon in particular. We may therefore come to the important conclusion that the figures of the more important deities and their *parivāra* as deipcted in the *thangkas* were meant to illustrate famous sculptures or bronzes existing in the more important temples or religious centres, and not as more or less abstract forms to be conceived according to iconographical rules, however important those rules might have been for it teaches us that whenever we encounter representations on the *thaṅgkas* of Nepal and Tibet of very important figures from the Buddhist pantheon, we can be sure that they were meant to depict concrete sculptures, venerated by devotees, and not reproductions painted according to rules and miniature illustrations in manuscripts.

2. Cf. about this king : Śylvain LEVI, *Le Népal*, II, p. 83.

known only to specialists. Thus the mere coincidence of one of the finer sculptures from a Nepalese museum having been sent out for a short exhibition in the Netherlands, where it could be studied and compared with some paintings depicting it, has opened up for us the way to come to a better understanding of the techniques of painting, decidely inspired by actual sculpture, and not by mere iconographical rules and artistic tradition.

Some Aspects of Buddhist Art in Central Asia

S. P. GUPTA

THE Oasis of Khotan lies in the south-western part of Eastern Turkestan, now in the western Chinese territory. Yotkan,[1] Dandan-Uiliq, Endere and other towns in the oasis are situated on the ancient southern silk route. Some of these sites have yielded beautiful painted panels on the walls of the shrines and on wooden tablets. These deserve special treatment for these happen to represent a peculiar blending of the art traditions of Greece, India, Iran and China.

The paintings in essence are figurative and Buddhist, and, therefore, their subject matter is largely religious. With the popularity of the cult of the Bodhisattvas, in which instead of the Buddha, his lower forms got prominence for their special benevolence, and even magical powers, the artists got an opportunity of greater freedom of depiction, since except for a few attributes for the proper identification of the divinities, there was little canonical formalism about them. The examples here from the site of Dandan-Uiliq (the houses with ivory) belong to the 7th and 8th centuries A. D.[1]

If taken the panoramic view of the painted walls, one is struck by the exact reproductions of the seated Buddhas in rows after rows. As in the case of the stucco sculptures moulds were employed to duplicate the figures, so in the case of these paintings, stencils were used to repeat the images. On the whole, these figures exhibit the Graeco-Roman influence in the heavy folds of the drapery covering the body from the shoulder to the feet, and in the hair-style with wavy or curly hair with a top-knot. The youthful face with anatomical precision is also in the pattern of the Greek gods like Appolo. But this influence was indirect; it came through the Graeco-Buddist art

1. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, (*London* 1907), Vol. I, pp. 236-238.

of the Gandhar School of the early centuries of the Christian era in north-western India and Afghanistan. Greek influence more directly came through northern-eastern Iran, i.e. Bactria, and can be seen in some of the more secular figures. In Plate No. XIII the woman in the dancing pose is shown with a very fine vine-leaf below the naval covering the frontal portion. It is unmistakably an imitation of the fig-leaf of the post-Classical art of the West to which the attention was drawn by Stein.[2]

The art tradition which had the greatest impact on the Khotanese paintings came from India. It was natural also, since the religion itself came from the Indian sources. In Plate No. XII b there is a curious representation of a god with four hands having iconographic features of Śiva.

Like the famous three-faced Śiva of the Elephanta Caves, the figure has three faces : the one in the centre in calm and assured '*saumaya*', the left one is abominate, '*aghora*', and the right one is effeminate in the form of *Umā*, the consort of Śiva.[3] The forehead of the central figure bears the third eye, '*trinetra*', placed vertically. The head-dress studded with jewels also carries the half-moon, '*ardha-chandra*'. In a similar three-faced figure from Balawaste, in the Domoko region, the head-dress carried a skull, '*kapāla*'[4]. The left hand holds an object from the middle which has three prongs on either end. The object is thin and delicate and the prongs are more ornamental than effective as implement. In the Balawaste example this item is not at all clear. It may, however, represent a thunder-bolt, '*vajra*'. In the right hand the object is likely to be a lotus-bud of white colour, '*śveta-kamala*', although it may equally be some fruit. In the Balawaste example, however, it is clearly a *red* pomegranate. The right raised hand carries a round object with three lines clearly visible. It is likely to be a fruit, probably, a local melon. It has been identified as a '*cakra*' and compared with the '*cakra*' in the left raised hand of the Balawaste example by Bussagli[5]. The object in the left raised hand

2. *Ibid*, Vol. I, page, 255.
3. *Ibid*, Vol. I, page 279. Tamara T. Rice tried to see in this representation a god of the silk-weavers in her *Ancient Arts of Central Asia* (London, 1965), p. 204.
4. Bussagli, Mario, *The Painting of Central Asia*, (Cleveland, 1963), p. 63.
5. *Ibid*, page 63.

has a peculiar shape which has been identified as a conch-shell by Bannerjea[6] and the moon by Bussagli[7]. The latter's identification is based upon the fact that the object in the right hand is the *Sun symbol.* In fact, the round object with three small parallel lines joined by one vertically placed curved line in the centre has no exact parallel in Indian iconography and all identifications are subjective. It may even be a local fruit. In the Balawaste example, the emblem on the right raised hand is not very clear, and although Bussagli takes it to be the *moon*[8], it may equally be some other object. Bussagli's idea is that the two emblems are complementary to each other and stand for the luminous value, which may eventually be found correct ; however, presently, it is difficult to be categorical (although, personally, I am inclined to agree with Bussagli). In an example of the Tantric form of Buddha from Balawaste (Bussagli : plate 55) on the chest near the left and right arms, two symbols occur quite clearly which are undoubtedly sun and moon symbols. The form of the moon symbol is closest to the moon symbol here. The loin cloth in both the examples is of tiger skin, 'vyāghracarma', raised in a conical fashion upto the naval, making the figure ethyphallic, representing 'Ūrdhva liṅga'. The figure is shown cross-legged seated on a cushion with chess-board pattern. Below the seat are two white humped bulls, the '*nandis*'. Since the Balawaste example is preserved only upto the thighs, the *nandis*, if they were there, are missing. In both the examples the main figure is blue with black hair and moustache. The Dandan-Uiliq example used dark yellow for the abominate figure and white for the effeminate figure.

Aurel Stein has also mentioned another example from Kuka-Kol : '......head and upper right arm only of Trimurti (?), figure similar to the Dandan-Uiliq; main figure blue, with black hair and moustache and yellow '*mukuṭa*'; right face pink, left yellow, upraised hand holding fruit, halo red with green border".[9]

Aurel Stein identifies it as Avalokiteśvara.[10] Mario Bussagli,

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6. Bannerjea, J.N., (1956) A "Vishṇudharmottara" passage and the 'So-called Trimurti' of Elephanta, *Arts Asiatiques*, III, 1956, p. 133. But this was also one of the suggestions by Aurel Stein.

7. op. cit. page 63.

8. *Ibid*, page 63.

9. Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia*, Vol. I, pages 129 and 132.

10. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, page 279.

although accepts it to be a Tantric divinity, also feels that... 'it may be related in some way to the four-armed female figures on Sassanian and Sogdian cups which in addition to the sun and moon, carry other symbols, not always the same as those of the male divinities of Khotan but more or less equivalent in meaning.'[11] However, it must be made clear that right from the nandis to the *ardha-candra* the iconography is so much Śaivite that nothing but Indian context can explain its true nature.

J. N. Banerjea, has compared it with the Elephanta Śiva and said that '...this ideology seems to have travelled abroad along with other Indian cultural elements in the early mediaeval period if not earlier'.[12] He has also shown that the same concept exists in the Padhvli Śiva, in the Gwalior museum, and that the placement of the *Umā* and *Aghor* figures in relation to the central figure has been interchangeable even in the Indian context.[13] He has quoted verses from Viṣṇudharmottara, Bk. III, ch. 48 to explain the significance of each of the three faces (verses 1 to 8) and narrate the emblems which the five aspects of the Śiva carry :

Bhairva : Daṇḍa (staff) and Mātuluṅga (citrus)
Umā : Darpaṇa (mirror) and Indīvara (lotus)
Sadāśiva : Carma (shield) and Triśula (trident)
Mahādeva : Akṣamālā (rosary) and Kamaṇḍalu (water vessel)

Some of these, of course, torn out of their real context, may be seen in the Central Asian examples. For the Dandan-Uiliq example Bannerjea writes '...the front right hand holds a globular object which may stand for *mātuluṅga* ; the back right and left hands may show a cup and a conch-shell but the objects are not quite distinct...the central Asian artists were not at all particular about the original iconographic details...'[14] The white lotus-bud which has been identified as citrus by Bannerjea may also stand for the 'Aṇḍakoṣa' of the Tantric concept according to A. K. Nārain (personal communications).

The above discussion makes it clear that fundamentally the icon is of Śiva, although it is represented in a modified form. Since its context of discovery is a Buddhist shrine and the tablet

11. op. cit., page 66.
12. Bannerjea, J.N., (1955) "The So-called Trimurti of Elephanta," *Arts Asiatiques* 1955, Vol. II, p. 125.
13. *Ibid*, page 124.
14. Bannerjea, J.N, (1956) ; op. cit. p. 133.

is regarded as votive, Stein's and Narain's opinions cannot completely be ignored. But let it also be recalled that the figure on the reverse of the tablet, to be dealt in the following pages, is also enigmatic and is likely to be primarily based upon the concept of the god Sūrya rather than of any typical Buddhist god. Nevertheless, there does seem to be an element of synchronism of Śiva with Avalokiteśvara.

But apart from these iconographic features, the hair style, the ornaments, the scarf and the attire, all speak of the Indian traditions. Long wavy hair, open and carelessly hanging over the shoulders, in snake like manner, is typical in Indian context. It is 'fresh-from-the bath' style in which wet hair is naturally divided into numerous braids and fall on the shoulders. Prominently big ear-rings touching the shoulders, necklace with double pendants and big jewels, armlets with decorated plaques, long garland of flowers touching the naval, flowing scarf, '*uttarīya*,' going round the hands and back, and falling on the thighs, loin-cloth of tigerskin, all can be traced back to different Indian examples of representational art. As a matter of fact figures only in loin-cloth is characteristic of the Indian tradition right from the times of the Harappans, i.e. circa 2300 B.C., not to speak of the Śuṅgas, Kuṣāṇas and the Guptas, of the historical period.

The figure as a whole is beautiful and attractive also because it has another element of aesthetic quality in it. The eyes, eye-brows, nose, chest, hip and the fingers are delineated in an idealistic fashion. The Yakṣī or Nāgini panel reminds us of the descriptions in the Sanskrit classics of Kālidāsa[15]. In the classical concept of beauty, the beautiful eyes are shaped like fish, the nose resembles the parrot-beack, the eye-brows look like the bows, the chest is broad, the hip is narrow and the fingers are long and shapely.

Such an idealistic aproach in the Indian art is characteristic of the Ajantā murals of the Gupta period, i.e. 5th-6th centuries A.D. The success achieved by the Gupta painter-artist is based both on the choice of colours and the interplay of lines. The lines in particular are important in the whole range of the Gupta paintings. The outlines of the figures are in thin, fine flowing lines

15. C. Śivarāmamūrti, "A Brief Survey of Buddhist Art, pt. II", *2500 years of Buddhism*, (New Delhi, 1956), p. 296. "*Uddandapadmaṁ gṛihadīrghikānāṁ nārīnitambadvaya sambabhūva*" Raghuvaṁśa, XVI, 46.

bringing out rhythmic curvatures and suggestive gestures '*Bhaṅgas*' and 'Mudrās,' in a most delicate manner. For this purpose fingers, palms, eyes, eye-brows, eye-balls, legs, in fact, every part of the body has been so artistically handled with appropriate twists and swings that their origin should eventually be traced not so much in art motifs as in dancing postures. In the mural painting of Plate No. XIII, the voluptuous figure of the young lady with a small naked child by her, in the pond of lotuses, the idealistic art of Ajantā is clearly reflected. Stein compares its elegance and beauty with the Venus of late Greek sculpture. The maidenly modesty of this fiigure has however been traced by the clay statuttes of Chorasmia[16].

The figure has been identified by Stein as 'Nāginī' of the famous lore recorded by Hsiin-Tsang.[17] He also feels that the representational style has been borrowed from the Gandhār art. However, it may be pointed out that the absence of a snake-hood would normally bring it out from the category of the Nagas even though the Kashmir concept may be there for their being in the human form as explained by Foucher.[18] Sherman Lee[19] has called it a Yakṣī and this seems to be more justified.

Indian art traditions in content and craftsmanship, and in art expression were not the only source of creativity for the Khotanese painters, Iran equally played a prominent role in this field. In Plate No. XIIa the artist depicts a divinity with four hands and nimbus and vesica. It is seated cross-legged on an elaborately decorated cushion, with a stemmed cup (according to Stein[20] it is thunder-bolt), a spear-head, and a flower stalk, each in one of the three hands; the fourth rests on the thigh. He has also an uttarīya, the scarf, on his shoulders. These are all characteristic features of the Buddhist divinities and Stein has identified it as Vajrasattava[21] while Bussagli[22] has called it an Iranian-Bodhisattava. But the figure may equally be of the Khotanese Sūrya. The Persian elements need not surprise us since they are also present in the

16. op. cit. p. 66.
17. op. cit. p. 227.
18. Foucher, *L' Art du Gāndāra*, i. p. 338.
19. Sherman Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, London 1964, p. 133.
20. op. cit. p. 280.
21. *Ibid.*
22. op. cit. page 57.

Indian examples, although greatly modified by the Hellenistic masters about the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. It may be recalled that although the Sun worship started from the times of the Ṛigveda, its representational form was brought to India about the 1st Century B.C. from Eastern Persia, then called the *Śaka-dvipa,*' where the *Śakae* were coming and living with Iranian elements in their life. The Sūrya images upto the late Gupta period were still in the state of evolution, and to some extent experimentation, with the result that most of the iconographic features present in the 7th-8th century Khotanese examples, may be traced in the Indian examples. The '*kirīṭa-mukuṭa,*' is typical of the Sūrya images in India, although the designing of the Khotanese example has no exact parallels in India. The beard and the moustache are also present in a Gupta example in the Mathura Museum (pl. XXIX, Fig. 3 of Bannerjea, 2nd Ed.). Long tight coat, trousers and full boots are present in most of the north Indian Sūryas, e.g. No. 894 in the Mathura Museum. In fact this dress is in conformity with the details given in Bṛihat-saṁhitā and Vishṇudharmottara where Sūrya is shown in the Northerner's dress, Udīcyavesam. He is seated cross-legged which is probably an imperfect imitation of the '*Padmasāna,*' in which a Khiching Sūrya (pl. XXIX No. 3 of Bannerjea, vol. II) is represented. According to Vishṇudharmottara, the Northerner's dress of the Sūrya includes Yaviyaṅga (avyaṅga), which '......is the Indianised form of Acwiyanghen, the sacred waist-girdle of the Iranians,'[23] The narrow belt of the figure is probably the same. The sword of the present example is also present in the Mathura Sūrya No. 894. Lotus and lotus-stalk are common features with the Sūrya images.

The real difficulty comes when we do not find the Sūrya image in India holding a cup against the breast and carrying a spear-head or an implement with a metallic triangular blade in a small handle. Carrying a cup like this seems to be a specific ritual connected with some divinities in Central Asia or the Altaic region. The 'blade with a handle' of this type also occurs in a similar example of a wooden votive tablet, called 'the silk princess,' from Dandan-Uiliq (in the British Museum),[24] and in another example

23. Bannerjea, J.N., *Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1964.
24. Aurel Stein, Ancient Khotan, Vol. II, pl. XXII.

in the Hermitage Museum collection. Natalia Diakonova identifies it as a tool for '...weaving craft and sericulture...' and calls the deity, as 'the patron of weaving, shown as a four-armed hero or king.'[25] Although it is true that the tool in question is not the Indian, Greek or Persian attribute of the Sun, yet it should be taken to be a 'local' feature of the Sūrya, for which unfortunately no text exists, rather than finding in it a god for the sericulturists. It is not necessary that every vocation should have a separate deity. But just remove these familiar diagnostic features, and the remaining figure will be that of a typical Persian noble man.

The Persian grace and nobility in the figure are, however, reflected in the elongated face with thick short beard and long hair, nicely combed and falling on shoulders. The head-dress with a double point falling over in spirals closely resembles a Persian tiara.[26] The tightly fitted coat with richly embroidered floral decorations, and extra flaps on arms is typically Persian. The narrow belt round the waist, and the decorated sheath with a sword are also depicted in the same style. At the end, one has only to mark the embroidered high boots in typical Hessian form to convince himself of its Persian character.

The most interesting thing about the panel is the form of the figure coupled with a particular type of attire. The whole thing is not only Persian, but it is also secular, rather, non-religious in character. It is important to emphasise it since it is at this point that the real difference between the Hellenization and the Persianizatian of the Buddhist art exists.

Amongst the rolling sand dunes of Chinese Central Asia, the green patch of Khotan is pretty far off from the Chinese mainland; the earliest Chinese historical notices of Khotan are from the times of the Emperor Wu ti (149-87 B.C.). However, according to some legends quoted by Huan Tsang and the 'Annals of Li - Lyl' the Chinese migration in Khotan is very old; in fact, that itself gave it 'the first ruler and half of its population.' Whatever may be the truth, in the 7th-8th centuries, ethnically, a part of the population was Chinese in origin and Mongoloid in physical features, as the Chinese are. This factor itself should have been

25. Natalia Diakonova, "*A Document of Khotanese Buddnist Iconography,*" Artibus Asiae, Vol. XXII, p. 230.

26. Aurel Stein op. cit. page 279.

responsible enough for the broad rounded face with chin-less features observable in the feminine face in pl. No. XII b. Similarly, thin flowing moustache of the central figure in this plate is more Chinese in representation. However, in the case of the divinities in the Khotanese paintings, Chinese influence was not felt beyond the adoption of some of the Chinese physical features. In plate No. XIII two male figures of the Buddhist monk-scholars with sacred books, 'Pothīs,' in one hand have been shown in typical Indian wear, '*Cīravastra*' and not in the Chinese attire; only the faces are Chinese. The hair in one case is flowing back as also seen in the Greek art. The horse below the tank is dappeled Persian horse.

Taken as a whole, therefore, the Khotanese paintings form a great landmark in the history of art of the Eastern World since in its wide perspective it embodies some of the best traditions of the highest quality of art of its time, and also evolves a peculiar catholicity in its approach towards an otherwise rigid ecclesiastical art. Let it not be over-emphasized that the secret of popularity of Buddhism in the East Asian countries also lies in its representational art which never hesitated to assimilate the best of all the arts, it ever met in its long assiduous journey and adapted itself to the local likings and believes, although rarely sacrificing its fundamental concept.

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PL. XIV

Śava-Sādhanā, Pahārī Painting
(*By Courtasy Dr. M. S. Ranadhawa*)

Tantra Art

AJIT MUKERJEE

"AS many faiths so many paths," said Swamī Ramakiṣṇa Paramahaiṁsa but the aim of all 'isms' is essentially the same, to realize beyondall form the formless. Consciously or unconsciously every mode of expression, whether artistic, religious or scientific, is struggling to reach that ultimate reality, the One without a second.

On what we used to explain away as mysteries, modern discoveries in higher physics have shed new light. In this aspect the Tantra art of India deserves scientific analysis. What is more, while in modern art we are still thinking of space and time, Tantra has gone further and brought in concepts of sound and light, specially in conditioning art forms. This has no parallel elsewhere.

In this spiritual process, a new sign language symbolising the man-universe relation was discovered and used. Thus, the method of yoga assumed great importance in art; Tantra art itself can be considered one of the essential forms of yoga. To penetrate the enigmatic silence, the mystery of the universe, the Śilpī-yogin has employed the yogic process (though he sometimes gets through to the core by his mental faculties—*manas*), Tantric symbols and patterns, the store-house of which is yet little known, light up form and colour because what the Śilpī-yogin arrives at is related to his inner spiritual growth.

This belief in a cosmic order, the principle of which art tried to grasp and pass on, led the Tantric-yogin to make himself a part of the mystery, live in it as well as with it. He knew that there must be complete identification of his being; otherwise there can be no revelation of the great secret. 'By meditation on anything as the self, one becomes that thing.' This is the way to awaken the coiled up energy, Kuṇḍalinī Śakti, so that may realize his Real self, ultimately unfolding the meaning of the whole universe.

Both internal and external practices are imperative, because long ago, these revealed to the Tantric artist a truth which might open up a new understanding of the world forces in which we are living and the modern artists are trying to explain.

The Tantra says that the cosmos is evolved out of the fifty Mātrikā sounds. The Mātrikā sounds, in the process of evolution undergo various permutations, thereby giving rise to subtle figures.

As the sound concentrates and condenses, it creates geometric figures. Every living form has its norm of sound as an accomplishment of its energy. Crystals and plants derive their shape from their vital energy; yet, as we cannot see the minute changes that alter form, we cannot hear the accompaniment of sound (Sir J. C. Bose's works on plant life).

This theory of sound is the basis for the unique and magnificent *mantra-śāstra*, where by repetition of *mantras* (charged words) and their *japa* (rhythmic mental concentration on them), one can remodel one's entire physical, mental and psychic nature.

Mantra is primarily mental sound and regarded as fundamental in the creation of all form and also as element for dissolution. Its function does not end in expressing an ordinary meaning; the very sound aspects of a word or a combination of words has the capacity to activate the divine forms invoked. A mantra exerts its power, not so much through expressing the meaning as we understand it, but deeply its sound-vibrations.

Seers of ancient times who knew the secrets of the power of sounds composed the *mantras* joining together symbolic syllables in accordance with certain laws laid down in Tantric texts.

A common practice in Tantra ritual is to make *mantras* out of each letter of the Sanskrit alphabets and to associate them with different parts of the body; the purpose or aim is to feel that the different parts of the body are merely the manifestation of the different aspects of the great power. The whole body with all its biological and psychological processes is but an instrument in and through which the cosmic power reveals itself. According to Tantric principle, the individual being and the universal being are one; all that exists in the universe must also exist in the individual body.

The first and most important monosyllabic *mantra* is the sound OM, generally considered to be the sound-symbol of the

Supreme One. Even the conception of the sound OM, which is the combination of three *mantras*, *a*, *ū*, and, ṁ presupposes geometrical patterns corresponding to a straight line, a semi-circle and a point. Every divine form possesses a *bija mantra* or seed syllable. Even in its form as the smallest sound unit the *bīja* remains a microcosm and thus may represent the essential nature of divinity.

Reaching the stages of vibration, sound again creates light (*nādābhyantaraṁ jyoti*). Light is nothing but sound of a particular frequency. Colours result from light waves. Every object in the phenomenal world of time and space is again a concentration and reflection of light throwing a pattern of form. Sound and colour are related to each other as life and form. Every colour has its life sound and in turn, every sound has its form-colour. All mantras have their correspondings form. When a mantra is pronounced correctly, its corresponding form begins to manifest itself, the quality of manifestation depending upon the nature and intensity of the pronunciation.

The Tantra, on the Yoga side, gives the colours of the several vital forces observable by trance-vision. These colours are emerald (Prāṇa), red like evening sun (Apāna), milky (Samāna), white like Dhatura flower (Vyāna), colour of fire and lighting (Udāna).

Organized and cannalized in particular ways, sound energy may produce or create particular results. Each mantra relates to the particular power or Devatā revealing itself in that sound-form. Knowledge of the techniques is therefore as essential as knowledge of the principles. Hence, the mantras, or the life-transforming words, to be effective must be actually heard from the mouth of the guru, the spiritual preceptor. It was the traditional possession of a few initiates who formed a closed exclusive circle and who guarded it with great care, permitting none save qualified aspirants to have access to it.

Such integrated sound identifies the ensuing relation of mantra with yantra and explains why the Gāyatrī mantra must possess just its proper sounds, sixteen in a single relation, and no others. With them is evoked the corresponding Tantra. The first gives formula and equation; the second, diagram and pattern; and what correlates the one system of relations with the other is Tantra.

The linear Yantras are composed of simple geometrical

figures (line, triangles, rectangles, circles, etc.). They enclose the mantra syllables which, when properly grouped, will cause partial aspects of a definite image to emerge (germinate). Hence they are called *bījākṣara* or germinal syllables.

Study of the Yantra diagrams will show that each primary geometrical figure can be induced to provide a series of linear and spatial proportions, each one of which belongs essentially to all figures of the same shape, whatever their size in area. From these geometrical permutations we obtain certain related series of lines. The perfect circle, the perfect square, or the perfect equilateral triangle, as well as the perfect pentagon or hexagon, do not allow the vital departure from static equilibrium that is necessary to emerge into emanated forms. The pentagon shows this fact most equally; also the square and its diagonals ; the double squre and the diagonals inherent in it ; with the subtle relations shown in the non-equal triangles—the soalene and isosceles will—reveal some of the secrets of proportional lines on one figure.

The dynamic graph or the diagram of forces by which anything can be represented—the picture of the constituent forces—is called the Yantra of that thing. They are not abstractions, but living images of cosmic forces. The are the graph of definite process, or laws and energies.

Yantras indicated by symbols, the "building of the world process" as *Yantrati* ; how "bound together" or determined, constrained, as by the domination of plan as diagram or scheme. Ceilings of Jaina temples frequently was luxuriant in crystalline pattern; as those in the Dilwara temple on Mount Abu. They present the efflorescence of *Śabda* in a single field ; though remaining balanced. A favoured pattern in the 'square on square' development in three dimensions, revealed thrice to suggest three planes. This pattern appears often in *maṇḍala* modes. The painted ceiling in the Mīnakṣī temple at Madura presents the interchange between two fields of electro-magnetic field—thus showing by the balanced spiral forms, the first move away from static mineral balance into the plant world. Alice Boner, in analysing the sculptured panels in the ancient cave-temples of India, has pointed out that they reveal geometrical diagrams of analogus concentric construction. They have, however, their specific features, different from those of devotional Yantras, which make them suitable for figural compositions. The difference consists in this that the circular area,

instead of being filled by intersecting geometrical figures, is divided into regular sectors by an even number of diameters, connecting their points of intersection with the circle. All forms within the ambit of the circle are placed in correspondence with some of the diameters or with their parallels, and thus they participate, either directly or indirectly, in the concentric layout of the diagram. In this way all parts of a composition are connected with the central point, no matter whether they touch it or not.

The space-directions embodied in the diameters and their parallels are the vital nerve-lines of these compositions. They create currents of energy that run either parallel or cross each other in their trajectory, that act and react upon one another in various ways according to their position in space, that is to say, their position in the relief-field. These life-currents transform a composition into a functional organism. The forms animated by them become functional stresses, and an image conceived on such a pattern will never be a static configuration, even if the single figures represented are at rest. The currents of energy circulating within them will ever be at work and animate their forms (Principles of Composition in Hindu Sculpture—pp. 25-26).

In Yantra, the spheroid can be considered as a sphere in the process of breaking itself into separate units, each with its own centre. It represents division of wholeness for the sake of multiplicity. Therefore, the spheroid stands for the world-egg, the incipient duality of Puruṣa and Prakṛiti.

The duality that persists in Yantra manifests itself in the magnificent doctrine of the Tantras as Śiva-Śakti or Puruṣa and Prakṛti as balance of form and energy. All creation, according to Tantra, is preceded by a focal tension called the bindu. This is the centre of every creation based on a fundamental dualism : a male principle known as the Person (Puruṣa) and a female principle known as Nature (Prakṛti).

According to Tantra, the ultimate truth is the union of Śiva and Śakti, or Puruṣa and Prakṛiti. Śiva represents pure consciousness which is inactive.—the static aspect of the ultimate reality, while Śakti represents the world force—the kinetic energy of the ultimate truth. Every conjunction of opposites produces a rupture of plane and ends in the rediscovery of the primordial spontaneity.

The conjunction of opposites further represents a transcending of the phenomenal world, abolishing all experience and duality,

symbolically composed in the interlocking triangles in Yantra, representing the male and female principles, static and kinetic aspects of the Two-in-One.

Owing to the complete intensity of embrace, the two all-pervading ones Śiva and his Śakti become as it were a single principle and this bliss is the highest non-duality; but in the ultimate reality there is neither Śiva nor Śakti. Only the one without a second is ever existing and will ever exist.

All physical and mental forms, everything in the universe is that One, appearing in various ways. This has been very characteristically expressed by the acaranga in the following terms : One who knows *one* knows *all*, and one who knows *all* knows *one*.

Life is one, and all its forms are interrelated in a vastly complicated but inseparable whole. Every act by any form of life, from the highest to the lowest, must react on every other form. We are but links in a long series. We are made of the same substance as the stars, the same substance as the gods. "All the men and women of the world are His living forms" as Kabīr says. It is the realization of the formless within one's own living form. Whenever one endeavours to perceive the finite, one will find it impossible to separate it from the infinite. The formless is the basis of all form. It all depends on whether we are able to see through the form and realize the relativity of both form-possessing and formless experience. So what we perceive or feel is the combination of the eternally formed (svarūp) and eternally formless (arūpa).

Modern science in its striving towards unity, is trying to reduce the explanation of as many phenomena as possible to one single underlying principle. The greatest achievement of science in this century has been the dematerialization of matter. The elements which compose the universe can be broken down into one vital substance. This monistic spirit of science is similar to the growth of a concept in art of the condensation of all the streams, forces, and effects of the universe towards the dissolution of corporeality.

All forms have a beginning and it will have an end. Through a process of transformation and trans-substantiation of this very corporeal form or mass, art has become an international expression. Although its original accounts influenced by different traditions, may vary, its basic language is understood everywhere. There are universal expressions to which all people respond if their conscious

control does not shut them off. It is a pity the way artists associate their own names with some works of art which belong to all times and all men

The artist expresses something that already exists—sarvaṁ—of which he is a part and which he feels impelled to give back to the world. In this giving back, the process through which he realises himself and the world is much more important than individual specimens. This process becomes a way of life that creates concepts and forms whereby a particular age seems to crystalize and find itself. Vijñānabhikṣu writes : "Just as the statue already existing in the block of stone is only revealed by the sculptor."

The artist is not attempting to absorb art, but to release the beauty of universals within himself. The universal no longer lives to possess, but to become, and this process of becoming is eternal. Jung defines : *Bild ist Seele* the soul manifests itself in images. Art is becoming manifested life.

Art of this kind is firmly rooted in spiritual values. Art is a force ; and the aim of the true artist is not to permit the visible but to reveal the invisible world otherwise it becomes a barren abstraction.

Jung says : "The development of modern art with its seemingly nihilistic trends towards disintegration must be understood as the symptom and symbol of a mood of world destruction and world renewal that has set its mark on our age." The three steps of Viṣṇu signify that spirit as the Hindu *Śastra* so aptly says : "He disturbs the world in order to save it." Artist must disturb the static balance (*laya or pralaya*) in order to find again what he has been from the very beginning.

All things tend to go back to the original stable equilibrium, the state of uniform equal diffusion of Reals. Limitations are destroyed in order to attain that supreme liberation which is the aim of all true art, religion and of science as well. Andre Malraux says : "Each of the masterpieces is a purification of the world."

Combining art, science and religion, Tantra indicates the way to liberation. With a basis of philosophy and physics, Tantra shows its art expression moving in the direction of meditation, toward the overcoming of forms.

Do we see things as they really are or only as they appear

to us ? If the latter, are we doomed to perceive appearance only, never their reality ? If one could apprehend, the fourthdimension, for instance, a stone would not be to him what it is to us. So again, if one could exercise subtle or trance vision, one might see or hear the actual dance of the particles in a stone. A scientist will successively reduce a block of wood to molecules, atoms, electrons, protons and neutrons. The modern world is yet to see a nuclear art of this reality.

It is only when we shatter all forms and get behind the veil, maya, as Tantra says, we find reality and become free. When we close our eyes we can really look at things. We see without seeing to be exact. In the ultimate act of vision the body meditates as well as the mind. The Upaniṣad says : "He alone sees all beings as himself." The unknown is within, in every atom of our being.

To the question : "What is that which, when known, all is known ?" The affirmation "that art thou", or 'Sā Ahaṁ, I am she, or So—*Ahaṁ*, I am he.' If we fully understand and accept it, compels us finally to empty our minds of all images. Then no bonds remain between the work and its maker, once the work is accomplished, its power, released from the human carrier, dwells in the form, and its affect belongs to those who see and use them. As the author of Chieh Tz U Yuan expresses it : "When painting has reached divinity (shen), there is an end of the matter."

It is not astonishing that many great Indian artists, who have passed through this discipline, finally become saints.

Art is not a profession but a path toward truth and self-realization. Tantra has a great message for this awareness.

Documentary Evidence on Mola Ram

MUKANDI LAL

Introductory Remarks

Amongst Pahari Painters Mola Ram (1743-1833 AD) Pl. XVII is unique in the sense that realiable and convincing about his life, studio, paintings and his student visitors from outside revealed in his writings, drawings and paintings that are in existence.

I have been asked to contribute a paper to the felicitation volume of Dr. Aditya Nath Jha who is one of the greatest lovers of Indian art.

To some art critics Mola Ram has been a problem. My research from student days (1908) has enabled me to solve this problem, proof of which will be found in my "Garhwal Paintings". Thanks to the Publications Division of the Union Government and the Roopa Lekha in which I started writing in 1929 about the Garhwal School, at the request of my esteemed friend Barada Ukil.

Founders of Garhwal School

Dara's son, Suleman Shikoh's flight to Śrinagar, Garwal is an historical episode in Moghal history. Suleman was in Allahabad. Dara was at Lahore. The son wanted to join the father in their struggle against the uncle Aurangzaeb. Aurangzeb's forces were spread over the Doab plains. Suleman wanted to reach his father through hill states.

Suleman Shikoh wrote from Nagina to the Raja of Garhwal, Pṛithipati Shah (1638-1660), to permit him to come to Śrīnagar. The Raja of Garhwal told him, he could come; but should bring with him very few people. Suleman came to Śrīnagar in May 1658, with 17 persons; two of whom were court artists, Sham Das and Har Das. Aurangzeb compelled the Raja of Garhwal to

Note [The poems written on the top of the paintings require redicipheri ng. However, the editors have tried to make necessary correction in the readings. Editors]

surrender Suleman Shikoh under threat of war. He was surrendered after one year seven months stay at Śrīnagar, under a false pretence, at the battle field of Patalidun which is at the foot of Grahwal hills at the bank of Ram Gaṅgā, by Medini Shah, who succeeded his father in 1660 and ruled over Garhwal until 1689.

Sham Das and Har Das were detained at Śrīnagar by the Raja at his Court. On this point I quote below Mola Ram's own words:—

Śāmdāsa aru Hardāsa hī Pitā Putra dou rākhe pāsa hi,
Tunwar jan diwāna hī jānē, rākhe hita saun ata mana mānē
Taba saun hama garh main rahye hamre purkhā yā bid āyē,
Tinkē bansa janama hama dharā Molā Rāma nāma hamārā.

Translation :

"Raja Pṛithīpati Shāh kept with him both father and son. Being Tunwar by caste he treated them like his Dewans. He kept them (at his court) as his favourites. Since then we have been living in Garhwal. In this way my ancestors came to Garhwal. I was born in their descendents's family. My name is Mola Ram."

Mola Ram in Mughal Style

On the basis of what I saw Mola Ram's paintings and drawing until 1936, I had believed Mola Ram to be purely a Pahāri painter; and so was he recognised by my Guru Dr. Anand Koomaraswamy and all other art critics. In 1936 in Mola Ram's collection at his house, at Śrīnagar, came across the drawing *Mastānī*, which is purely in Moghal Kalam and is a Mughal subject. It is inscribed by Mola Ram on the top in his own hand and is dated 1771 A.D. He expressly says he painted it and that he was a Massawar (Painter). Since I continued my search for further proof of Mola Ram's paintings and drawings in Mughal Kalam. I was successful in discovering more specimens of his Mughal works, and also his earliest paintings in Rajput Pahāri Style some of which I am giving in this paper.

(a) **Mastāni**—A Gay Girl, dated 1771 Pl. XXVa

On the top of this fine drawing is the following inscription by Mola Ram:—

"Mastānī chāla masta śarābī baiṭhī apne khānē meṅ,
Sune raga jhuki jhuki[1] sakhi pyālā de bastāne meṅ,
Pīvata bhara bhara phir phir māngata hai taratar dāne meṅ,[2]
Kavi Maula Rāma Musavar Khainchī yeh tasvīra rijhāne meṅ
Saṁbat 1828 (1771 A. D.) Sāla Caita, Gate 16"

1. Read, Jhānki (editors.)
2. Read, Caita Rāta radānē meṅ (editors)

Translation :

"I, Mola Ram poet and painter, have drawn this picture of Mastānī (a voluptuous gay girl) to amuse or please myself. (Her movement and expression shows) she is sitting intoxicated, to enjoy her drink (just after her bath). She is listening to music and is looking towards her companion who is holding a cup of wine in her hand. She (Mastānī) is drinking cup fulls and asking for more and more and again and again."

(b) **In the Swing with her beloved**

(Jhūlata Piyā ke saṅga) Pl. XVIII

At the bottom of this Mughal drawing Mola Ram has written the following Inscription:—

Śubha bala·viśāla vicitra mahāwara,
Ambar Whuban hi aṅga main,
Kou gāwata tāra bajāwata hai
Kou le khuśbū kharī maga mein
Cahun ora son phūla rahī sabjī
Gula lāl hī kyārī bharī raṅga mein
Kavi Molā Rām prasanna mahā
tiya Jhūlata hai piya ke saṅga mein

Translation :

The charming young lady clad in beautiful clothes and having completed her toilet is joyfully swinging in the swing with her beloved, so says poet Mola Ram. Her companion women who are around her in the garden. Some are playing Sitār, some are singing, others are standing with scents in hands. All round, it is green and there are multicolour flowerbeds in the garden.

Possibly Mola Ram wanted to paint Jahangir in the swing with his favourite lady in Mughal garden out of his imagination or on the basis of some Mughal painting brought with them by his ancestors.

(c) **Falling from the Swing :** This painting is based on Bihari's dohā:—

Heri hindore gagana te, parī parī sī ṭūṭi
Dhari dhāyē piya bīca hī, karī kharī rasa lūṭi (Bihāri No. 58)

Translation :

While she was swinging up in the sky she suddenly saw her beloved coming. She like a *pari* fell down. He did not let her fall on the ground. He held her and put her on the ground on her feet and took his reward.........a kiss.

This painting was presented by Tej Ram (1833-1906) father of Bālaka Ram (1867-1956) to Badri Datt Joshi Dy. Collector when he retired from Śrīnagar in 1890. Tej Ram was born in 1833 the year Mola Ram died. I had seen Tej Ram.

(d) **Portrait of Jaidev Vazir.** Pl. XIX

Mola Ram has written on the top of the group portrait of Jaidev's qualities as a Minister and statesman:—

Text : Dātā gyāntā gyāna maya[1] jaidev wazir,
Lajāwant [survir... sat] bādī gambhīr
Bacan Kahai [so kare], hare na tāmen citta
Sumdekhi suratalajai tajai āpnī vitta.
....
Diyo dusala turi eksau eka monhi taba ;
Rākhī bacana pratīta jita, jagmen jasa, līnyo
Gunī mitra prasanna sumari kaun dukha dīnyo
Suno santa saba kāna de Molā Rām vicāri kahī
Saramadāra saun kāma hai mūrakha ke jācaka nahin

Translation :

Jaidev Vazir (Minister) is generous, all knowing, learned, modest, brave, truthful, thoughtful, serious and deep. His words are weighty, full of meaning. He does not lose himself in words. He is not close fisted. He gives away his wealth. When I painted this portrait, Śrī Jaidev Vazir has presented me a shawl, a *pagri*, and one hundred and one rupees. He kept his word. He won fame and glory in the world. He made friends with the learned and the good. He punished the wicked. Listen oh ! ye (readers) goodmen, with open ears, the words of Mola Ram, who is friend of the good and the learned and hates the fools and evil minded.

Mola Ram's reputation abroad

Mani Ram Bairagi's visit. Mani Ram Bairagi visited Śrīnagar twice. First time he visited Śrīnagar in Sambat 1812 i.e. 1755 A.D. and the second time in Saṁvat 1875 i.e. 1818. During his second visit he called on Mola Ram in his studio and told him that he had heard so much of him as an artist and he wanted to verify his reputation. He asked Mola Ram to show his works. He also told him that during his first visit to Śrīnagar in 1775 A.D. Śrīnagar was glamorous and prosperous, but now in 1818 A.D. the city was deserted. There was no King nor his Ministers in Śrīnagar. Learned and good men had left. What is the cause of this. The actual words of Mani Ram Bairagi, the wandering ministrel were :—

1. Read, Śrī Jaidev. (Editors)

Kīrati suni tuhāri, kabi āye hain mussawaron pāsa; Kānana kī suni bāta sāncī ṭhahrāiyē,
Kaho Molā Rām khalaka sārī sarnāmē ho;
Tuṁ pe guna jātē so monkon ānkhon dikhāiyē
Sambat tharā sau bara ke sal meraye
Taba Srīnagara gulzar lahyo
Aṭhāra pañca pichatar men jit hī tit, sahar ujār bhayō mantrī dist para, na koī, guna sajjana
Manī Rām Bairāgi pūchat hai kehi kāran yih Srinagara gayo

The fall and desertion of Śrīnagar took place because Gurkhas had attacked Garhwal through Almora had occupied Śrīnagar in 1803. Raja Praduman Shah (1785-1804) and his one brother Kanwar Prītam Shah had retreated to Dehra Dun; and Raja's youngest brother Kanwar Prakram Shah had been made prisoner by Gurkhas and taken to Nepal.

Visit of Hasti Dal Gurkha Governor

Mola Ram had remained at Śrīnagar and continued painting in his studio. The Governor Hasti Dal Thapa who ruled in Garhwal with iron hand from 1803 to 1812 visited Mola Ram in his studio at Śrīnagar and told him that he had heard of his fame (as an artist) in Kāntipur (Nepal's capital) and now he had seen his paintings with his own eyes. His actual words are:—

"Kāntipur men Kirati tumhāri sunata mahe ab ankh nihāri citra tumhari deke."

It was at the request of Hasti Dal that Mola Ram wrote all about his family, himself, and the Rajas of Garhwal.

Mola Ram's pupils—Fardak Bakar Ali

Mola Ram used to receive pupils in his studio. One such pupil was an artist Fardak Bakar Ali who came to him (having heard of him as a great painter) to learn painting. This is what he said to Mola Ram when he came to him.

Uttar aur dakhan mānhi, pūraba aur pacchim māhin,
Kīrati Suni tumharī, citra citrakāri layī hai,
Fardak Bakar Ali dar jahāne ism;
Mussawara ne tasvīra khīncī rasm.
Wajan sabni hai cunī raṅg āba
Baiṭhī saunhi nājanī māhetaba
Shakhi marad alam men, kaite tumbe
Rahen ham hameśāi tumhārei saṅga
Karen maśka tasbīra rangin raṅga,

The perport of the above is that Fardak Bakar Ali, who had heard the parise of Mola Ram all over as a painter who painted pictures of beautiful women in picturisque colours, said to Mola Ram, I want to remain with you to learn the art of painting from you.

Kanwar Prītam Shah's visit

When the royal family of Garhwal Rajas left Śrīnagr in 1803 Mola Ram did not go with them to Dehra Dun; and when after the restoration, of half of the Garhwal of the other side of Alaknanda (after the Gorkhas were driven out of Garhwal by the help of British), to Raja Sudarśan Shah (1815-1859, was settled at Tehri in 1818 even then Mola Ram did not go to the new Capital (Tehri) of the Garhwal Rajas.

Raja's younger brother Kanwar Pritam Shah, who, it appears used to take lessons from Mola Ram and used to come to him to his studio at Śrīnagar to continue lesson in painting,

Kanwar Pritam Shah complained to his master, Mola Ram, that he remained at his home at Śrīnagar and did not go to Tehri to continue the lessons, so he came to him all the way from Tehri (30 miles) and though he was tired travelling to and fro, yet his master had not taught him all what he wanted to learn. His words are :—

Ṭiharī se tīrat rahe, gurūdvara Śrīnagra
Āvata jāta hi paga thake, diyo nahīn kabi sagra
Hampai kyōn nahin āware, tuma kabi Molā Rām.
Kahata hain Prītam Shāh tum baiṭha rahata nija dhām

Rājā Jai Krit Shāh Vist to Mola Ram's Studio

When Raja Jai Krit Shah (1780-1785) was attacked by his own Faujadar of Dehra Dun, Ghamaṇḍa Singh, he came to Mola Ram into his studio and told him he was wasting his time in painting when he (the Raja) was in trouble and wanted him to participatie in politics (Administration). The Raja asked him to go to the Raja of Nahan to seek his help to quell the revolt of Ghamaṇḍa Singh. Mola Ram has related the dialogue.

Mahārāja ati dukhita bhayō,
Citrasāla mahi hamko kahyō.
Mola Ram kāma taji jāō
Citrasāla nāhaka ki banāō
Citra likhi tuma kyā pāyō,
Hamko dusmana āna dabāyō.

Translation

When the Maharaj Jaikrit Shah—(1780-1785) was thus harassed he came to Mola Ram into his studio and told him, "why are you wasting your time in painting when I am being harassed by wicked officer Ghamand Singh Faujdar of Dehradun. Go and seek the help of Raja Jagat Prakash of Nahan to quel the rebellin."

The Raja first said to Mola Ram go yourself to seek the help of Raja Jagat Prakash and ask him to come to his rescue. But he changed his mind and told Mola Ram not to leave him and told him to send Dhani Ram with his request to Jagat Prakash :

Tuma mata chāro hamre tahim
Nahan ko Dhani Ram Pathāō

Thereupon Mola Ram composed a poem and painted a picture to convey the message of Raja Jaikrit Shah to Raja Jagat Prakash. Mola Ram wrote :

Jagatprakāśa tuma bhānu sama,
Hama Hūn tam kiyo grāsa.
Grāha gahyō jyōn gaja hī kaun
Ghamaṇḍa Sing diyo trāsa.
Sura pai sura sāvant sāvānt pai,
Bhīra main bīra pai bīra padhārai.
Kīcha ke pīcha men hāthī phānse,
Taba hāthi ko hātha de hāthi nikāre.
Yihai chanda hama diyō banāī,
Citra sahita likhi diyo paṭhaī.

Translation :

Jagat Prakash ! you are like the sun. Darkness (eclipse, Ghamand Singh) has swallowed (attacked) the sun me. As an aligator catches hold of an elephant (while crossing the river) so Ghamand Singh has caught the Raja and is giving him trouble. Heroes are helped by heroes and kings by kings. A hero goes to help another in difficulty. When an elephant is in quagmire only another elephant can take him out of mud.

This verse : I, Mola Ram, composed and sent Dhani Ram with it to Raja Nahan.

Mola Ram in Pahāri Kalam

When he visited Kāngrā, he came in contact with Kāngrā artists. Mola Ram was about 25 years of age when he started painting in Pahāri (Kāngrā) Kalam. Here are some authentic

specimens of Mola Ram's work in Pahāri style.

1. Consoling the queen, Pl. XX

This is a very large size unfinished painting. On the back of it he has written the following candid criticism of his contemporary courtiers.

Text : Jhūṭhē sirdāra karbāra cobdāra khare,
Jhūṭhē lekhuāra kalam kāgada rośanāaī hai
Jhūṭhē saba harafa eka sānca na chaṭaka jāmen
Jhūṭhē hi chāpa mulak malak kī duhāī hai
Jhūṭhē ata nāin, bāin jhuṭhē saba lena dena
Jhūṭhē dharama karama au karāra ājmāī hai
Kahata Mola Ram gyānī lokana kaun kaṭhina hai
Jhūṭa saun na kāma jinkī sānca kī kamāi hai
Jeṣṭha 1826 ka Fāguna, 16 (1769 A. D.)

Translation :

"I Mola Ram sayeth these are hard times. It is very difficult to get on (in the world) for those who live by their labour, when the court is surrounded by lying officials, lying household servants, and lying attendants. The writers (Clerks) are liers; even the paper on which they write and the pen and ink with which they write are false. The very alphabets (letters) tell 'ies. There is not a grain of truth anywhere. The seal of the Lord (Ruler) of the land is false. The officials and courtiers swear falsely by the Lord. They (the courtiers) tell lies with their eyes, as well as with their tongues. Their whole life, their work, their religion, all are false. They do not keep their words. Saṁvat 1826 (1769 A. D.)."

This unfinished painting which I have given the name "Consoling the Queen" bears the date, 1769 and four other documentary paintings, are the earliest works of Mola Ram, when he had just changed over to Rajput (Pahāri) style (kalam) from Mughal style, in which he painted upto the age of about 30 years.

In "Consoling the Queen" Mola Cam has painted two contemporary Ranis of Raja Pradyuman Shah (1785-1804). One Rani is senior who apparently is more beautiful, the younger one is youthful, a picture of unadorned beauty. The woman musician is consoling the senior queen, who is smoking from a long piped hubble bubble, in the pensive mood, attended by two maids. The Junior one is also likewise being consoled by a sakhī (maid) who is telling her 'youth is on your side.'

2. Mora Priyā (1776 A. D.)

On the top Mora Priyā (Fond of peacock) Mola Ram has written his motto :

Text : Kahāna hajāra kahān lākh hain,
araba kharaba dhana grāma,
Samajhai Molā Rām to saraba sudeh inām,
Saṁvat 1832 (1775) Fāgun sudī,

Translation :

I Mola Ram prefer the sincere apreciation to the reward of thousands of villages and lakhs of rupees (for my paintings)

Saṁvat 1832 (1775 AD Fāgun).

A correct motto for an artist.

3. Cakora Priyā (1795 A.D.) Pl. XXI fig. a

In Cakora Priyā Mola Ram has painted a girl playing with a cakor (partridge) dangling her sash (Dupatta) to the cakor with the left hand who was following her about amorously. She is bending her charming face towards him; she has put her right hand on her head, to stop the dupaṭṭā (head cover) from falling off. Mola Ram's flowering trees are standing like two sentries on either side. Her *candan ṭikā* along with *candrahāra* are adorning her forehead. She is wearing peshwāj and putting on salemani shoes, (which were introduced into Srinagar-Garhwal by Prince Suleman Shikoh, and are named after him, since 1658) The colour of the peshwāj (skirt and bodiece combined in one like English gown) is pink, the Cadar (sash) is green on one side and yellow on the other. Mola Ram has written a descriptive verse, with date 1795 A.D. on the top of the painting :

Kabit : Bāga bilokana kaun navalā niksī, mukh chand dikhāwata hi;
Lakhi saṅga cakora sabda kaṭhora sunāwata hi;
Ujhakī ujhakī firkī si firī cahun āsa hi pāsa
Kavi Mola Ram cali haṭi kai dupaṭā pat chot - bacāwata hi;
Saṁvat 1852 (1795 AD)

Translation :

"When the young girl came out into the garden to show her moonlike (beautiful) face, she saw that a cakor (partridge) was following her and calling with his harsh voice. (With a view to protect herself from his beak and attentions) she was jumping about like a whirling tip. Poet Mola Ram says she is moving about (in the garden) protecting herself from his (cakor's) bill with her dupaṭṭā (sash). Saṁvat 1852 (1795 AD).

Serial pictures of Nāyikās (women according to their emotions, temperament and situations are a special feature of Pahārī Schools. A set of Asthnāyikās (ten heroines) painted by Mola Ram, is described by Mola Ram himself, in Hindi verse written on the top of the pictures. Three of the most popular and well known Nāyikās Abhisārikā, Utkanṭhitā and Bāsakā Śayyā are cited in this article.

1. Utkanṭhitā Nāyikā (1810 AD)

Utkanṭhitā Nāyikā has been described by Mola Ram in a Hindi verse of his own composition written on the top of the picture, The text and English translation is given below :—

Text. Dohā : "Utkanṭhā tāko kahain, sodhe apno prāna ;
Kiha kārana āye nahīn, priya saṅketa sthāna.

Sawaiyā : Kaidhaun kachu kahu, saun krodha bhare
Kaidhaun mama prīta pratīta lahai;
Kaidhaun brata bāsara āji bhayō ;
Kaidhaun apne graha kāja karain.
Kavi Molā Rām ghatain ratain Ghanśyāma ;
Kaidhaun waha deha biram pare.

Dohā : Mathana kare man āpnā, suna samādhi lagāya;
Kaidhaun jogan joga kō, bana men khari āya.
Saṁvat 1867 (1810 A.D.) Sāwana māse
Kriṣna pakśē āditya bāre śubhaṁ.

Translation :

That (woman) is called Utkanṭhita (anxiously waiting for the beloved) who guesses, in her mind, the cause of the non-arrival (of her beloved) at the appointed place (rendezvous), "Is he trying (testing) my love, or has he quarrelled with some one; or is he keeping fast today; or is he busy in some work at home; or has he fallen ill. Mola Ram, who is a devotee of Kriṣṇa (describes) her feelings, who is (standing under a tree) at the tryst, meditating in her mind (the causes for the failure of her beloved's coming to the appointed meeting place). Saṁbat 1867 (1810 AD) Sāwana māse (July) Kriṣṇa Pakṣe āditya bare, śhubhaṁ.

2. Bāsak Śayyā Nāikā (1810 AD) Pl. XXIII a and b

Mola Ram has written a descriptive verse on the top of Bāsaka Śayyā Nāyikā painting, which represents the most characteristic features sylvan scenery of Garhwal School of painting and giving detailed description of the painting.

Text. Dohā : Bana ṭhana āi sahet main, baiṭhaī ata sakucāya ;
Jyon Pataṅga piñjra hī main Bāsakasayyā jāya.

Kabit : Phūlai dala kamala kahīn latikā lipṭāya rahī ;
Saghana kuñja puñja main, sugandhita gandha bhōgtī ;
Karata Kaloīa hī jahān pakṣī paśu ṭhaur ṭhaur ;
Caunki caunki citawai, caunhu ōra nain tokatī,
Ata rūpa kī ujārī vimala dīpakī sikhā sī dīkhai,
Chipai na chipāyo gāta, jyōn jyōn waha rokatī
kahata Kavi Molā Rām nīla sāri śira odha
Pyārī aṅga ko durāya Nandalāla ko bilōkatī.

Translation :

Bāsaka Śayyā (Nāyikā) having done her toilet came out and sat abashed in the bower like a timid bird in a cage. Water lilies are in bloom, creepers are entwind round trees, in this thick fragrant grove. Birds are singing, deers are calling. She looks about startled and frightened. She glances expectantly through the bower. She is the light of beauty and looks like the bright flame of the lamp. However, much she tried to cover (hide) her beautiful body, she can conceal her beauty by covering her head and face with blue sari. This loving Nāyikā (woman) having hidden herself in the grove is looking for the son of Nandalal (Krisṇa) so sayeth poet Mola Ram.

3. **Abhisārikā Nāyikā (1810 A.D.).** Pl. XXIV b

Mola Ram has described the abhisārikā Nāyikā in verse which he has written to the top of the picture.

Text. Doha : Bina dūtī sandeśa jyōn prītama kē graha jāya;
Waha kāma abhisārikā kavi jana dēhi batāya.

Sawaiya : Ghora ghana ghora cahun ōra nīra ghora śabda ;
Bhārī bhayakāri nija deha na dikhata hai.
Mūsala jala dhāra yahān parata hai phawār
Aru jhilli jhanakāra ata dāminī jambhār hai;
Lipṭāyo paga nāga paṭa phārata hai,
Kanṭaka main sujhāta nahin tohi, bhūm bhushan girat hai;
Kahata Molā Rām Kharī bhūtana ki bain;
Ari jogan kai bhogan tu niśaṅka cali jāta hai.
Saṁbat 1867 (1810 AD) Bhādrapada prabiṣṭh 15.

Translation :

Poets call that (woman) Abhisārikā who wants to reach (at night) her beloved's house even without being invited through a massenger (dūtī). All round heavy clounds are making a frightening

sound. The night is so pitch dark that one cannot even see (one's own) body. It is raining cats and dogs. Lightning is flashing. Crickets are chirping. A snake is encircling her ankle, to obstruct her way. Thorns are tearing her clothes. Her ornaments are falling on the ground. She cannot see the path. Mola Ram says this fearless woman, inspite of all the obstacles, is proceeding as if she were a ghost, or an ascetic (going to enjoy the fruits of her pursuit). Sambat 1867 (AD 1810), beginning of the month of Bhadau (August) 15th.

4. Plucking Banana flower Pl. XXIV a

Mola Ram has painted a pretty picture of a young girl plucking the flower from a banana plant - a novel idea indeed. On the top of this painting Mola Ram has written the following discriptive poem :

Text : Jarī ko dupaṭā ōrha pyāji piswaja paihara
jwāni kī lahara mai saji hai waisī.
Kāma ki ujā [gara ?] parama sundarī pyārī
gulajāri main niharī canda cāndani si aisī.
Nāsikā marora rada basana dasana dabai
ujhaki ujhaki uṭhata mānan dām[i]ni lasi hai jaisī.
Kahata Molā Rām aisi bāma ī[i]ka bagica mānhi
Kadali ke phūla kaun kamāna si kasī hai kaisī.

Translation :

Oh young lady covering her (shoulder) with gold thread sash and wearing onion colour peshwāj (empire gown) radiant with her youth (has come out in the garden) she is of most beautiful fair complexion lightning (the garden sky) with her bright face as if the moon has come out. She is jumping (up) looking about and pressing tight her clothes looking like lightening. Mola Ram sayeth such a beautiful young woman has come out in the garden to pluck the flower of plantain, as if she is armed with bow and arrow.

Paintings described and dated by Mola Ram

(i) Proṣit Patikā Nāyikā—Sitār Bajāwat Hai (1812)

This is a sketch of a Proṣit Patikā Nāyikā who is drawn by Mola Ram as playing on sitar. He calls it "one who is playing on *Sitār*". She is really Proṣit Patikā, a wife whose husband is in foreign land. She is playing on *sitār* to while away her time. Mola Ram has written on its top the following verse :—

Text : Karikai sriaṅgāra tana mana men piya bāṭa lakhāwatu hai,
Prasanna mahā sukha moda bharī, rati raṅga anaṅga uṭhāwatu hai,
Śubha tāla hi grāma rachī racnā sura kokila jyōn mṛidu gāwatu hai,
Kabi Molā Rām bicāra kahī ghara baiṭha, sitār bajāwatu hai.

Translation :

Having completed her toilet and having prepared herself both in the body and mind, she is awaiting the arrival of her beloved. She is very happy and is full of joy and looks as if she were embodiment of God of Love. The emotion of love is emanating from her (face). She is singing in the sweet voice of a *kokilā* (bird) in perfect harmony. Poet Mola Ram sayeth she is playing on Sitar at home (in expectation of her husbands arrival). The date of this drawing on its counterpart, another sketch of Proṣita patikā is Saṁbat 1869 (1812 AD).

(ii) Fondling the Baby :

One of the favourite subjects of Mola Ram was painting a young girl playing with birds and babies. Mor Priyā and Cakora-Priyā have been dealt with. Now I cite a young girl playing with the baby. The baby is exactly in the place of birds painted in above-mentioned miniatures. On the top of this exquisite painting this descriptive verse dated 1787 A.D. is inscribed Mola Ram :

Taxt : Goda mahi uṭhāwai kadi chāti saun lagāwe
Munha cūme muskāwai, parama prema badhāwati.
Kahata Molā Rām aisī sughara kama dekhī main
Chanchan chabilī ye nayanan sai khilāwati.
Bāga kē bagīche men nīchē rākhe bālaka ko,
Jhuki ke parcāwai kara aṅgulī dekhāwati.
Tirche kaṭākṣa kīne bastra pahine saba jhīnē,
Gata kī haṁsa hun line bala bālaka parcāwati.
Saṁbat 1844 (1787 A. D.) ka Puṣa gate 2."

Translation :

Sometimes (she) picks (the baby) into her lap, sometimes she embraces (him), (she) kisses his mouth, she smiles (at him) thus she demonstrates her love (for the baby). Mola Ram says, I have not seen polished and cultured young woman like her. With her playful and beautiful body she is attracting the baby with her eyes.

She has placed the baby in the courtyard and is calling him to her with her fingers. She is looking at him (bending her head) with slanting eyes. She has put on fine (white) clothes and looks like a swan. The young girl is thus fondling (playing and calling to her) the baby. *Sambat* 1844 *Pauṣa* 2 *gate* (1787 A. D.)

The original of this miniature was with late Raja Pratap Vikram Shah. It went to Shunghai State with the sister of Maharaja Narendra Shah as part of the dowry, as did several paintings of Garhwal School to several Pahari States, along with Princesses of Garhwal.

(iii) Mayaṅka Mukhī

The composition of the Mayaṅka Mukhī (moonface-one) is the same as that of No. 2, 3 & 9 (Mora Priyā, Cakor Priyā and Fondling the Baby). She is dangling her bracelet to attract her pet (peacock). Mola Ram's favourite flowering tree is present in the picture. This painting was executed when Mola Ram had reached the climax in painting. This painting has passed on from the writer to the collection of Mr. Khejriwal. Mola Ram has given a pen picture of this charming lady whom he calls "one with face like moon (a most beautiful woman).

Text : Kara s[ī]sa dharai laṭakī si parai
Panhucī pakr[ī] darsāwata hai.
Draga saun draga jōra marori ke bhaun
Kara kañju[a] saun cañcu bacāwata hai
Saba hāva au bhāva lakhe tāke;
Apne sukaṭākṣa dikhāwata hai
Kabi Molā Rām mayaṅka mukhī
Mukh hera may[ū]ra khilāwata hai.

Translation :

She (Mayaṅka Mukhī) is playing with her pet peacock. She has placed one hand on her head (to stop the *cādar*—head cover, from slipping away) and with other hand she is attracting (the peacock). At the same time she is protecting her hand from his beak. She is fixing her eyes on him by twisting her eyebrows. Poet Mola Ram sayss he is looking towards the peacock and is flirting with him.

(iv) Narsiṁha Avatāra—Lion incarnation Pl. XXVI

Mola Ram painted several serial mythological subjects amongst them is a series of ten incarnations. Narsiṁh Avatāra

(Lion Incarnation) is the fourth incarnation. On the top of it Mola Ram has written the following descriptive inscription :

Text. Doha : Chauthe bīr narsingh, hari har bhayē ugra avatāra
Dharai dhyāna jogin bhanat jo, lakhe na yama ko dwāra

Caupāyi : Khaṁbha phāra bala.dhari kopa kari duṣṭa pachyāryo
Pakara dehli mānhi nakhan saun udara bidārayo
Kaushlā aur Prahlāda hu kar jori nihārata;
Namo namo bhaya, trās mahā bhaya bhīt pukārata
Chauthe bīr hari harnākusa ki mukti kau,
Molā Rām vichāra kahī ho sahāya nija bhakta kau.

Translation :

Hari (God) incarnated fourth time as terrible lion-man. Whoever contemplates (on lion-man incarnation) will not see the door of the God of death (Yama). (Incarnation) splited the pillar, caught hold with force the wicked (Hirṇya Kaṣyapa) three times down, sat on the door step (putting him on his lap) opened his stomach with nails, Kauśalyā (wife of Hirṇya Kaśyapa) and Prahlād (his son) were watching with folded hands. They were repeating Namo and were frightened. Thus the fourth incarnation gave salvation to the wicked (Hirṇya Kaśyapa). Mola Ram says in this manner God helps His devotees as He did (Prahlād).

(v) Kāliya Daman

Kāliya Daman is most significant painting of Mola Ram. Although it has no inscription on it in Mola Ram's hand yet it has such internal geographical evidence in it that any visitor to Srinagar can see the local land-marks to establish provenance of this painting. Although the old palaces on the bank of the river Alaknanda painted symbolically were washed away by the Gohna flood in 1894 such the hillock (Ranihar), village af the Ranis opposite to the palace still exists. Alaknanda river represents Jamuna and mermaids are the women of the family of Kāliya Naga. I quote below the note on Kāliya Damana (Quelling of Kāliya Serpent) on Plate II of my book on Garhwal painting.

This painting was discovered in Mola Ram's house and exhibited for the first time by Dr. Ananda Coomarawamy in the All India Exhibition held at Allahabad in 1910. It was also published by him in black and white in Rajput painting, II. This theme of the quelling of Kāliya serpent has been dealt with by several Pahārī and Rājasthani painters.

Krisna is dancing on a hood of the serpent. He is dressed not in his conventional robe and crown but in a short yellow waist cloth to indicate that he had dived into the river to capture the snake which had contaminated the waters of the Yamunā river. In the foreground are five naginis (wives of the serpent) with Mola Ram's characteristic horizontal chandan tika on their foreheads. They are begging of Krisna not to kill Kāliya, and assuring him that they will leave the river.

Higher up in the picture are depicted two local hills called Nārāyana which can still be seen at Srinagar (Garhwal). The palaces of the Rajas of Garhwal were situated on the left bank of the river Alaknanda. The palaces were swept away by a flood in 1894. In the picture, cowherds are painted near the palaces to indicate that the scene is Vrindāvana and not Garhwal. This work of Mola Ram is one of those rare Pahāri (Garhwal) paintings in which local scenery, depicted symbolically, helps in locating the provenance of the painting.

Garhwal School's Recognition

I need not reproduce more documentary evidence on the art of Mola Ram. Now I will make brief reference to the Garhwal School whose foundation was laid by Sham Das and Har Das, two emigrant artists of Shāhjahān's (Moghal) School at Srinagar Garhwal in 1658, and which school ultimately produced Mola Ram whose achievements as a poet (writer) and artist made the School known to the lovers of art.

Mola Ram's paintings have reached Albert & Victoria Museum and Boston Arts Museum and other notable museums of western countries and some museums of our country besides some paintings of Garhwal School are in private collections. I have been able to collect a very large number of paintings and drawings particularly those which are described (inscribed) and dated by Mola Ram. I have brought to the notice of the lovers of Pahāri paintings a few authentic works through this paper.

Amongst the Pahāri Schools the only known popular school for considerable length of time has been the Kāngrā School. The credit of clear cut division of Rajpūt and Pahāri Schools of Paintings goes to my Guru Dr. Anand K. Coomaraswamy, who published two illustrated monumental volumes on Rajpūt Paintings, in 1916. It was he who for the first time, boldly and clearly, spoke of the Garhwal School of Painting, after seeing the specimens of Garhwal

School, in 1910, through the present writer. He was of the opinion that there were really only two clear cut Pahāri Schools of Painting—Kāngrā and Garhwal. He wrote : "Communication between the Kāngrā and Garhwal School, via Mandi and Rāmpur (Bushahar) is easy ; and probably we must regard the whole belt of hill territory extending to Garhwal, rather than Kāngra alone, as the source of the Southern Pahari paintings ; the Kāngrā-Garhwal area possesses a stylistic unity distinct from that of the less polished Jammu Dogras." There was a time when all Pahāri Paintings were spoken of as of "Kāngrā Kalam." Moorcraft discovered a few Pahāri miniatures in Kāngra in 1820.

Every Himalayan (Pahāri) art centre has some of its own peculiarities and characteristics. It is not possible to describe and give special characteristic and specimens of all Pahāri Schools, in a brief article. Therefore, only a few special features of the Garhwal School are being given in this article.

Garhwal School's Characteristics

Dr. Coomaraswamy rightly pointed out that the Kāngrā Kalam and Garhwal style have much in common. Of the Garhwal School he wrote : "More conspicuous characteristics are their impressionist treatment of foliage, the long sprays of the white flowering creepers, hanging down from dark trees, their unstudied and impulsive movement ; the straight lids of the eyes ; and a peculiarly tender veiled and almost powdery colouring, golden, greys, mauves, browns and sage-greens being more conspicuous than the brilliant colours of later examples." He rightly added : "Nearly all very late examples from Kāngrā and Garhwal are alike, in the drawing of the hands of which fingers are sharply pointed." Mr J. C. French, in his "Himalayan Art" described some of the characteristics of Garhwal School—"The lyrical feeling and fluency of the Kangra Valley line are present here. There is slightly heavier and more reflective, more sombre atmosphere in the Garhwal School...... The design was freer, more graceful than a Mughal rendering of the same subject. Though the flowers were completely conventionalised, they had an extraordinary charm and grace, and there is a delicacy and freshness about the colourings."

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The Golden Wings

S. KHASTGIR

ABANINDRANATH had once said to me—

"Art gives us golden wings". We fly in the endless sky of imagination. Nothing, not even the sky, is the limit to this flight. The creative spirit of art has an elemental quality. The old Vedic sages contemplate God as a poet कविर्मनीषी and as an artist who fashions "airy nothings" into things of joy of रस and essence.

From my boyhood, I was fascinated by this strange power that imagination has on our minds. I clearly remember my solitary visits to a graveyard in Chittagong. There used to be a strange sensation within me, almost palpable, and like a familiar heart throb. This sensation would appear as a silent drumbeat questioning the eternal imponderable "who am I ?" "Why this existence?"

This question mark has been a constant sign of punctuation to the open book of my artistic life. Time and again I looked with open-eyed wonder at the vast and inscrutable spectacle called "our world". The forms and colours wring out an aching joy from within me. The simple splendour of the Palāśa flower : who can pass it by without acknowledging an artists' tribute to it? The winter blows away every vestige of greenery and vitality from it, but the trunk remains as an ascetic, unmindful of the buffettings of circumstance. And then the spring blows in a gentle breeze of love and lo, a gnarled wooden tuft shows signs of agitation and response. Dark buds force their faces and yet we are not prepared for the final outburst of vermillon splendour—unattached, unmindful of the humanity around, the buds open out like jabs of red in the blue background of the summer sky.

Like the Palāśa flower, the resilient grace of the human figure also has been a perennial source of inspiration in my long career as

an artist "with wings." The vibrancy of a human sapling, enthralled in an ecstasy of rhythm and movement, cheers me, and gives me a sense of vitality. Is not art a dialogue of man with his destiny ? Man looks around and in a mood of half-recognition attempts to unravel the mystery of existence—"who am I ?" the question I dared to put to myself as a solitary child in the grave-yard has been a recurrent theme with me. "Who am I ?" In the process of formulating answers to this innermost questioning, I have essayed my paintings and sculptures. The results have been always inconclusive. They can never be final in the very nature of things. But the works that have taken shape have been a source of personal consolation to me. I may not have understood the meaning of the Palāśa flower, as a botanist, or as a philosopher. But the '*joi de vivre*' the joy of existence, and the sheer pleasure of creation has intoxicated my days and my nights. I have felt that I am a privileged witness and participant in this visual festival.

As an individual brought up in the Brahmo tradition, I did not find any abiding truth in the Hindu mythology. My teacher Nandlal sometimes advised me to study these. He sincerely felt that faith in the beautiful Hindu imagery would benefit me in my artistic career. I on the other hand would hark back on the rugged and picturesque landscape of Giridīh of my childhood days, and feel the quickening of blood coursing through the veins of dark Santhāl beauties. I was more thrilled by the living gods and goddesses, who were blessed by nature, and by the simplicity of their hearts. I was also entranced by the urgency of '*elan vital*' in the form of blossoming nature. I gave myself to these with an abandon, surprising even to myself.

People have praised and criticised me in equal measure. But that has no relevance to my inner citadel. I have accepted both with equanimity. From the vantage point of my life today I can say without any sense of pride or humility that, life is a game of chance like Cricket. One has to play it in the spirit of the game. If Time has been blowing with the frenzy of Typhoon, I have also scored creditably. The second innings is on. I will thrash the ball to the boundaries scores of times before I concede my wicket !

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How old is Delhi ?

B. B. LAL

[*The readers of this felicitation volume, being presented as it is to the Lt. Governor of Delhi, may perhaps like to know : how old is the principality over which he rules ? Here is the answer. —Editors*]

To a casual tourist India means the Taj, and the capital of India, the Qutb Minar and the Red Fort. If he happens to have more than a day at his disposal in Delhi, he may visit Humayun's Tomb, Safdarjang's Tomb and perhaps Hauz Khas. A more inquisitive visitor may also go to Tughlaqabad or at best to Suraj-Kund. That is about all. During these trips, however, he will be seeing remains which, by and large, date from the Muslim conquest of Delhi, although, of course, he will get an inkling that 'something' did exist in Delhi even before that conquest. For instance, he would be told, though only passingly, that Suraj-Kund was constructed by a Rājput king, or that the iron pillar in the courtyard of Quwwatu'l-Islam Mosque bears an inscription which may date back to fourth century A.D. But nothing that he would have seen would suggest to him, even remotely, that Delhi can boast of an antiquity as much as *circa* 1000 B.C., if not still earlier !

Then, where is or was this township that flourished a thousand years before Christ ? Little do those who pass by the Purana Qila on the Mathura Road know that its medieval walls encircle a mound which conceals vertically nearly 12 metres of successive ancient strata ? That this area dominated the surrounding plains may well have played an important rôle in making Humāyūn choose it for the location of his fort.

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Was Rāma a historical figure ? And Kṛiṣṇa too ? Is there any truth in the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata ?* These are questions which come to the mind of almost every person

interested in India's past. Naturally, therefore, the present writer could not be an exception. In fact, being in the Archaeological Survey of India, he was somewhat more impatient to get the answers. Thus, in the early 1950s, as soon as he found himself in a position to do somewhat independent planning, he undertook an exploration of the various sites featuring in the Mahābhārata story.

To name some of the key-ones. Hastināpura was the capital of the Kauravas. When king Dhṛitarāṣṭra found that his sons and those of his brother Pāṇḍu could not amicably live together, he divided the kingdom into two, giving the part around Hastināpura to his own sons and that around Indraprastha (present Indrapat, identified with Purana Qila area) to his brother's. When the conflict between the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas began to grow, the former attempted to burn the latter alive in a lac-house at Vārṇāvata, identified as Barnawa in Meerut District. The Pāṇdavas remained in exile in Virāṭanagara, modern Bairat in Rajasthan. Before the actual war ensued, the Pāṇḍavas offered that if they were given even five villages, they would not fight. Local tradition identifies these villages with modern Indrapat, Baghpat Tilpat, Sonepat and Panipat (respectively ancient Indraprastha, Vṛikaprastha, Tilaprastha, Śoṇaprastha and Pāṇiprastha). The literary evidence, somewhat varying from text to text, includes the first two of these names, but replaces the remaining ones variously with Kuśasthala, Āsandī, Vārṇāvata, Avisthala, Mākandī, Jayanta, etc. When the negotiations failed, the battle was fought at Kurukṣetra. Kṛiṣṇa Vāsudeva, who played a very important rôle in the story, hailed from Mathura. With Karṇa is associated a site called Rājā-Karṇa-Kā-Qilā and with Abhimanyu, Amin, both in Haryana.

The exploration was supplemented with excavation at some of the sites. The work brought to light something which was of tremendous archaeological significance, namely that *all the sites associated with the Mahābhārata story had, in their lower levels, the same kind of pottery, metallic objects, terracottas, etc., which showed they were coeval and culturally interconnected.* The pottery comprises distinctive bowls, dishes, *loṭās*, etc., of grey ware painted with designs in black pigment (pl. XXIXa). It is so distinctive that archæologists have named the culture after it, as the Painted Grey Ware Culture.

Things, however, were not so rosy as some of us might have expected them to be. There were two glaring snags. In the first place, no palaces or majestic buildings answering those depicted in

the *Mahābhārata* were encountered. In fact, the people were found to live in houses of wattle-and-daub ! Secondly, Carbon-14 determinations do not place this culture much earlier than *c*. 1000 B.C. The traditional historian does not, therefore, feel happy over the situation, although according to one reckoning the date of the Mahābhārata battle could be 950 B.C. (The other estimates are 3102, 1424, 1400, 1152 and ninth century B.C.) But the poor archæologist cannot do any more than to present what he has found, and, for the dating, depend on the scientific method already referred to. His only hope may lie in something yet unknown which may one day strike the spade and reconcile the situation !

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To come back to Purānā Qilā. As already stated, local tradition identifies the site with Indraprastha of the Mahābhārata story. Thus, with a view to finding out the veracity or otherwise of the identification, the present writer carried out some trial excavations at the site in November 1954. For obtaining quick results, he chose to tap the side of a ravine, which lies to the south of the double-storeyed octagonal tower known as Sher Mandal, from the steps of which Humāyūn had his fatal fall. The ravine is used as a passage leading down to the Water Gate in the south-eastern corner. In addition, a small trench was dug into the low-level ground not far from the Water Gate itself. The entire work lasted hardly a week.

In the trench near the Water Gate, pottery and other materials were encountered down to a depth of about 4 metres below the local surface, which means that the total thickness of the occupational strata, reckoned from the general ground-level at the top of the mound, is nearly 12 metres.

The pottery from the lowermost levels just referred to consisted of sherds of the Painted Grey Ware, a black-slipped ware and some plain red ware. The occurrence of the Painted Grey Ware in these levels proved beyond any doubt that this mound was as old as any other one associated with the Mahābhārata story, say, for example, Baghpat, Panipat, Barnawa, Tilpat, Mathura, etc., and was, therefore, well entitled to be identified with Indraprastha, as held by local tradition.

Although the small trench yielded but bits of evidence, it was clear that the early Delhites used, besides the Painted Grey Ware, objects of copper and iron. The use of the second-named

metal is important as the Indus Valley people did not know it. Secondly, if not the term *ayasa* itself, at least *Kṛiṣṇāyasa* occurring in the later Vedic literature can well be identified with iron.

In the upper part of this Water Gate trench were found potsherds with a shining black surface, which go by the name of the Northern Black Polished Ware, and are ascribable to a period between *circa* 600 and 200 B.C.

In this trench, however, no structural remains were met with.

On the slope of the northern side of the ravine two cuttings were made, both being at higher levels than the trench just described. The lower of these two trenches revealed structures of kiln-burnt bricks (pl. XXIXb), the average size of which was 37×23×5 cm. Associated with these structures was a soakage pit lined with terracotta rings—of the kind, archaeologists refer to by the name of 'ring-well'. (At some sites the rings have been found to go very deep, suggesting that at least some of the examples may have functioned as wells.) At the level of the soakage pit were also found sherds of a plain grey ware and other objects indicating that this level may be ascribed to *circa* fourth century B.C. The upper stratum of this trench may be assigned to *circa* third century B.C.

Here it may not be out of place to refer to the discovery, in March 1966, of an inscription (Minor Rock Edict, pl. XXXI) of Emperor Aśoka (273-232 B.C.) on a quartzitic outcrop forming a part of the Aravalli system, south of Srinivaspuri, a little to the west of the Mathura Road. In fact, from the settlement of Indraprastha this is the nearest available rock where Aśoka could have put up his inscription. All those who passed on what was even then the trunk road from Kurukṣetra to Mathurā, via Pāṇiprastha (Panipat), Indraprastha (Purana Qila), Tilaprastha (Tilpat), etc., must have, one imagines, stopped for a while to read this message of their king. The two pillars bearing inscriptions of Aśoka, one at Koṭla Firūz Shāh and another on the Ridge near Hindu Rao Hospital, did not originally belong to Delhi. They were brought here by Firūz Shāh Tughluq respectively from Topra in Ambala District, and a spot near Meerut.

In the higher of the two trenches referred to above were encountered the collapsed walls of a house, in a corner of a room

of which there lay three crushed pots (pl. XXXa). The pottery was of a red ware, some of the examples bearing stamped designs like the *swastika*, conch shell, etc. (pl. XXXb). From the lower levels in this trench came fragments of terracotta figurines in the typical Śuṅga style (second-first century B.C.). The upper levels contained remains which belonged to of a Kuṣāṇa horizon (second-third century A.D.).

Above the level of the house just referred to there is another 6 metres of occupational deposit before the present ground-level inside the fort is reached. What this deposit contains nobody yet knows. But the mystery may not remain for long as the author is planning to resume the excavations as early as possible.

Delhi after Christ

M. N. DESHPANDE

[Another article in this volume "How old is Delhi ?" by Shri B. B. Lal deals with the story of Delhi before Christ. In the present paper an attempt has been made to trace the story of Delhi after Christ and up to its conquest by Muslim invaders. —Editors]

FEW capitals of countries enjoy such unique position as Delhi enjoys in being ever young and charming in spite of its hoary antiquity and an array of historical buildings, reminiscent of its glorious and eventful past. Its earliest habitation was known as Indraprastha but it is not known when it was christened as Delhi after the town Ḍhillikā about which we know from medieval inscriptions. Before going into these details let us turn our attention to the ancient relics in the neighbourhood of Delhi for piecing together its ancient past.

The recently discovered inscription, a minor Rock-Edict of Aśoka[1] at Bahapur (Srinivasapuri), Delhi, not far from the shrine of Kālkāji, indicates the importance of Delhi as early as third Century B. C. It also suggests that Delhi lay on an ancient trade-route and was an important merchantile and administrative centre guarding the ford on the Yamuna. In fact, Delhi has a unique position, situated as it is, at the head of Aravalli range dividing the water-courses of the Gaṅga and the Indus river-systems. Many trade-routes like those coming from the southern and western parts of the country *via* Mathura and Bairat converged at this place and proceeded further to distant places like Puruṣapura (Peshawar) through Panipat, Kurukṣetra, Ludhiana, Lahore and Taxila, and to Allahabad the latter after crossing the Yamuna, and more or less following the river course. It is, therefore, quite likely that ancient Delhi imbibed, through its long history, artistic and cul-

1. M. C. Joshi and B. M. Pandey, A newly discovered inscription of Asoka at Bahapur, Delhi, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, London, October, (1967), pp. 96-98.

tural traditions that were in vogue in different parts of the country Unfortunately, very few relics suggestive of such contact have survived to this day. This may be due to the fact that the Muslim invaders may have destroyed them in their religious zeal or still await the spade of the archaeologist or the keen eye of the explorer.

Among other relics of post-Asokan era, pride of place may go to a partly mutilated but artistically an important sculpture of Yakṣī[2] (pl. XXXIIa) forming part of a *vedikā* or ballustrade, girding perhaps a Buddhist *stupa* in the vicinity of Delhi. This sculpture of Yakṣī is stated to have been found during excavation near Qutub Mīnār in 1912. It can be dated to about the 2nd Century B. C. when the Śuṅga kings were busy building a *toraṇa* around the *stupa* at Bharhut in central India. It is at present housed in the National Museum, New Delhi. Mathura also was an active centre of art and culture during śuṅga and succeeding periods and Delhi probably shared some importance, but we have no other example to substantiate this claim save a few terracotta figurines of Śuṅga period (pl. XXXIIb) recently discovered in the foundation trench dug for the reconstruction of the fallen wall of Purana Qila and the solitary sculpture of Yakṣī referred to above. The Yakṣī is a standing figure in a slight *tribhaṅga* posture, probably holding with her raised right hand a branch of a tree. Her flowing *vēṇī* of two intertwined plaits hangs down gracefully on one side. The *graiveyaka* (broad necklace) and the *stanahāra* the latter decorated with human-faced amulets and lotus impressed pendants, are charming. She wears a low garment held in position below the navel by an elaborate *mekhalā* made of six strands of beads. She is also decked with a folded upper garment having a prominently decorated border covering the *mekhalā* with a looped knot. The sculpture is carved in buff coloured sand-stone and the ovaloid cavities on its side clearly indicate that this was a part of a *vēdikā* probably enclosing a *stupa*. The Śuṅga terracota figurines referred to above are as usual produced by pressing the clay in a flatish mould and are representative of the folk-art tradition of the area.

The Kuṣāṇa period of Delhi is represented by some red ware with stamped designs and some terracotta figurines found in *strata* in the excavations undertaken by B.B. Lal[3] in Purānā Qilā.

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2. V. S. Agarwal, *Studies in Indian Art*, Varanasi, (1955,) pp. 102-103.
3. *Indian Archaeology 1954-55—A Review*, p. 14.

Some evidence also indicated, that the Yaudheya kings held sway over Delhi prior to Kuṣāṇa supremacy.

Tracing the story of Delhi after the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa period we come to the famous solid pillar of iron[4] in the Qutub area of Mehrauli like of which there was none in India or in the contemporary world. A marval of technological achievement in the field of metallurgy, this pillar supposed to be weighing upward of 17 tons has a fluted bell capital with *āmalakas* supporting in all probability an image of *Garuḍa* on a rectangular abacus. The Sanskrit inscription in Gupta characters of *circa* 4th Century A.D. engraved on the pillar records the details of the extensive conquests and also the erection of the pillar by a king named Candra, a devotee of Lord Viṣṇu as a lofty standard of that divinity on a Hill called *Viṣṇupada*. It is likely that this pillar was originally set up on one of the hillocks of the Aravalli range in the vicinity of Delhi and was shifted here probably in the 11th Century A.D. or it belonged to the Mehrauli area which was a temple-town and a seat of Vaiṣṇava worship. The find of an early medieval Viṣṇu image in the Qutub area about which reference will be made in the following pages would support such a supposition. A reference in *Padmapurāṇa*, to the holy place Nigambodhaka Tīrth (modern Nigambodh ghat on Yamuna), at Indraprastha in Khāṇḍva forest, as a place connected with *Vaiṣṇava* worship would also show the continuous Vaiṣṇava tradition associated with present day Delhi.

The iron pillar mentioned above is 6.86 metres above ground level. It tapers towards top and its diameter at the base is 0.42 m. and at the top is 0.32 m. It has a hole at the top in which probably was fixed the tenon of the image of Garuḍa. While the Gupta inscription carved thereon would belong to 4th Century A.D. there are other inscriptions carved on it, of which two are side by side on the south-east face. Of these, one epigraph begins with the word *'Saṁvat Dhilli 1109 Aṅgapāla vadi'.*

Following closely the period represented by the Iron Pillar is a comparatively the recent discovery[5] of post-Gupta sculptures in the lime-concrete roof of the tomb of Sultan Ghori, a monument built in 1231 by Iltutmish (1210-35) over the remains of his eldest

4. J. A. Page, *Ancient Historical Memoir on the Qutab,* Delhi, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 22, 1926, p. 16.
5. Y. D. Sharma, *Delhi and its neighbourhood,* New Delhi, 1964, p. 60.

son Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud. The sculptured lintels and upright stones of railings found at this place suggest that a temple may have exitsed here belonging to *circa* 6th-7th Century and from the size of the lintel it may have been of considerable size. The ancient city of Delhi of the period when this temple existed may have occupied the same site as the fort of Rai Pithorā, for, it is within this fort around the Iron Pillar are encountered the remains of later temples. While digging for the foundations of a restaurant in the Qutub area, a little to the south-east of the present restaurant building, was discovered the inscribed four-armed image of Viṣṇu[6] dated *saṁvat* 1204 (A.D. 1147) (Pl. XXXIII). A sculptured lintel[7] measuring 3.90 m. x 0.60 m., ht. 0.27 m., found on the outskirts of Haiderpur, 10 k.m. north of Delhi on Delhi-Karnal road bearing Rāmāyaṇa panels on both sides would also indicate the existence of a temple of large proportions not far from the present habitation of Delhi.

The first medieval city of Delhi said to have been founded by the Tomar Rajput was called Ḍhilli or Ḍhillikā.[8] Lal Kot with its regular defence work attributed to Anaṅgapāla (*circa* 12th Century A.D.) may perhaps be the habitation of the Tomar city of Delhi and it is in this area one may have to look for the habitational remains of the first citizens of Delhi. Vigraharāja, the Chauhan king captured Delhi and Hansi after a long struggle and it was the successor of the Chauhan ruler, probably Prithviraj III, who was ruling Delhi when Mohammed Ghori's invading armies overtook the capital. Hasan Nizami[9] an author of '*Tajul-ma-asir*' and historian of Qutbud-Din Aibak has given an interesting description

6. Ibid. p. 12.
7. Ibid. pp. 12-13.
8. An inscription in a Baoli at Palam of the Vikrama year 1337, relates that the country Hariyanaka, to which Dhilli belonged was conquered by the Tomars, Chauhans and later by Muhammedans. Another inscription, now housed in the Red Fort Museum, Delhi, belonging to the Vikrama year 1384, states that Dhillika was founded by Tomaras and that it was afterwards the capital of Chauhans until it was conquered by the *Mlechcha* Sahabadine (Shahāb-ud-Din Ghori). The Delhi inscription Viśāldeva Vigraharāja engraved on the Aśokan Pillar now in Kotla Firoz Shah further states how the king of Sakambari (Sambhar) had conquered a considerable part of the country even beyond Delhi and had apparently checked the progress of the Muhammedan invaders.
9. Elliot and Dawson, *History of India* Vol. II, p. 216.

of Delhi. He calls it the Chief (mother) City of Hind and further describes the fortress which must be Lāl Kot in the following words :

> "fortress which in height and strength had not its equal nor second throughout the length and breadth of the seven climes.'

The extant remains of the Quwaat-ul-Islam mosque throw a flood of light on the religious history of Delhi. The carvings on pillars and lintels clearly indicate that Jainism was prevalent side by side with Hinduism and that the temples of both the religions were clustered in the same area. The south-eastern portion of the Quwaat-ul-Islam mosque shows lintels carved with Tirthankar images in *Vajārsaña* and *Kāyotsarga* postures (pl. XXIV) while there are other sculptures elsewhere depicting birth of Krișņa and other gods of Hindu pantheon. The tall pillars (plate XXXV) with *ghaṭa-pallava* capitals, *kīcakas* and *gandharva* figures, are suggestive of profusely ornamented temples. There is a very interesting reference to the religious activity of the Jain community even as late as the time of Muhammad Tughlaq when Delhi was known as Ḍhilli or Joginipur. A book called *Vividha Tīrthakalpa*[10] by Jinprabha-Sūri mentions how Ala-ud-Din Khilji had destroyed one image of Pārśvanātha while another image of Mahāvīra was removed by him to the city of Ḍhilli. He is stated to have carried it by placing it in a cart and deposited it in the Tughlqabad Fort. It is also stated how Jinadevasūri succeeded in getting it released and had it despatched to Pratiṣṭhana (Paithan, District Aurangabad) in *Marahaṭhṭha maṇḍala* (Maharashtra).

The story of Delhi after its conquest by Mohammed Ghori is comparatively better known and there are enough monumental remains and records to reconstruct the same and is therefore left out of the scope of the present paper.

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10. *Shri Jinaprabha Suri Vividha tirthakalapa*, p. 45, Ed. Jina Vijaya, Singhi, Jain Series, Shantiniketan, 1938.

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Animal cult in Chalcolithic Nagda

J. S. NIGAM

ANIMALS, ever since their domestication have been regarded an essential part of cultural heritage. Man's dependence on them increased through ages, till more recently when science and technology reduced their utility to farm products. During the ancient days the cattle were viewed as wealth and power resources. The cattle were harnessed for producing food and also direct benefits like milk and hides were obtained from them. In course of time animals were carefully herded through special measures, which gradually turned into rituals. The divine roll of the cattle in the Indian civilization is evident by the discovery of the several painted terracotta models, from the chalcolithic levels at Amri (now in West Pakistan). It has been suggested that the paintings are the imitations of the real painted animals of that time.[1] Recovery of a large number of seals from the Harappan sites bearing animal motifs and also some of the painted terracotta bull figurines undoubtedly indicate the importance of the cattle during c. 2300 to 1800 B.C. The sacred book of the Indo-Aryans, the Rig Veda contains several references which bespeak of the cattle being 'regarded as wealth and divine blessings.' In the following pages an attempt is being made to discuss the three painted figures of the animals known from the chalcolithic pottery of Nagda (c. 1500 B.C. to 1000 B.C.) and their religious significance.

Nagda an ancient site and a modern village, in Ujjain District (Madhya Pradesh), has yielded three such pot-sherds in Black-on-red Ware (Malwa fabric) bearing painted animal figures, though available in fragment.

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1. Allchin, F. R. *Neolithic Cattle Keepers of South India*, (Cambridge, 1963), p. 120.

The fragment of a vase is painted with an animal figure in black. The head, horns, hump and the hind part are available. The animal is painted in the stylised form, but the presence of a raised hump over the shoulder unmistakably indicates the figure as that of a bullock. Both the horns show two wavy vertical lines representing double fillets or rope pieces fastened to them, The other pot-sherd is an example of bichrome painting. The upper horizontal band is in red pigment and the rest of the design is in black. Only the neck and the horns of the animal are available, so it is difficult to identify the animal. Like the earlier example cited above, here also both the horns have double wavy lines shooting from their tips. The wavy bands may represent strips of cloth or tassel tied to the horns of the animal. The third example, depicts the same motif with an additional feature. The group of wavy lines flowing from the tips of the horns indicate the use of four fillets or ribbons as is evident from the right horn. Another piece of cord or twined piece of cloth has been tied in between the horns.

We will now examine the religious significance of the painted animal figures discussed above. It is well known that our's is an agricultural country and has remained so since the beginning of our civilization. This fundamental reason has kept the position of the cattle high and adorable in our socio-religious thinking. In almost all parts of India to-day, the cattle are worshipped though, the occasions and the details of the rituals differ. Diwali in northern India, *Pola* and *Pongal* in Central and in Southern India respectively, are the festivals when the cattle are decorated and adorned. Nagda being located in Central India it would be useful to narrate the various rituals performed in the Central and adjoining Southern India, and where necessary the reference from the north India is given.

The festival called Pola is celebrated on the new-moon day in the month of Bhādra in parts of Central India and the neighbouring regions. It has been observed by the author of these lines while on an excavation campaign at Ujjain, that on the day of Pola, also known as *bail-Pola* the bullock is bathed. Its body is decorated with multicoloured palm-impressions. The horns and the hooves are coloured. *Kauri*-shells, small bells and trinklets together are garlanded to the cattle. Pieces of red cloth are tied to the neck and horns. In the afternoon the cattle are driven to a fixed area

and made to stand in rows. They are worshipped, flowers and garlands are offered, *tilaka* is marked on their forehead.' The *havana* is performed and *āratī* is offered. Specially prepared food is given to the bullocks. The same festival has been observed by the author during his stay at Nagpur, that on the day of Pola, the bullock is washed in the morning. Its horns and hooves are painted. A garland of small brass bells, trinklets, *kauri*-shells etc. is worn by the cattle. A piece of red silken or cotton cloth is tied to the horns or the neck. The body is covered with a decorated piece of cloth. Cattle sports are organised and the ceremony ends with the worship of the bullocks.

The universally celebrated in the parts of southern India is the festival of *Pongal*. It falls on or around *Makara Saṁkrānti* somewhere in the middle of January. The celebration continue for seven days. But *Maṭṭu Pongal* which is of our interest falls on the third day. It has been noticed that in Andhra Pradesh[2] all the domesticated cattle viz., bullock, cow, buffalo, sheep and goat are decorated in various pigments. On the forehead of the bullock are made three horizontal lines of *haldī* stippled with *kuṁkum*. Cloth festoons, paper or natural flowers, beads, *kauri*-shells etc. woven into a garland and tied to the horns. *Pongal* is cooked in the cattle-shed and offered to Sūrya and later the cattle are fed on it. This ritual is followed by cattle-sports. In the State of Madras too the festival is celebrated with zeal[3]. On the day following *Saṁkrānti* both the cow and the bullock are worshipped. They are bathed and garlanded. Their horns are painted in oil paints, *tilaka* is marked on the forehead. Sweet *pongal* is offered to the deity before cattle are fed on it, people eat it too. A new piece of silken cloth or cotton *dhotī* is tied round the neck or the horns of the bullocks

It is interesting to note that cattle are worshipped in regions of Mysore State[4] on the occasion of *Pongal* and *Diwalī* as well. On the day of *Saṁkrānti* the bullocks are bathed in the morning. The horns are painted in pink, red or golden pigments. Silken fillets are tied to the horns. A collar with small bells is worn. The body of the animal is decorated with palm-impressions of

2. Information from my colleagues Sarvaśrī B. Rajarao and I. K. Sharma.
3. Information from Shri R. Nagaswami.
4. Information from my colleagues Sarvaśrī. B. Narsiṁghmahiah and H. Varadrajan.

multiple colours. Trinklets are tied to the legs and the body is provided with a silken cover. The bullocks are worshipped, circumbulation and *āratī* is offered. A similar ritual is observed on the day of Diwalī. The cow and the bullock are bathed early in the day. Their body particularly the hind part is stamped with hot iron rings which leave permanent scars. The horns of the animal are cleaned and applied with bands of different pigments or painted in monochrome. The body is decorated with palm-impressions and stamped in diverse colours. The fillets or ribbons are tied to the horns of the bullocks only. All milch cows and bullocks are filed in rows. *kuṁkum* and *haldī* are applied on their foreheads. Offering of flowers and camphor *ārti* is made. A sweet preparation specially cooked for the occasion is given to the animals.

In the northern India Diwalī is an important festival. Besides lighting of lamps and other rituals we have *Govardhana pūjā*. The term *Govardhana* is self explanatory. It might have originally been celebrated to protect and perpetuate the cow and its progeny. On this occasion the cattle are decorated and worshipped. It is not known for certainty when this ceremony got mixed up with the legend of Krisṇa's lifting the mount *Govardhana*. One can see even in the present times that the models of this mount are made of cow-dung and worshipped. Here again one may see that the act of lifting the mount *Govardhana* symbolises the increase of the cattle wealth.

India has always remained an agricultural country. The prosperity of the society depended on the favourable monsoon and the cattle wealth. Both being essential for rich harvests, it was natural that cattle gained importance and those who herded them had to make special efforts to obtain divine blessings for the wellbeing of the cattle on whom the very survival of the society depended. As we have seen on the pot-sherds from Nāgda described here and also the modern ritual, pertaining to the cattle, it is quite convincing that the figures from Nāgda depict the tessels or the rope pieces tied to the horns being a part of the animal decoration connected with the animal worship which the chalcolithic inhabitants practised during those days. Animal cult is not confined to India. In the countries of the Mediterranean region the continuance of an old pre-Christian autumnal festival has

been observed wherein prophylatic treatment is given to the cattle by fire[5]. The Masai[6] tribe in East Africa decorate their cattle on festivals in several manners not unlike our own.

5. Allchin. op. cit. p. 127.
6. Merker, M., *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904).

Megalithic Typology and Chronology—A Restatement

K. N. DIKSHIT

Introduction

The megalithic culture of India is a subject of enormous extent. From north to south and east to west, India is having megalithic monuments but there are great differences as to the cultural mileu and in reality only a few restricted types can be regarded as common property. It is only the architectural idea that keeps these far-flung megaliths in this sub-continent as a single unit but when we concentrate our discussions on the typology and chronology then there is no unity between them. In this paper author has confined himself only with the typology and chronology of the megalithic culture of south India based on its architecture.

Typology

Much has been written about megalithic typology in India[1], though a few types do not come under the category of megalithic architecture like urn-burial, rock-cut-graves, cairn etc., but have been included in it on the basis of its identical culture-complex viz. pottery, and other finds including stone, shell, iron objects etc. In India we are not in a position to present anything like megalithic chronology even in a loose chronological order, as has been done especially in Northern Europe by Nordmann in 1935, for Sweden and by Sprockhoff in 1938 for north Germany, who based their morphological analysis of megalithic tombs on the simple classification of Montelius '*dos-ganggrift-hallkistor*' first produced in 1874 at the

1. V. D Krishnaswami, Megalithic types of South India, *Ancient India* No. 5 (1949), pp. 35-45 ; R. E. M. Wheeler, Brahmagiri and Chandravalli *1947* : *Megalithic and other cultures in the Chitaldrug District, Mysore State, Ancient India* No. 4 ; K.S. Ramachandran, A bibliography on Indian megalith's, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society of Banglore*, Vols. 52, 1961 and 53, 1962-63. (New Delhi, 1948) and N. R. Banerjee, The Iron Age in India, (Delhi) 1965.

Stockholm Congress.[2] The Montelian system of three broad classification of megalithic structures was widely used in Western Europe because it was not only a typological sequence but also presented a kind of chronological order.

In Northern Europe, the best surveyed area in the megalithic field, the dolmens mark the beginning of megalithic entombment, and the evolution of these dolmens provide a kind of typological-cum-chronological order, though it is still open to discussion[3]. Started from a box-like chamber constructed out of four boulders and one capstone, these dolmens with certain additions are provided in long run with a covered passage, thus known as passage-graves (*Ganggrab*), but along with these graves a few other types can be also seen like Hun-bed (*Hunnenbett*) or stone alignments of different forms like oval, round, trapeze and rectangular, encircling one or two dolmens and the big-dolmen (*Gropdolmen*), an erroneous word used by Sprockhoff while describing the dolmens of north-east Germany. The last type coming in this order is the stone-cist (*Steinkisten*), sometimes pierced with a big-hole, known as port-hole (*Seelenloch*). The whole body can pass through these port-holes in Northern Europe. The megaliths in Europe are generally found associated with neolithic phase, but in Denmark and Germany the earliest neolithic phase contemporary to dolmen period containd some time socketed-copper-axes also, though their economy mainly rested on stone artifacts.

In south-east Italy[4] also one can notice the chronological priority of the Otranto dolmens belonging to Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age because of the connexions with Maltese dolmens over the Bari Taranto group (characterized by long-cists) which belongs to late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age.

In 1944, Krishnaswami furnished a set of megalithic nomenclature based on definite ideas but due to the non-availability of the data in his hands, it was not possible for him to extend any

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2. C. A. Nordmann, The Megalithic culture of Northern Europe, (Helsinki, 1935) ; E. Sprockhoff, Die nordische Megalithkultur, 1935 pp. 164 ; O. Montelius, Orientenoch Europa, *Antikyarisk Tidsar*, 13. 1, 1905 and S. Müller, Nordische Altertumskunde I (1867) 55 ff.

3. Ekkehard, Aner, Die Stellung der Dolmen Schleswig—Holsteins in der nordischen Megalithkultur, *Offa*, Band 20, 1963.

4. Ruth D. Whitehouse, The Megalithic monuments of South-east Italy *Man*, (New series) vol. 2, No. 3, Sept. 1967 pp. 347-365.

chronological typology in his exploratory survey of megalithic monuments.

Basing the argument on the classification adopted in Northern Europe, the following typology can also be used in India.

1. **Dolmen**—Dolmens are reported from Sankarapuram and Kavanur, District Chingleput. The so-called dolmenoid-cist (D2 of Krishnaswami) of Kavanur is a five-sided dolmen constructed out of untrimmed granitic boulders resting on the surface. The other dolmenoid-cist (D3 of Krishnaswami) from Sanur, is a six-sided or somewhat circular dolmen. The latter seems to be slightly more evolved from the former.

Thus one can also notice in India an evolution of dolmen like that in Europe.

2. **Underground-rock-cut passage caves**—The four types of these caves[5] on the Western Ghat in Kerala region, provide a new constructional idea in south India. The entrance leads to a scooped-out chamber which is provided with rock-cut benches and square or round pillars touching the semi-circular ceilings and a circular opening through the ceiling. Some of these caves are multi-chambered and a few of them have also yielded small-sized sarcophagi. It can be also defined as an experiment of underground passage graves, as in Portugal[6] and are frequently noticed in the countries of Spain, Portugal, Malta, Sardinia, Palestine and Ethiopia, but the use of ledges or benches for the deposit of burials was a new feature in Palestine and in other countries of North Africa which was carried over well into the later Iron age in the popular 'bench tomb' type[7].

The terracotta legged sarcophagus with peculiar moulded animal heads on the lids, are sometimes reported from dolmens, rock-cut caves and cairn-circles in south India. Similar plain or anthropoid clay coffins with or without legs were also noticed from the iron bearing Philistine tombs of about 12th century B.C. The clay coffins from Beth-shan in Palestine have peculiar head-dress

5. Y. D. Sharma, Rock-cut Caves in Cochin, *Ancient India* No. 12 pp. 93-115.
6. Correia Verggilio, El Neolitico de Paviya, Commision de Investigaciones paleont. y prehist. *Memoria* 27, Madrid 1921.
7. Jane C. Waldbaum, Philistine Tombs at Tell Fara and their Aegean Prototypes, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 70, No. 4, Oct. 1966, pp. 331-340 ; Dr. H. Sraube of Cologne University has told me at Cologne that the similar plans of Cochin rock-cut caves can be also seen at Kunama in North Ethopia.

moulds on the lid. This practice appears to be derived from Egyptians through Cannanites. In the neighbourhood of Baghdad, an oblong, short legged terracotta sarcophagus has parallel to those found in south India.

3. **Menhir**—The presence of menhir, a single monolith set up near or at a burial spot in south India is interesting but 'satisfactory associations for menhirs or standing stones are scarcely obtainable.'

4. **Topi Kallu** (Umbrella-stones)—A solid lateritic dome resting on four inwardly leaning and tapering stones covering a pit-burial is known as Topi Kallu ; an indeginous type having no known parallel outside India and is confined only to Kerala region.

5. **Kuda Kallu** (Hood-stone)—It is a solid dome-shaped lateritic block resting directly on the surface covering a pit burial. Confined to Kerala, this type is also known only in India.

6. **Cist**—From Brahmgiri and Chandravalli and from the lateritic zone of Chingleput region are generally found the megaliths of this type. It is a box-like chamber inserted after scooping out the natural surface. Such constructions of four orthostats constructed out of granitic slabs ranging from 0·9m. to 0·12m. with port-hole in one of them, are much later in the megalithic hierarchy of North Africa and Europe. Similar small cists excluded from the class of megalithic monuments were prevalent in Western Asia and Europe in Bronze Age times but as these cists in India are having port-holes so they can be placed in the category of megaliths[8].

The Indian megaliths can be classified in following three groups :—

1. Imported types
   Dolmen, Rock-cut-caves, Menhir and Cist.
2. Indigenous types
   (a) Imbibed from the contemporary cultures—Urn and Extended burial.
   (b) Topi Kallu and Kuda Kallu.
3. Origin not established
   Cairn, Cairn-circle, Tumulus etc.

It seems that Indian megaliths are composed of different types, introduced by different people at different times, The main types are imported but at the same time a few independent types were

8. V. C. Childe, Megaliths, *Ancient India* No. 4, pp. 4-13.

also invented. The burial practices of the contemporary cultures prevalent at that time were also incorporated, as happened even in Northern Europe and West Asia. It is difficult to say anything regarding the types categorised under 'origin not established' because their intrusion from outside India and also about independent evolution are both debtable.

Chronology

Results of recent archaeological excavations in south India revealed a slow evolution of the neolithic pattern of life. In due course, however, metal and architecture along with the painted pottery made their appearance. The maximum span of this culture can be bracketed within *C.* 2300—1000 B.C. The late phase of neolithic period overlaps with the megalithic monuments in south India, as for the first time in 1965 at Hallur,[9] a habitational area near the dolmen-activities, has been dated to the close of the 2nd millennium B.C. (T.F. 573 : 945±100 B.C. and T.F. 570 : 1005±105 B.C.) and in the same way the cists in the neighbourhood of Bainapally to the begining of the third century B.C. (T.F. 350 : 380±105 B.C.)[10]. The cist with a short passage at Brahmgiri, stone benches in the cists at Porkalam and Sulur, three pillars inside the circular cists supporting a capstone at Terdal and a cist of the cross type having pillars along the principal axis at Halingali, might have received the inspiration from the rock-cut passage graves of Kerala. The cists are also overlapping at places with Āndhra-Śatavāhan period.

Conclusion

It appears that dolmen is the forerunner in the chronological order in India like that of Europe and North Africa, but at what interval these and other types entered India is difficult to explain in the present state of our knowledge because once a type came on the scene it persisted for a longer time as can be seen in the dolmens at Sanur.

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9. Information from Dr. M. S. Nagarajarao, while the author visited Cambridge University in 1966.
10. D. P. Agarwal and S. Kusumgar, Radio Carbon dates of samples from southern neolithic sites, *Current Science*, Dec. 5, 1966, pp. 585-586.

Unto the Śiva Temple of Indonesia

DR. LOKESH CHANDRA

ON the cool morning of the 11th of this January my sister Dr. Mrs. Sudarshana Singhal and me stood at Palam. The affection of our father Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira rippled through the long expanse of four years, blessing us on a journey to Indonesia to which he had endeared us by the innumerable palmleaf manuscripts, cloth paintings, objets d'art in wood and bone that he had lovingly collected, preserved and introduced to us. This silent convocation of Indonesian culture treasured in the impressive halls of Sarasvatī Vihāra is an impelling invitation to stroll through the Archipelago and to see with our own eyes of flesh and blood her splendors, both ancient and modern, which entrance an Indian by their community of Spirit and Form with us. As we flew over the clouds, sensitively hued by the rays of the Sun, it reminded us of the subtly shaded dynamics of the Soul of our ancient forbears who had carried India's cultural spectrum to the isles of Indonesia. After an overnight stop at Singapore we were winging towards Jakarta, whose long and turbulent history has a nomenclatorial significance for us. In the beginning Jakarta was named Sunda Kelapa and was already an important harbour-town of the Sundanese kingdom of Pajajaran. Then it was seized by the Sultan of Bantam who called it by the significant name of Jayakerta or the "City of Victory." It is a perfect word of its own in the rich classical language of Indonesia termed Kawi or the 'tongue of poets', which rhapsodies in the music of Sanskrit words. By the screwy slant of history, at this very time the first Portuguese and Dutch ships arrived, followed by Spanish, British and French ships. All of them tried to gain control of Jayakerta and this led to differences of opinion among them. Fights ensued among the

foreigners. The Sultan of Bantam sided with the British, but they were defeated by the Dutch. In revenge the Dutch razed to the ground the capital of the Bantam Sultan and established a new trading post of their own with a fortress on the shore. The very name of the former city was blotted out and the newly arisen fortress town was baptised "Batavia" after a tribe of the Netherlands. During the centuries of Dutch domination the name Batavia remained. And when at last sovereignty was formally transferred to Indonesia on 27 December 1949, the ceremony took place in Jakarta and on the very next day, by a special decree, the city 'took back' its former name, now forever abbreviated to Jakarta. Political independence echoed in cultural assertion.

The roads of Indonesia are the paradise of a "wordwatcher". On the very first day as we drove with H.E. Shri P. Ratnam, the Indian Ambassador, through Jakarta, the signboards of the shops unfurled a wonderland of Sanskrit names which we may hardly dream of in our own metropolis of Delhi. Two firms bore the name of *Margabhakti* and *Tribhakti*, reminding of the faith that still finds an affirmative response in the linguistic affluence of Sanskritic culture. During the regime of Sukarno the building of prestigious monuments gave rise to a number of huge construction works which go by the Sanskrit term '*Karya*'. As the car sped by sky-kissing buildings, I could crimp out on my diary the names of *Adi Karya*, *Bina Karya*, and *Wirama Karya*. Adi is Sanskrit *adhi* अधि denoting excellence, for an excelling may best be expressed by an Indonesian in exalted language. While in India we may find the name 'Excelsior' the eye can surely never meet the Sanskrit prefix *Adhi*. *Bina*, the vīṇā of Sarasvatī, and *Wirama* reminds the culture-loving Indonesian of his great kakawins or *kakawins of kāvyas* by the eminent poets of the golden period of his history. Yet a fourth constructional firm bore the poetic name of *Kusuma Nagara*. The life insurance corporation of Indonesia has the name of Jivashraya. A souvenir shop had the name *Pentjar arta*or पञ्च अर्थ where five stands for varied diversity and a number that awakens in the mind of the Indonesian his favourite *Pañca-Pāṇḍava*, the symbols of his cultural inheritance and the source of his joy perennial. As we rushed by the Press Club of Jakarta, it had the sign *Wisma Warta*. While warta is "news", wisma eluded its Sanskrit identification for several days, until at least it revealed its true form as the Sanskrit *veśma* वेश्म 'chamber'. Another construction company baffled

identification by its *Nindya Karya*. One day as we were driving past it along with Mr. Pudja, a former student at the Śarasvatī Vihāra and now the head of the Hindu Religion Department of Java, we could not resist the temptation of asking him its etymology, It turned out to be the Sanskrit *nidrā* निद्रा which had changed into mellifluous *nindyā* by the disappearance of the harsh '*r*'. How antithetic is the languid and indolent word *nindya* to the brisk activity of construction. As I tried to point out the irony of the name, Mr. Pudja's literary sensibilities made him beseach me. "Do you not feel the music of nindya, every syllable is so sweet. We Indonesians love the melody of such lovely words. Do you not love it ?" The entreating question of Mr. Pudja awoke in me the mellifluous kakawins of Rāmāyaṇa, Arjuna-vivāha, Bhomakāvya and a host of others, and the spell of their poetic magic held sway over me. Mr. Pudja, our historic kinsman in Dharma, now stood akin in the alluring charm of the poetry of Sanskrit words. As these thoughts flit across my mind, the car came to a stop in front of our destination—the bookshop called *Gunung Agung*. Word by word, Gunung Agung means "the Great Mountain" and it is the Abode of Śiva, in the lap of an ever-afire volcano of Bali, a flaming counterpart of the snowcapped Mount Kailāsa. As we climbed up the third storey of the bookshop "Gunung Agung" where serious books could be seen, it was all "SWA-SEWAYĀ"—unaided we had to fumble through the shelves of books to find those that interested us. It was a "self service" store. The word invites you, it allures you. We in India have yet to make alive, honour, enrich and admire the subtly shaded sensitivity inherent in our words. Our friend Mr. Pudja pointed out the renaissance of classical literature that was taking place in rejuvenated Indonesia. The Śākuntalā has been extracted from the Indonesian Mahābhārata and translated into modern Bahasa Indonesia. The Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata has come out in modern Indonesian. The Bratayuda is Bhāratayuddha or the Mahābhārata in a modern garb. Jayaprana is a poignant lay of ancient fame, couched in a modern expression, a new balled in 'our' form and begun on a day on which 'soft fell the rain'. Another book was titled Sabda Paṇḍita, picturing Yudhiṣṭhira and Mārkaṇḍeya on its dustcover, Classical Kawi is taught throughout Java the hub of Indonesia's economic, political and cultural life. To teach Kawi the Indonsian scholars have produced a selection called *Purwashastra*. The

bookshop of Gunung Agung had hundreds of copies of this Purwashastra. Another equally popular book "*Suara Vivekananda*" or Voice of Vivekānanda which was to be seen here, there and everywhere on the shelves—attested to the vogue of Vivekānanda in the spiritual life of Indonesia. It was prefaced by President Sœkarno : "Swāmi Vivekānanda ! What a name !" A voluminous work of Prof. Yamin attracted our eyes : "*Tatanegara* (नगरतत्त्व) *Majapahit Sapta parwa.*" What a title ! Sapta Parva are its seven sections. The word *parwa* is reminiscent of the Aṣṭādaśa Parva as a Mahābhārata is known to an Indonesian. Parva evokes in the Indonesian mind the grandeur of epic dimension and diction. And it is appropriate to the book, for does it not detail the glories of Hindu Majapahit, the last great dynasty of Indonesia, which held sway over dominions bigger than her present-day boundaries and which the modern islamised Indonesian truly and rightly holds in reverence and adoration as the Golden Age of his story, his own history. As we were coming out of the bookshop immersed in books, Mr. Pudja broke the silence and enthusiastically told us that the owner of the bookshop was a Muslim formerly. He had become enchanted by the modernity of Hindu philosophy and had embraced Hinduism and was now active in publishing Hindu literature. He was particularly interested in bringing out the Mahābhārata in Bahasa Indonesia—for it is a book over which death has no dominion and it lives forever regaling the child in the *wayang shadow play* and deepening into his mind as the years roll by. Mr. Pudja continued that the people of Java have a deep-seated belief in the *Ramalang Joyoboyo* or Prophecy of Jayabhaya which forecast the rule of the Dutch, the Japanese occupation and the internecine civil strife of October 1966. This Prophecy of Joyoboyo has predicted that by 1976 Joyoboyo would come back and the whole of Java would return to its former glories of Hindu Majapahit. And Mr. Pudja went on to say that the process had been set in motion. There were nine million descendants of those undaunted Javanese who had retreated into the remote fastnesses of the forests when they could no longer resist the onslaught of Islam in the 15th-16th centuries and had preserved their traditions and styled themselves as '*Kajawéng*' or 'The Javanese', for the purity of Java lived unto them. These ninety lacs of Kajawéng had *returned* to the glories of their ancestral fold of Hinduism. Their word "*kembalih ke Agama Leluhur*" means "to return to the Āgama of their

Ancestors". Today they are fired with enthusiasm to delve into their long lost Dharma. These Hindus crave for translations of Hindu scriptures like the Bhagavad Gītā. They are in urgent need of a printing press.

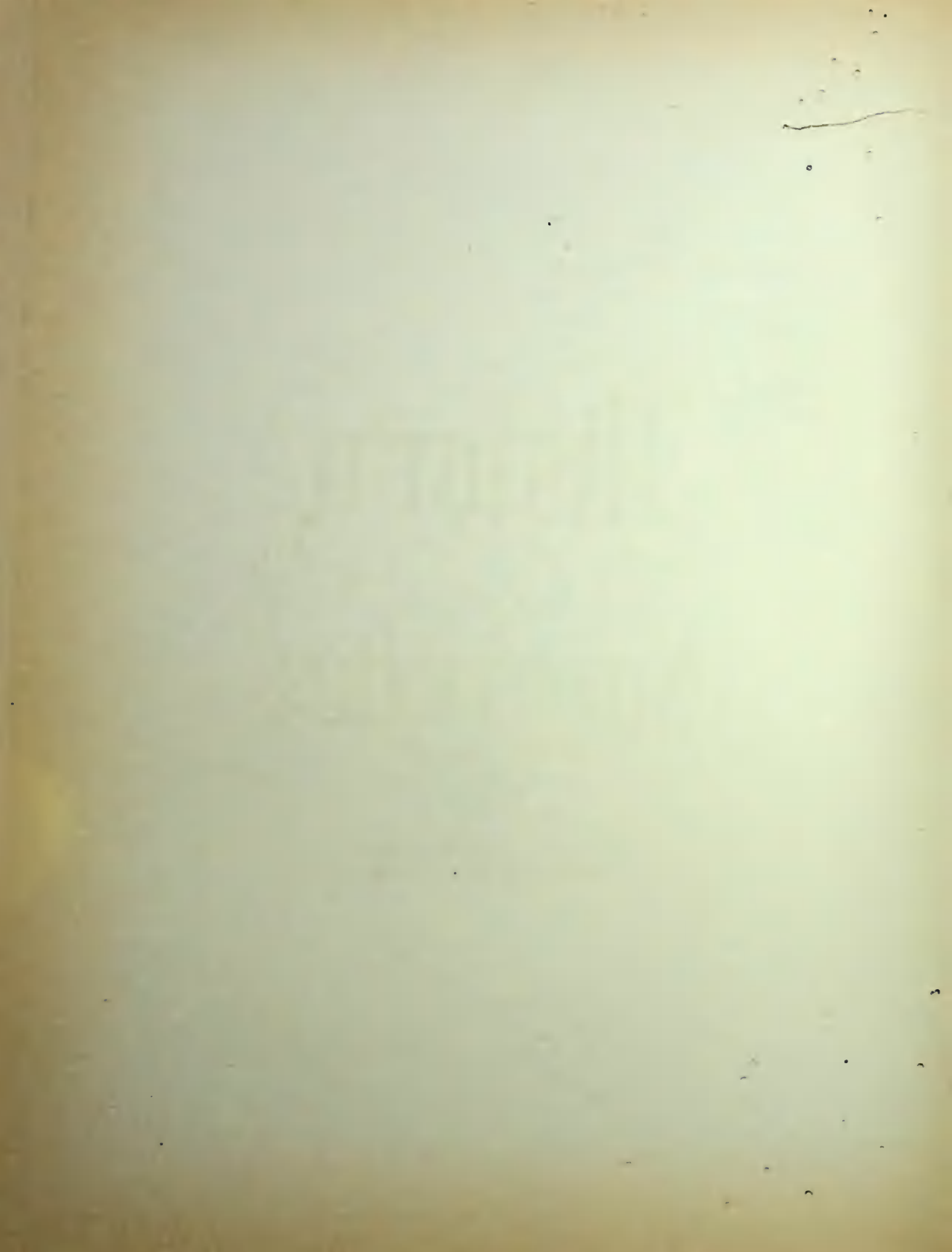
Let us fly out of the brick and mortar of Jakarta, away from the speeding fleets of cars, away from the din and turmoil of the metropolitan city, into the smiling fields of Prambanan, into the harmony of man's spirit with the spirit of nature, rising out of her into the immensity of the sky-kissing temple of Śiva. All our way from Jogyakarta it had rained. As we approached the temple complex of Prambanan lavish sunshine of the Indonesian sky greeted us as the central śikhara of the main temple of śiva held us in its enthralling height of over 140 feet, as if sprung from immortal life, a life that is immense (*prāṇo virāṭ* प्राणो विराट्). The entire complex of Prambanan comprises 16 temples in the inner courtyard and 224 minor temples—a marvellous architectonic composition, reminding you of an unknown master sitting in an ancient morning to weave the trembling melodies of meditation into the permanence of stone. Built at the beginning of the tenth century by King Balituṅg, it lost its splendor as the royal residence moved to East Java. After centuries of neglect, the temples collapsed in an earthquake about 1549 A.D. Ever since this marvel has lived in the lyric of legend, recounted by endless generations of simple peasant folk.

The legend goes that Bandung Bondowoso, the son of the sorcerer Damar Moyo (Māyāchandra), was engaged by the king of Pengging to kill Ratu Boko. the giant king, who wished to marry his adopted son to the beautiful daughter of the king. Aided by the magic of his father, Bondowoso attacked the giant army and finally killed Ratu Boko, by heaving him bodily into a lake, where he was drowned. As a reward the king of Pengging made Bondowoso his regent in the territories of Ratu Boko. Now Ratu Boko had a pretty daughter named Loro Jonggrang and Bondowoso aspired to her hand. She knew him for the slayer of her father, and fearing to refuse him outright, tried to put him off by imposing an impossible task as the price of her hand. Bondowoso must dig within one day six deep wells in six great buildings, the like of which no mortal eye had ever seen, decorated with a thousand images of the kings and legendary rulers of Prambanan. Bondowoso, the son of the sorcerer, had no difficulty in summoning sufficient

gnomes to do the work and towards daybreak the task was almost finished. By a little magic of her own, Loro Jonggrang succeeded in preventing the placing of the thousandth statue, only nine hundred and ninety-nine being present, when the cock crowed and the time was up. Bondowoso was furious at his frustration, and lacking one statue of a ruler of Prambanan, he thundered out that the daughter of a ruler would do as well, pronouncing to Loro Jonggrang a curse, and changed her into stone. So is the legend about the establishment of the temple complex of Prambanan, which is also called the "Chandi Loro Jonggrang". It has ever been the pride of the Indonesians who to this very day proclaim that even in this modern time, no nation can match the skilll, such as we see at Prambanan. Since 1918 the Archaeological Service of Indonesia has been busy restoring the colossal central temple of Śiva by the system of anastylosis, where each and every stone that is lying fallen near the temple or has been carried away by the village folk has to be collected, photographed and jigsawed into its appropriate placement by a painstaking and thorough study of the joinings, chisel-marks, the depicted legends and stylistic patterns. By December 1953 the reconstruction of the main Śiva-temple was completed—A marvel of archaeological engineering.

In the Prambanan complex Hindu-Javanese art reached the culmination of its florescence. In largeness of conception and daring in composition it surpassed all former creations. The 224 peripheral temples reach an imposing height of 45 feet and represent the 224 universes of the cosmological system of the Śaiva Siddhānt according to Bhuvana-koṣa. I was able to obtain a palmleaf manuscript of this Bhuvanakoṣa from a learned brahmin at Denpasar (Bali). While these peripheral temples may correspond to the Chakravāda mountains, the eight temples in the inner court may be the eight pinnacles of the Mānasa mountains. Though a precise interpretation awaits research, it is certain that the temples and sub-temples reflect the cosmography of intuition, the symbolisation of the infinite possibilities of experience lying in the depths of our subconscious whereby we may cross over the world of time and form. Winding through the subtemples architecturing the manifoldness of the inner world, the visitor moves on into the unity of primordial consciousness symbolised in Śiva in the central temple. It is like a journey along the spiritual path away from the world of space and time to the timeless omnipresence of cosmic consciousness.

There we stood in front of the statue of Śiva towering over us and over the moulds of time and space. In the soft transparency of the twilight of this sanctum sanctorum, we could feel music of Sanskrit stotras sung centuries ago. As I myself recited a Sanskrit śloka, it resounded back singing into the deeps of a mysterious wellspring of spiritual strata. The accoustics of the soaring spire, enriched by the melodies of a millenium, has a lyrical way of growing on you. There I stood in the eternal serenity of the statue of Lord Śiva, consubstantiated in Supreme Vision, me and my Śiva alone—तदावशिष्ट: शिव: केवलोऽहं, शिव: केवलोऽहम् । This Śiva of Prambanan summons you, brothers, to the serene beatitude of ecstasy. Let us go and kindle a lamp unto the sacred shades of this sanctum.

DR. ADITYANATH JHA
FELICITATION VOLUME

Antiquity of the Indus Civilization

KAILASH CHANDRA VARMA

SIR John Marshall had dated the Indus civilization, on the basis of the prevailing chronology of Mesopotamia, 3250-2750 B.C.[1] and stated that an antecedent period of a thousand years[2] was required to bring it to the level of development, at which it was revealed, in the lowest excavated stratum, dated to 3250 B.C., thus taking the origin back to 7000 B.C. or earlier[3].

II. The discoveries of Andre Parrot, at Mari, a few years before the outbreak of the World War II, revolutionised the chronology of Western Asia. At present, various Assyriologists place Sargon of Akkad in the date bracket 2475-2303 B.C. and the corresponding date bracket for Hammurabi is between 1880-1728 B.C.[4] The researches of Benno Landberger, created in the mind

1. *Mohenjodro and the Indus Civilization* (1931), Vol. I, p. 144. Prof. Weidner (quoted by Patrilk Carlton, *Buried Empires* (1939), p. 69) dated Sargon in 2637 B. C. and the First Dynasty of Babylon 2057 B. C. ; H. R. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*,(1961), p. 29, following L.W. King and Lehmann Haupt dated Sargon 2700 and the First Dynasty, 2225 B. C. Patrick Carlton, *Op. Cit. p. 69*, dated them 2568 B. C. and 2057 B. C. ; Sidney Smith himself, 1928, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 76 dated Sargon 2528 B. C. and the First Dynasty of Babylon, 2030 B. C.
2. *Marshal, Op Cit.*, pp. 102-103.
3. *Marshall, Op. Cit.* pp. 102-104.
4. Andre Parrot, *Discovering Buried Worlds*, (1954), p. 77, dates Sargon 2475 B.C. and Hammurabi, 1792 B.C.; Sidney Smith (revised chronology), *Alalakh and Chronology*, (1940), p. 29, assigns 2370 B C. to Sargon and 1792 B.C. to Hammurabi; supported by Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom*, Penguin, (1953), p. 66, on the basis of excavations at Atchana, in Turkish Hatay, and O.R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, 1961, p. 217, on the ground that acceptance of W.F. Albright's date 1729 B.C. for Hammurbi would introduce complications in Hittite chronology; Pallis, *Antiquity of Iraq*, (1956), assigns 2303 B.C. to Sargon and 1792 B.C to Hammurabi,. Echard Unger and Sideresky (quoted by Pallis) date Hammurabi 1880 and 1848 B.C respectively.

of Svend Aagl Pallis, the conviction that a date for Hammurabi, acceptable to all, is impossible to achieve[5]. The generally accepted dates for the two rulers are about 2400 B.C. for the former and about 1792 B.C. for the latter.

III. This revision of Mesopotamian chronology had its inevitable repercussion on the dates assigned to the Indus civilization. Mortimer Wheeler and Stuart Piggott essayed the task with vengeance, and ignoring or misunderstanding or misinterpreting all evidence pointing to a higher antiquity, dated it 2500-1500 B.C.[6] Apart from the necessity of lowering the dates on account of revision in Mesopotamian chronology, the main motive of the two scholars, made abundantly clear in their writings, either specifically or by implication, was to establish, somehow, that the Indus civilization had been largely borrowed or inspired by the Sumerian civilisation (of the Early Dynastic III phase) and that it was destroyed by the 'barbarian hordes' of Aryans, led by their Warlord 'Indra', in the fifteenth century B.C., the conventional date, of Western scholars, for the advent of Aryans on the soil of India. They are, thus entitled to an honourable place in that band of scholars, which in earlier days, had been graced by men like Weber, Whitney, Biot, Keith[7] and others,

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5. Pallis, *Antiquity of Iraq, 1956* p. 481.

6. Wheeler, *Ancient India, No 3,* p. 82 and *Dawn of Civilisation,* 1961, p. (230) (edited by S. Pigggott); Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India to 1000 B.C.,* (Pelican). 2950, pp. 213 and 243.

7. Aurther Berridale Keith, Prof. of Sanskrit, University of Edinburg, had somehow to deny the antiquity of the Vedic civilization, by denying the real import of the famous K ṛittikā passage of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* and hence referred with approval, without citing any evidence, to the attempt of Lehmann Haupt, to revive (again without any evidence) the Theory of Babylonian origin of the Indian Lunar nakṣatra zodiac, originally propounded by Weber, supported by Whitney (without any evidence) and refuted by Max Müller, his Text of *Ṛgveda,* Vol. IV, 1962, Preface and his India, *What can It Teach Us,* (1882), p. 126 ; Agnes Mary Clerke, *Encyclopaedea Brittainica, XIth Edition,* 1922, pp. 995-996, Article *Zodiac.* For further refutation see. B.V. Kameswara Aiyar, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,* (Bangalore), Vol. XII, 1921-22, pp. 171-193, 223-246, 357-366 ; *"Age of the Brāhmaṇas".* Also Gorakh Prasad, *J.B. & O.R.S.,* Vol. XXI, 1935, pp. 120-136 ; N.N. Law, *I.H.Q.,* Vols. XXXVI and XXXVII, Supplement, pp. 151-155. Also see. footnotes 7, 11 and 170.

a class, to which the very idea that India could achieve, on her own, anything great or original, was an anathema.

IV. The palm has to be awarded, however, to D. P. Agarwal, who has outdone Wheeler himself, and shutting out evidence from stratigraphy, ceramics and paleography of the Indus script and on the basis of a date of sample No. TF-75, from a late Harappan level, about whose freedom from contamination grave doubts may be entertained, determined by C-14 process, prescribed the date bracket 2300-1750 B.C.[8] Dr. Walter T. Fairservis Jr. also seems to favour even lower dates, for the Indus civilization.[9] By a strange twist of Fate, while Agarwal and Fairservis were pressing for ultra low dates, Wheeler was being constrained to admit that his earlier date bracket, 2500-1500 B.C. was 'excessively conservative' and C-14 dates were unreliable.[10] This amazingly sustained effort of some scholars to assign lowest possible dates to the Indus civilisation is on par with a similar effort, of a much longer duration, which has sought to give ultra low dates to the Vedic literature. In both cases, the protagonists of low dates have ignored, twisted or completely misunderstood all evidence which unmistakably points to a higher antiquity, the one for the Vedic literature and the other for the Indus civilization. Such has been the obsession of many scholars, who advocate 1500 B.C. for the Vedic literature, that they avoid even mention of the names of great scholars like Lokmanya Balgangadhar Tilak, H. Jacobi, Sten Konow, Kameswara Aiyar, Jayaswal, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and many others, who have, on the basis of almost unanswerable evidence, advocated high dates for the Vedic civilization and literature. The present writer can testify from personal experience (he had discussions with three professors of Sanskrit of three leading European universities during the International Congress of Orientalists, held in 1964 at Delhi) that the minds of these low date advocates are as closed on one end as the minds of the orthodox pandits, specially the Aryasamājists, on the other. Just as the

8. *Science*, Vol 143, (1964), pp 950-952.
9. *Chronology of the Harappan Civilization and the Aryan Invasions*, *Man*, Vol. 56, Art. 173 and his lecture, April 20, (1968), Archaeological Survey of India, Hq., New Delhi.
10. Press Interview, *Statesman, New Delhi*, March 19, (1965) ; F.A. Durrani, *Ancient Pakistan, Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology, Univervity of Peshawar*, Vol. II, (1965-1966), p. 238.

latter declare the Veda to be *anādi*, coevel with Creation; the former regard Max Müller's halting attempt to date the Veda, so sacred, as to challenge which amounts to damnable heresy. Similarly the name of K.N. Sastri is never mentioned by the advocates of low date for the Indus civilization and so great is their influence, even now, that hardly any publication alludes to his work. It is at least permissible to ask why ?[11]

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11. The German scholar Husing (quoted by Winternitz, A *Hist. of India Lt*, Vol. I, p. 307, dated *Ṛgveda* to 2nd century B.C. ! Max Müller, *Hisit. of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, (1859), p. 295, Preface to his Text of the *Ṛgveda*, (1862.) Vol. IV, pp. v-vii, assumed that the minimum period required for each of the four strata of Vedic Literature was 200 years. Scholars like W.D. Whitney, Saint Hillaire and above all, the great H.H. Wilson, voiced their protests against such low dates. Wilson's remarks, still valid today, may be seen in the *Edinburgh Review*, (1860), pp. 375 quoted by Max Müller and the introduction to his trs. of the *Ṛigveda*, 1886, 2nd Ed. Vol. I, *First Astaka*, p. xiv. Martin Haugh, trs. of *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, (1863), Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 47-48, which is a far better performance than the translation of Keith, gave reasons to date the Vedic Lit. 2400 B.C. ; Vincent Smith, *Oxford Hist. of India*, p. 8, seems to agree with it. Max Müller acknowledged the force of criticism, and remarked, 'I need hardly say that I agree with almost every word of my critics.' (Preface to Text of *Ṛigveda*, Vol. IV, p. vii and xiii). A change is indicated, in Max Müller's views, in his *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, (1890), p. 14, where he states, 'Whether the Vedic hymns were composed 1000 or 1500 or 2000 or 3000 years B.C., no power on earth will ever determine.' Lok. B.G. Tilak and H. Jacobi, were the first to use astronomical data dealing with Vedic ritual, months, ritus, solstices year and the nakṣatra zodiac (lunar). See Tilak's *Orion* and Jacobi's "on the Date of the *Ṛigveda*," Eng. Trs,, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 23, (1894), pp. 154, pp. 154-159, Both dated the Vedic Civilisation to 4500—4000 B.C. G. Bühler, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 23, (1894), pp. 238-242 supported their views ; but they were adversely criticised by W.D. Whitney, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 24, (1895), pp. 361-369, and G. Thibaut, in the same journal, Vol. 24, pp. 85-100. Kameswara Aiyar examined the whole problem, in full detail, and in *QJMS* Vol. XII, 1921-22, pp. 171-193, 223-246, 357-366, published his views under the title "Age of the Brāhmaṇas." Partly on the basis of the same passages as cited by Tilak and Jacobi and, many others, he showed that the Brāhmaṇa literature cannot be begun later than 2500-2000 B.C. ; and in the process demolished the objections of Keith Macdonell, Whitney and above all those of Thibaut, who had failed to take into account many important passages in the Brāhmaṇa literature. Similarly Gorakh Prasad, *J.B. & O.R.S.* Vol. XXI, (1935), pp. 120-136, again discussed the passages specially the Kṛittikā passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and after showing the hollowness of the arguments of Macdonell, Keith and

(*Contd. on next page*)

V. The chronology of the Indus civilization is linked with that of Mesopotamia and the latter in its turn, during the Uruk Jamdetnasr periods, is linked with that of Egypt. The fluidity of Western Asiatic chronology, to which a passing reference has been made in paragraph II of this paper, is well illustrated by the candid admission of Falkenstein, "But the period before 1450 B.C. is a kind of chronological dark age extending all over Western Asia with a historical tradition so clouded that we cannot tell how many years passed between 1450 B.C. and the preceding era, where for nearly eight centuries, we have a perfectly good idea of what is going on, i. e. we have a well-established 'relative chronology' for the era, from the Dynasty of Akkad to the end of the Dynasty of Hammurabi, which means we know the succession of kings and can add the lengths of the reigns, but the dark period of unknown length following it leaves a period of 700 years floating unanchored in time with respect of our calendar".[12] But the chaos before the rise of Sargon is even more staggering; the admissions of Assyriologists and Egyptologists are extremely revealing :

(a) M. B. Rowton has stated in clearest possible terms,

Winternitz, showed that the Kṛittikā passage has to be dated 2500 B.C. and the Ṛigveda to 4000 B.C. In 1947, P.C Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, (Calcutta University, 1947), pp. 60, 155, discussed the astronomical passages in the Vedic Lit. and in some cases furnished even stronger reasons in support of the chronology of Tilak, Jacobi, Agnes Mary Clerke, Articles on Zodiac, *Enc. Britanica* (*XIth Ed.*, 1922), Vol. 28, pp. 995-996, supported the 2500 B.C. date for the *śatpatha Brāhmaṇa*. Finally N.N. Law, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vols. XXXVI and XXXVII, supplement, (159 pages) examined in detail the objections of Whitney and Thibaut, against Tilak, Jacobi, and demonstrated how the conditions imposed by Whitney had been more than fulfilled by Tilak and how Thibaut had to contradict himself, frequently, in criticising Tilak, Jacobi on astronomical grounds, finds support on historical grounds from Jayaswal, *J.B. & O.R.S.*, Vol. I, (1915), pp. 69-116 and Vol. III, (1917), pp. 246-262, where he shows that the commencement of the Bṛhadratha, Dynasty is to be dated to about 1727 B.C. : also G.S. Basu, Purāṇapraveśa (in Bāngli) supports the same, by dating Ikṣhavāku, the first king of the Solar dynasty of Ayodhyā to about 4000 B.C., by an analysis of generation interval based on biological statistical data and the yugas, and generations etc. mentioned in the Purāṇas. Such a correspondence between generation interval, the historical data and astronomical chronology is not possible, if the date of commencement of the Vedic civilisation is brought down lower than about 4000 B.C.

12. *The Near East : The Early Civilisations*, (1967), p. 10.

'The chronology of every country in Western Asia bristles with problems'.[13] And again, 'Even from this brief discussion of the chronology of the Old Sumerian period it should be clear that with each searching step we sink deep in conjecture and uncertainty.'[14]

(b) The eminent G. J. Gadd has stated that Enmebaragisi, the twenty-second king of First Dynasty of Kish, after the Flood, celebrated in Mesopotamian myth and legend, whose inscription was found in a level ascribed to Early Dynastic II and, who is alleged to be one generation earlier than Mesannipadda, the founder of the First Dynasty of Ur,[15] (and Mesannipadda is assigned to Early Dynastic III), was also earlier by one generation from the famous Gilgamesh who himself was contemporary of Agga, son of Enmebaragisi; thus Gilgamesh and Mesannipadda are made contemporaries. Yet he places seven rulers in Uruk, between Urlagal, a son or more probably a descendent of Gilgamesh, and Akalam-Dug of the Royal Cemetry of Ur, which is earlier than Mesannipadda, and dates Enmebaragisi 2700 B. C., and Mesannipadda 2550 B.C.[16], thus implying that one generation equals 150 years. It may be mentioned that Rowton also dates Enmebaragisi, 2700 B. C. and Mesannipadda, 2550 B.C. and makes the former an elder contemporary of Gilgamesh.[17]

(c) A test of ashes found in the early Al' Ubaid stratum, at the northern site of Tepe Gawra, has indicated, by C-14 process, a date about 3400 B.C., which is much lower than expected on archaeological grounds, for the Al' Ubaid period. On the other hand another attempt to measure the interval which lies between the Al' Ubaid period and the First Royal inscription—that of Enmebaragisi by a calculation of the rate of the deposit at a site in continuous occupation, at Khafaje—gave a result between fortyfirst and thirtyeighth centuries B. C. for the invention of writing, and that this again is long after the end of the Al' Ubaid period.[18] As it is admitted that writing is a product of the Uruk period, this implies that the beginning of Uruk period cannot be dated below 4000 B.C. It also means that it took about a thousand years or

13. *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. I, Ch. VI (revised 1962), p. 23.
14. *Ibid,* p. 53.
15. *Ibid,* Ch. XIII, revised (1964), p. 17-18, and inside backcover.
16. *Ibid,* inside backcover.
17. *Ibid,* Ch. VI, revised (1962), p. 66.
18. *Ibid,* Ch. XIII, revised (1964), p. 18.

more, for the art of writing to develop from the primitive scarcely understood pictographs to the cuneiform writing of inscriptions dated 2700 B.C., of Early Dynastic II.[19] Thus it would be justifiable to allow a similar period of development for the Indus Valley script before the first inscriptions of the lowest excavated levels on mound AB dated 2500 B. C. by Wheeler, and the commencement of writing in the Indus Valley may, thus, bateded to about 4000-3500 B. C. as postulated by Dr. G. R. Hunter.

(d) Sir Leonard Woolley assigns Mesannipadda to 2700 B.C.[20] and it is admitted that he belongs to Early Dynastic III; yet other scholars place him in 2900 B. C.[21] and some others in 2550 B.C. Frankfort dates him to Early Dynastic III-B, while Edith Porada places him in Early Dynastic III-A.[22]

(e) The flood, celebrated in Mesopotamian tradition and Myth, is assigned by Woolley to the Al'Ubaid Period (3500 B.C.)[23]; but others like Patrick Garlton[24], and Krammer[25] consider that it occurred at the end of the Jamdetnasr period (some date the end of this period to 3100 B.C., others bring it down to 2750 B.C.) C. J. Gadd, while admitting that the arguments of Woolley cannot be brushed aside easily; he himself seems somewhat hesitant.[26]

(f) Adam Falkenstein states that the Assyriologists are able to give only broadly approximate dates to periods before the Dynasty of Akkad and that too for the last phase known as Early Dynastic III. The base these dates on the succession of rulers of Lagash from Ur-Nanshe to Urukagina (who was conquered by Lugalzaggisi or Uruk, perhaps a decade or two he himself was overwhelmed by Sargon of Akkad). This Legash Dynasty lasted 120 years. The Sumerian King list is unreliable before the time of Sargon.[27]

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19. *Ibid,* p 18.
20. *Excavations at Ur.,* (1954), pp. 16, 252.
21. *Ibid,* p. 16 ; and Patrick Carlton, *Buried Empires,* (1939), p. 69.
22. *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology,* Chicago, (1965), pp. 162-163.
23. *Excavation at Ur.,* (1954), pp. 34-35 ; but Al'Ubaid should end about 4100 B.C. C.J. Gadd, *Cam. Ancient Hist.* Vol. I, Ch. XIII (rev. 1964) p. 17.
24. *Buried Empires,* (1939), p. 64-65.
25. *Bull. Uni. Museum, Pennsylvania,* Vol. 9, (1967), p. 18 ; Krammer cites Langdon in support. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East Hist,* (1958), p. 136.
26. C.J. Gadd, *Op. Cit.,* p 17.
27. *The Near East ; The Early Civilisations,* London, (1967), p. II.

(g) There are 45 kings listed, between Meskalam Dug of Ur and Lugalzaggisi, who is about 25 years earlier than Sargon. On the other hand there are eight rulers in Lagash without a break and contemporary monuments and inscriptions show that some of them were ephemeral. Many of the names of the rulers, whose monuments have been found are not even mentioned in the lists. e.g. the princes of Lagash, even though some of them ruled most of Mesopotamia. Before the time of Ur-Nanshe, even approximate dates cannot be furnished, and this covered Early Dynastic II, I, Jamdetnasr, Uruk and Al'Ubaid periods. Their duration has to be estimated from the thickness of the deposits at the excavated sites and the development of the cuneiform script.[28]

(h) Some scholars allow a total of 250-300 years only for both the Early Dynastic II and III, while others insist that it should be 400-500 years.[29] The only argument against the higher figure seems to be derived from paleography. But Sidney Smith declares, "The script of Aannipadda resembles that of Entemena, and on epigraphical grounds it would be preferable to suppose the interval between the two to be less. But epigraphical argument by itself cannot be considered convincing. Cuneiform writing did not change speedily at any period, and there is sometimes far more difference between individual scripts of the same period than between inscriptions centuries apart. Epigraphical arguments should not in matters of chronology be pressed too far; to assume that Aannipadda and Entemena are not separated would necessitate a complete disregard of the King lists. To disregard some of the figures assigned in those lists is reasonable; to jettison the names of the kings is to neglect the full weight of the evidence.[30] Dietz Otto Edzard also considers that paleographic evidence is of little help in formulating chronology.[31]

(i) That Egypt and Mesopotamia mutually influenced each other, both culturally and commercially, during the Uruk-Jamdetnasr periods of Mesopotamia and the Pre-Dynastic period of Egypt, is admitted by all. But this fact does not provide a basis for chrono-

28. *Op. Cit.* p. 12.
29. Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria,* (1928), p. 40 : Carlton, *Buried Empire* (1939), p. 69 ; Woolley, *Op. Cit.*, p. 16.
30. Sidney Smith, *Op. Cit.*, p. 40.
31. *The Near East ; The Early Civilisations,* (1967), p. 12.

logy as the Assyriologists are at loggerheads regarding the dates to be assigned to these two periods. Some of them begin the Jamdetnasr Period 3200 B.C., others bring it down to 3000 B.C.[32] Dietz Otto Edzard, admits candidly that meaningful history for a major part of Early Dynastic III in Mesopotamia can be written provided no attempt is made to synchronise it with the Egyptian history!"[33]

(j) W.C. Hayes, observes, "the beginnings of Egyptian History may now be lowered to about the end of the fourth millennium B.C. which agrees better with the body of historical and chronological evidence available than do the much higher dates once favoured by some leading scholars. It does not, however, entitle us to disregard this evidence and telescope the earlier periods of Egyptian history to allow for synchronisms with the admittedly fluid chronologies of neighbouring lands or merely to gratify an intuitive feeling that such eras as the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom 'could not' have been as long as our ancient sources indicate they were."[34] Hayes is here probably referring to the dates assigned by Sir Flinders Petric to Menes, 5500 B.C.

(k) Another writer also is very frank, "Levels XI-V of Ianna are assigned to Early Dynastic Period. Levels XI-IX are Early Dynastic I, VIII is Early Dynastic II and VII-V are Early Dynastic III, however level VII-B may well have been built towards the end of the Early Dynastic II. The lengths of these periods as suggested on the chart, is only a surmise."[35]

(i) The Al' Ubaid Period is also dated variously, 4000-3500 B.C.[36] 4500-4000 B.C.[37], 5,100-3500 B.C. or even 5100-4000 B.C.[38] Similarly the dates assigned to the Jamdetnasr Period in between the Uruk and the Early Dynastic I, of Mesopotamia, vary between 3570 B.C.[39] and 3000 B.C. Some scholars date the Early Dynastic I

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32. *The Near East ; The Early Civilisations,* Ed. Jean Bottero and others, Trs. (1967), p. 12.
33. *Ibid,* p. 57.
34. *Cambridge Ancient Hist.* Vol. I, Ch. VI (rev. 1962) p. 3.
35. *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology,* (1965), p. 209.
36. M.E.L. Mallowan, *Dawn of Civilisation,* (1961), p. 66.
37. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East,* (1958), p. 171.
38. C.J. Gadd, *Cambridge Ancient Hist.* Vol. I, Ch. XIII, rev. (1964), p. 18 and *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology,* (1965), p. 249.
39. *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology,* (1965), pp. 82, 176, 249.

to 2900 B.C., others to 3000 B.C. or even 3175 B.C.[40]

The only conclusion which common sense can draw from this bewildering set of opinions is that all these dates, based on the same evidence, are more or less speculations, surmises, personal prejudices and predilections of the Assyriologists, and hence Hayes is right, in insisting, that the periods of Egyptian history should not be shortened to suit Mesopotanian chronology, though strangely enough, he himself by shortening the interval between the Ist and the XVIIIth Egyptian Dynasties, has committed the same mistake. Thus some other means of determining the chronology of the Indus Civilization should be found, about which more has been said later on in this paper.

VI. The suitability of C-14 process for the chronology of the periods after say 5000 B.C. may now be conveniently considered. All reasonable men admit that it has many successes to its credit, but they also admit, though sadly, that in many cases, some of which are cited below, the results achieved are disappointing to say the least. It has now become clear that as yet physicists do not comprehend fully all the factors of the C-14 process and hence the dates provided by it should, wherever possible, be confirmed by independent evidence.

(a) Weigall has reconstructed the chronology of Egypt from fragments of the inscription, known as the Palermo-Cario stones, the Turin papyrus and other records. It reveals that the first four dynasties lasted 700 years.[41] The C-14 date, however, indicates a difference of only 71/91 years between the First and the Fourth Dynasties.[42] The only conclusion that can be drawn is that either the Egyptian history is false or there is something wrong with the samples chosen or with the process or with both.

(b) The C-14 date of Hemka, contemporary with the middle point of the Ist Dynasty, comes out to be 160 years earlier than the prehistoric Naqada culture, which cannot be dated below 3,300 years B.C. and may, in all probability, be earlier.[43]

(c) King Djoser of the IIIrd Dynasty, who is assigned 2900-2800 B.C., or so, is dated by C-14 process, 800 years after his own

40. Gordon Childe, *Op. Cit.*, p. 171 ; and *The Near East, The Early Civilisations*, (1967).
41. *A History of the Pharohs*, Vol. I, (1925), pp. 17-18.
42. Svend Aage Pallis, *Antiquity of Iran*, (1956), p. 437.
43. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, Chapter VI, (revised, 1962) p. 23.

immediate successor, Huni.[44]

(d) Grave doubts have been expressed in the pages of *Antiquity*, vol. xxxii, 1958, p. 263, and its editor, Glynn Danials, observes, 'When is a carbon-14 reading an archaeological fact ? We certainly need reassurance beyond all reasonable doubt at the present moment that scientists know all about the variables involved, that Elasser, Ney and Winckler are wrong in supposing that there were fluctuations in the intensity of cosmic ray formation and others were wrong in supposing that there were fluctuations in the original C-14 content'. *(Antiquity, vol. XXXIII, 1959 pp. 239-40).*

(e) It has been shown that the C-14 dates for the first millennium B.C. are 50-100 years too high while those of the period 4000-200 B.C. are much too low. In fact the latter are at least 500 years too low. The formula for determining the true calendar age of a sample, whose C-14 date has been determined, has been stated to be T=I. 4xR--1100 (where T is the true calendar age, and R is the Radio Carbon age). If this is sustained, it would revolutionise the C-14 dates so far determined e.g. a sample whose C-14 date is say 6000 years, B.P. would actually be 7300 years old.'[45]

(f) Weinberg has pointed out that some samples from the Mainland of Greece, gave C-14 dates, 6475±75 B.C., 6537±110 B.C., 6537±75 B.C. and 4611±80 B.C. The former three are too high by a thousand years and the last is too low. It was found that three years before the samples had been taken, the site had suffered by the removal of a large part of its eastern half, down to the level of the surrounding plain, during road building operations and that consequently the area to be excavated, had been cultivated by shallow, scratch ploughing. As a result, there was less than a metre of fill above the hardpan and the possibilities of contamination were great. Weinberg has, therefore, expressed the opinion that only when samples are taken from beneath the full depth of the mound and well away from the contaminated areas, well they command confidence.[46] The present position is best summed up in the words of Saul S. Weinberg. In fact it has become increasingly clear that C-14 dates for the third millennium and probably for the latter part of the fourth millennium, as well, are generally much too low.

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44. *Ibid*, p. 23.
45. *Radio Carbon*, Yale University, Vol. 8, (1966), pp. 534-540.
46. *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, Chicago, (1965), pp. 310, 311.

Perhaps the physicists will eventually be able to explain the cause of this discrepancy; for the moment, however, it would seem best to ignore the C-14 dates when they are in clear conflict with solid archaeological evidence. This is exactly what has been done by the excavators of Beycesultan.[47]

VII. It is well known that the mounds of Harappa were robbed over a period of centuries, both by the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, and later by the British engineers of the North Western Railway (now West Pakistan Railway) for building and ballast material. Thus there is justification for doubting the purity of the sample (Laboratory designation TF-75), from a late level at Harappa, whose Radio Carbon date has been used by Agarwal as showing the end of the Indus Civilisation in about 1700 B.C.[48] It is also clear, from the foregoing, that C-14 dates should be used, in the reconstruction of Indian history, with extreme caution and not accepted unless confirmed by independent evidence, for who can say which samples are pure and which area is not contaminated. The C-14 method, therefore, is not likely to give substantial assistance in the formulation of a chronology for the Indus Civilisation.

VIII. The present writer ventures to suggest that it would yield better results if a suitable chronology for Egypt is first framed and correlated with the Mesopotamian, rather than the other way round, and then an attempt may be made to formulate a chronology for the Indus Civilisation. An effort, in this direction, has been made in this paper. The reason is, that barring the First and Second Intermediate Periods, which could not have lasted more than six centuries, Egypt was, always, governed by one ruler. Moreover there is not as much need to rely on far fetched synchronisms of doubtful validity, based on inadequate data, which frequently contradict each other, as is the case with Mesopotamian chronology, and all this inspite of the fact that the Egyptologists have not yet been able to agree about the date of Menes who inaugurates the historical period in Egypt. All scholars are, however, agreed, that there was mutual contact between Egypt

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47. *Ibid*, pp. 303-305. Regarding the excavations at Beycesultan, reference should be to Seton Lloyd and James Mellaart, *Beycesultan I, The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Levels*, London, British Institute of Archaeology, Ankara, (1962), pp 19, 23

48. *Science*, Vol. 143, 1964, pp. 950-952 and Sub-para V (f) of this paper.

and Mesopotamia, at least in the Jamdetnasr period, if not in the proceeding Uruk period. That few Egyptologists are prepared to revise downward the Egyptian chronology to suit the demands of the Aassyriologists, was dramatically brought to my attention at a personal discussion with Dr. I.E.S. Edwards of the Egyptian Antiquities Department of the British Museum, at the International Congress of Orientalists, held in Delhi in 1964. It is curious that some Assyriologists (e.g. Prof. Albright) who clamour for a low date for the Egyptian and Mesopotamian Civilisations also insist on a high date for the Old Testament.

IX. Upto about 50 years ago, there used to be two schools of thought so far as Egyptian chronology is concerned. There were the protagonists, headed by Sir Flinders Petrie, of very high dates, who was prepared to assign 5,500 B.C. to Menes. The other school proposed low dates between say 3,600 and 3,200 B.C.[49] Now there is none who proposes a date, for Menes, beyond the 36th century B.C. The controversy, at present, is between those who advocates a date between 3,400 on the one hand and 3,100 B.C. on the other; though there is a small band of scholars who would like to reduce this to 2900 or even 2830 B.C. It is interesting to note some of the dates assigned to Menes during the last 40 years or more :—

Eduard Meyer, 3180 B.C. and 3315 B.C.[50]
Kurt Sethe 3360 B.C.[51]
Sir Alan Gardiner, 3297 B.C., 3100 B.C.[52]
Arthur Weigall 3407 B.C.[53]
W.B. Emery, 3400-3200 B.C.[54]
James Henry Breasted 3400 B.C.[55]
Sewell 3188 B.C.[56]
H. Frankfort 3100 B.C.[57]

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49. *Encyclopaedea Brittanica*, Xth Ed. reprinted as XIth, after World War I, Vol. IX, pp. 78-80.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Egypt of Pharohs*, London, (1961), p. 67.
53. *A History of the Pharohs*, London, (1925), Vol. I, pp. 29-33.
54. *Archaic Egypt*, Penguin, (1961), London, p. 30.
55. *A History of Egypt*, (1921), p. 597.
56 *Legacy of Egypt*, (1942).
57. H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Code*, (1948).

H.R. Hall, 3600-3500 B.C.[58]
William C. Hayes 3114 B.C.[59]
M.S.F. Hood 3200 B.C.[60]
Albright, Scharff and Stock, 2900-2830. B.C.[61]

X. The factors, excluding the problem of mutual contact between Egypt and Mesopotamia in Uruk-Jamdetnasr Periods, which have to be considered in framing the chronology of Egypt are, (a) the duration of the First Intermediate Period, i.e. the interval between the end of the Old Kingdom (Sixth Dynasty) and the rise of the Middle Kingdom, (b) the duration of the Second Intermediate Period that is the interval between the end of the 12th Dynasty and the commencement of the 17th Dynasty and (c) the total period to be assigned to the First and Second Dynasties (Archaic Egypt). Egyptologists hold differing views on all the three points and hence the differences in dating the commencement of the historic period, as illustrated in the previous paragraph.

XI. That the XVIIIth Dynasty began about 1580 B.C.[62] is accepted by all Egyptologists, and the date is supported by Mesopotamian and Hittite synchronisms and astronomical calculations.[63] The rising of the star Sothis (modern Sirius), on the 16th or 17th day of the eighth month of the seventh year of Senusert III of the XIIth Dynasty,[64] recorded in a papyrus from the temple of El'Lahun, is considered the next crucial date, and it has been calculated to fall sometime between 1864 and 1877 B.C.[65] and the usual date assigned to the event is 1872 B.C. Another writer cited by Hall, dates it 1945 B.C.[66] Weigall, however, states that the rise took place in the 4th month of Pero[67] and with the aid of

58. *Ancient History of the Near East*, 1961, p. 27 ; Also *Cambridge History*, (1924), Vol. I, p. 173.
59. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, Ch. VI. (Revised 1962), p. 3-4.
60. *Dawn of Civilisation*, (1961), edited by S. Piggott, p. 98.
61. *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, (1965), p. 50.
62. Weigall, *A History of the Pharohs*, Vol I, (1925), dates it 1576 B.C ; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharohs*, (1961), dates it 1575 B.C. ; *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol., I, Ch. VI (revised, 1962) p. 17, 1567 B.C.
63. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, Ch. VI, (revised 1962) pp. 17, 36.
64. *Ibid*, p. 4 ; Gardiner, *Op. Cit.* p. 65.
65. *Cambridge Ancient Hist.* Vol. I, Ch. VI (rev. 1964) p. 4.
66. Hall, *Ancient Hist. of the Near East*, (1961), p. 25, Nicklin, *Classical Review*, Vol. XIV, 1900 p. 148.
67. *A Hist. of the Pharohs*, Vol. I, pp. 29-33.

Petrie-Knobel tables dates it 1992 B.C.[68] Acceptance of dates between 1945 B.C. and 1864 B,C. create serious difficulties. The XIIth dynasty lasted 213 years and scholars who accept a date of 1872 B.C. for the rise of Sothis, date the dynasty 2000—1788 B.C. This allows barely two centuries for the Second Intermediate Period ; and in these two centuries are crowded all the dynasties from XIII, which gives the impression of having lasted a fairly long time to, the end of the XVII.[69] Weigall has shown that there were about 700 rulers[70] in various parts of Egypt, during this period, and though most of them were ephemeral, some were long lived and ruled all Egypt and accumulated enough resources and had enough time to have their colossal statues carved in granite. Many were ruling simultaneously. Even the maximum cutting down of the reign periods of these rulers, cannot accommodate them in two centuries.[71] Moreover there are serious doubts about the accuracy of record in the Ellahun Papyrus or its interpretation by modern scholars or both.[72] There are also reasons to hold that there was a change in the Egyptian calendar, unknown to modern scholars during or after the 2nd Intermediate Period.[73] Many leading Egyptologists, therefore, insist that at least 300-400 years should be allowed for the Second Intermediate Period.[74] Here we may well keep in mind the warning of Hayes about either telescoping the periods of Early Egyptian history to provide for synchronisms with Babylonia or to gratify an intuitive feeling. We shall therefore not be seriously wrong if we accept that the interval between the end of the XIIth Dynasty and the commencement XVIIIth Dynasty is of the order of 350 years. The beginning of the XIIth Dynasty, therefore, falls about 1580+350+213=2143, B.C.[75] As the XIth Dynasty, lasted about 160 years, its beginning would be

68. *Ibid*, Volume II, p. 27.
69. Hall, *Op. Cit.*, p. 23.
70. Weigall, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 42, 61-67.
71. Hall. *Op. Cit.* p. 23, Weigall, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 33-37.
72. Hall, *Op. Cit.*, p. 25 ; Griffiths, *Enclo. Britt.* XIth Ed. (1922), Vol. IX, pp. 78-80.
73. Hall, *Op. Cit.*, p. 25 ; Weigall, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 34-37 ; Eduard Meyer himself accepted 400 years for IInd Int. Period, before the discoyery of Kahun Papyrus.
74. Hall, *Op. Cit.*, and others.
75. Hall, *Camb. Ancient Hist.*, Vol. I, (1925) p. 173, dates the XIth Dynasty, 2375 B.C.

2500 B.C.[76] or thereabout.

XII. As regards the length of the First Intermediate Period, i.e. the interval between the end of the Old Kingdom, Dynasty VI, and the commencement of the Middle Kingdom, there are differences of opinion, and Egyptologists allow about 100 to 250 years for it.[77] Weigall's reconstruction of Egyptian chronology shows that the VIIth Dynasty of five kings lasted 75 years, the VIIIth which had 18 kings flourished for 106 years, the IXth dynasty of 4 kings endured for 50 years, the Xth, lasted a mere 25 years; thus the total duration of these dynasties is 256 years, provided of course they were successive.[78] In any case the very low average of seven years per ruler, is indicative of extremely disturbed conditions in the Nile Valley.[79] It may, incidentally, be mentioned that there does not seem to be any valid reason, why this average of 7 years is not applicable in the case of hundreds of rulers, during the next disturbed period of Egyptian history, namely the Second Intermediate Period. Thus the end of the Old Kingdom and the beginning of the VIIth Dynasty, may be dated to 2500 B.C.

XIII. Again there is a difference of opinion regarding the total period covered by the First Six Dynasties The Turin Papyrus gives a total of 955 years and includes therein 6 kingless years. A mistake has, however, been detected in it, in as much as it allots 20 years to Piopi I of the IVth Dynasty, while Manetho assign him 53 years and modern scholars hold that he ruled not less than 50 years.[80] If this be accepted, the duration of the first six

76. Weigall, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 42, 61-67, dates XIth Dynasty, 2271-2112 B.C., XIth, 2111-1899 B.C.
77. *Egypt of the Pharohs*, (1961), p. 67. Gardiner states that Eduard Meyer was of opinion that the First Intermediate Period lasted 200 years. H.R. Hall, Ancient Hist. of the Middle East, p. 26, also dates the end of VIIth Dynasty, 2500 B.C.
78. Weigall, *A History of the Pharohs*, Vol. I, pp 15-16, 17-18; W. B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, Penguin, (1961), p. 29.
79. Weigall, *Op Cit.*, pp. 17-18.
80. Hall, *Cambridge Ancient Hist.* Vol. I, (1924), p. 167. Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, Penguin, (1961), p. 29 justifies Manetho's figures for the first and Second Dynasties on the ground that the great tombs of the First Dynasty, whose thick walls were at least 6 metres high had been reduced to one metre, by the end 2nd Dynasty, and the tombs of the Third Dynasty were built upon their ruins.

dynasties was 988 years. This length of time is also confirmed by the fact that the 28 kings of dynasties III, IV, V and VI, ruled 429 years. Manetho's lists give 264 years to Dynasty I and 256 years to Dynasty II, making a total of 520 years. Thus 520+429= 949 years which together with the 6 kingless years confirm the Turin Papyrus figure of 955 years.[81] Thus it may be assumed that the first six dynasties lasted about one thousand years. Adding this figure to 2500 B.C. as the end of the Old Kingdom, the beginning of the historic period in Egypt with Menes heading the list of the Pharohs, may be dated 3500 B.C. The present writer cannot pretend to explain how William C. Hayes, writes :—

> "Here the Turin Canon (IV, 17) comes to our aid with a total figure of '955 regnal years and 10(+?) days' for the interval separating the end of Eighth Dynasty from the accession of King Menes, the founder of the First Dynasty. Since the interval in question comprised eight dynasties which followed one another without any apparent overlapping (co-regencies, with one exception, are unknown at this period), and the years referred to represent successive periods of 365 days each, we have no choice but to accept the figure at its face value and place the founding of Egypt's first historic dynasty at about 3114 or, in round numbers, 3100 B.C."

and reconcile it with what Sir Alan Gardiner who states, 'The restoration of the broken total at the end of Dynasty VI has been disputed, but undoubtedly gave 955 years as the sum of years from Menes down to that point in Pharohic history.' Arthur Weigall also agrees with Gardiner.[82]

XIII. At present, most Egyptologists date Menes between 3100—3200 B.C. but fail to demonstrate, beyond doubt, that they are justified in assigning only two centuries to the Second Intermediate Period, one hundred years to the First Intermediate Period, reducing the combined duration of the First and Second Dynasties, whose total, is indicated to be between 520—550 years by the

81. Gardiner, *Op. Cit.*, p. 66-67 ; Weigall, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 15-17 ; Emery *Op. Cit.*, p. 29.

82. Gardiner, *Op. Cit.*, p. 67 ; Weigall agrees, *Op. Cit.*, 15-18. Duration of Ist and IInd Dynasties accepted by others are : Breasted 420 years, H.R. Hall, 310) years ; Sewell, 373 years : H. Frankfort, 400 years, Hayes 420 years Emery himself is prepared to accept 550 years.

combined testimony of the Turin Papyrus, the fragments of the Palermo Stones, also known as the 'Annals', and the lists of Manetho, the serious doubts entertained about the accuracy of the record of the rising of Sothis in tne Kahun Papyrus, during the reign of Senusert III or its interpretation by the Egyptologists and the possibility, that unknown to the modern scholars, there was a change in the Egyptian calendar sometime during the Second Intermediate Period. No support can come from Mesopotamia, as the Assyriologists have so far sailed to establish a valid date for the Jamdetnasr period. As regards the ultra low dates ranging between 2900 and 2830 B.C.,[83] advocated by some scholars, for Menes, it may be mentioned that it seems that the protagonists are mostly German, and as Breasted has observed they seem to be better at philology and grammar than at history, and they appear, somehow, very anxious to lower the Mesopotamian chronology. Perhaps, Prof. Albright was the first to advocate so low a date as 2900—2830 B.C., in the pages of the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 1920, Vol. VI, pp. 89-98.[84] It may be mentioned that, his dates are generally so low that even in other fields, e.g. Mesopotamian, that they have not been accepted, as they would, among other reasons, introduce serious complications in Hittite chronology.[85] Thus, it may be, that the date for Menes proposed by him and bothers—Alexander Scharff, Stock—who are of the same view, may cause serious difficulties in Egyptian chronology, and it would perhaps also mean that the evidence of the Annals, the Turin Papyrus etc. would be compromised. Nothing can be said about his statement that his date for Menes is supported by unpublished material as the same is not available for study in India, at any rate.[86] As regards the attempts of Alexander Scharff in 1927 and again in 1960 and that of Hans Stock in 1949, to date Menes to 2830 B.C. or so, it is sufficient to state that they have not been accepted as shown by the verdict of no less a scholar than Sir Alan Gardiner.

83. *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, (1965), p. 50 ; Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharohs*, (1961), p. 68.

84. W.F. Albright, *Chronologies of the Old World Archaeology*, (1965, p. 50.)

85. C.R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, (Penguin, 1961), p. 217.

86. Albright, *Op. Cit.*, p. 50.

87. Gardiner, *Op. Cit.* p. 60 ; Albright, *Op. Cit.* p. 50.

88. Albright, *Op. Cit.* p. 50.

"For our part we find it difficult for the beginning of the Dynasty I so low a date as 2850 B.C., that proposed by the late Alexander Scharff on the basis of the equally uncertain chronology of Babylon.[89]

The instability of Mesopotamian chronology has already been referred to in some detail, in paras II and V of this paper and attention has also been drawn to the warning of Hayes, against the reduction of Egyptian dates merely on intuitive grounds or forced synchronisations with Mesopotamia.[90] This similar observations of Dietz Otto Edzard, made in 1967, referred to in para V (f) confirm the warning of Hayes.[91]

XIV. It will be appreciated that considerable speculation, personal prejudices and subjective guesses have played a large part in dating the commencement of the historic period in Egypt between 3200 and 3100 B.C. to say nothing of the attempts in favour of 2900-2830 B.C. In any case only a divinely inspired prophet can assert dramatically that such close dating is possible; the rest of us have to be content, if we can, on the available evidence, arrive at dates, correct within a century either way. It is also possible that these very low dates assigned to Egyptian history are a reaction against the very high dates which leading scholars, like Sir Elinders Petrie, used to advocate. Another important factor, which may have subconsciously affected the minds of the protagonists of low dates is the very rapid technological progress in Europe and the United States of America, within the last two centuries. Thus these scholars (e.g. Prof. Oldenbarg, ZDMG, Vol. 49,p. 79, where he refers, in connection with his attempt to date the Vedic literature by comparison with the rapid progress in 400 years in the New World) tend to think that progress in the centuries and millennia before Christ, should also have been fast. Unfortunatly no evidence for such progress has yet been furnished. It has been pointed out that all elements which should have given quick birth to civilization, as conceived by Western scholars, such as city life and its material amenities many of us in the East are not prepared to accept such a concept had

89. Gardiner, *Op. Cit.* p. 68.
90. *Gambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, Ch. VI, (revised 1962) p. 3.
91. *The Near East : The Early Civilisations*, Eng. Trs., London, 1967, p. 55, 10-12.
92. *Dawan of Civilisation*, 1961, p. 92.

already developed at Jericho, in the eighth millennium B.C.; and yet the same scholars state that it had to wait for 3000/4000 years for its birth in lands which in the eighth millennium B.C. had not given any indication that they would ever become centres of developed civilization. After all man has taken tens of thousands of years to pass through the paleolithic stage and the neolithic is barely 10,000 years old—there still are people who are in that stage of life. Therefore it is only reasonable to assume that while the antiquity of a civilisation should not be pushed back too far, it should also not be unduly compressed.

XV. It has already been mentioned that it is incomprehensible to the present writer how Hayes states that the total duration of the First Eight Dynasties of Egypt, according to the Turin Papyrus is 955 years[93], while Sir Alan Gardiner[94] and A. Weigall[95] state, categorically, that this is the total for the first Six Dynasties only. For Egyptian chronology, this is rather important as it involves a period of 181 years—75 years for the VIth Dynasty and 106 years for the VIIIth Dynasty. The establishment of 3500 B.C. as the probable date for the accession of Menes enables us to determine the time of the Jamdetnasr period and its predecessors, the Uruk and the Al'Ubaid periods of Mesopotamia. The Jamdetnasr period is supposed to have lasted two centuries and may thus be dated 3700-3500 B.C. and it influenced the immediate pre-Dynastic Egypt; the Uruk period, during which writing is supposed to have been invented, may be assigned 4000-3700 B.C.[96] and the long Al'Ubaid, 5100-4000 B.C.[97]

XVI. If the date of Mesannipadda be assumed to be 2700 B.C. and it is as valid as the date 2550 assigned to him by Rowton and Gadd and that there was an interval of 150 years between him and Enmebaragisi of Kish, the latter has to be dated 2850 B.C. He had twenty-one predecessors. The possibility of the name of some rulers being dropped should also be kept in mind, and there is no record of any parallel kingline, contemporaneous with them. Assu-

93. *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. I, Ch. VI, (1962), p. 3.
94. *Egypt of the Pharohs,* (1961), p. 67.
95. *A history of the Pharohs,* Vol. I, pp. 17-18.
96. *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. I, XIII, (1964), pp. 17-18 ; *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology,* (1965), p. 249, chart T, *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. I, Ch. XIII, p. 18.
97. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East,* (1958), p. 171.

ming three generations to a century, since we do not know that each ruler of the Dynasty was the son of his predecessor, the total duration of the Dynasty before Enmebaragisi would be 700 years. The biological invesitgations of the late Dr. G.S. Basu, of the University of Calcuta coupled with his analysis of the statistical data regarding the yugas and Manvanataras mentioned in the Puranas show that a generation interval is 28+5 years; [98] similarly Prof. A.L. Basham, has demonstrated, on the basis of data recorded of a large number of Dynasties in India, whose inscriptions are available, that in such cases of undated Dynasties it is safer to go by generation intervals, which he has found to be 30 years or so.[99] This confirms the assumptions of ancient historians like Herodotus and modern Sidney Smith. Thus the First Dynasty of Kish would begin about 2850+700=3550 B.C. But this is the date for not only Menes but also for the end of the Jamdetnasr period,[100] as according to the Sumerian tradition, accepted by Assyriologists, the Flood intervened between the end of the Jamdetnasr period and the First Dynasty of Kish[101]. It also implies that the duration of the Early Dynastic, I, II and III was 3500-2400=1100 years, instead of 600 years usually assumed.[102] But it has already been shown that the Assyriologists admit that the length, in years, of the pre-Sargonic period is pure guess work and the argument from Paleography, in favour of the shorter period, is discredited by the observations of Sydney Smith.[103] Thus it appears to the present writer that there is no insuperable bar to date both the First Dynasties of Egypt and of Kish, to 3500 B.C. It might be objected that the First Dynasty Kings may be mythical; but they have ceased to be so, since the discovery of an inscription of Enmebaragisi,[104] just as the First Dynasty, of Ur, which used to be considered mythical during the thirties, became historical as a result

98. Dr. Girindrashekhar, *Purāṇapravesh,* (Bengali Language) ; but see its review in English, in the pages of *Saṁkhyā* (Indian Journal of Statistics), Vol. II, Part 3, (1936). He has shown that where the succession is direct between father and son average reign period exceeds the generation interval.

99. *Studies in Indian History and Culture,* (1963), p. 82.

100. Patrick Garlton, *Buried Empires,* p. 65 ; Krammer, *Bull. Uni. Museum of Pennsylvania,* Vol. 9, (1967), *Summer,* p. 18.

101. Carlton, *Op. Cit.*, p. 65 ; and also para XV of this paper.

102. Carlton, *Op. Cit.*, p. 69.

103. *Early History of Assyria,* (1928), p. 40.

104. *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. I, Ch. XIII (rev, 1964) p. 17.

of the excavations at Ur, where Woolley discovered an inscription, translated on the spot by C.J. Gadd, 'Aanipadda, King of Ur, son of Mesannipadda, King of Ur, has built this for his Lady, Nin-Kharsag.'[105] Gilgamesh of Uruk, also, used to be considered legendary, until recently,[106] and this Ruler was a contemporary of Agga, son of Enmebaragisi, who is now historical.[107] Thus there is no reason to doubt that the tradition of the historicity of the First Dynasty of Kish is substantially justified, though one may with full justification, jettison the fantastic reign periods allowed to its rulers.[108]

XVII. The synchronism between the First Dynasty of Egypt, the First Dynasty of Kish, and the end of the Jamdetnasr Period coupled with the fact that there is greater similarity, between the material remains of the Indus Valley and Jamdatnasr and earlier periods in Mesopotamia, thus furnishes fairly safe ground for the formulation of a reasonable chronology for the Indus Civilisation. Wheeler has already admitted, as mentioned elsewhere in this paper that his date bracket, 2500-1500 B.C. was much too low, but he has not yet stated any revised chronology for the Indus Civilisation.[109] He also had to concede that 'there is more resemblance between Mesopotamian Zigguret of the 25th century B.C. and the Mexican Temple-Pyramid of the 15th century A.D. than between the former and the Indus Valley.'[110] He has now to content himself, with a sort of rear-guard action, by stating that the Indus Valley people created the civilisation in the knowledge that it has been done before.[111] But it is remarkable that the other co-architect of the 2500-1500 B.C. date bracket, the redoubtable Stuart Piggott, has not, to the knowledge of the present writer, anywhere expressed any opinion endorsing change of front by Wheeler. Perhaps it is humiliating for an archaeologist of his reputation to admit that humble but truly great scholars like Sastri have shown him to be wrong. Space

105. *Excavations of Ur,* (1954), p. 93 ; *Buried Empires,* (1939) p. 91.

106. *Buried Empires,* pp. 77-84 ; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. I, Ch. XIII, (1964), p. 21.

107. *Cambridge Ancient Hist.,* Vol. I, Ch. XIII, p. 17 and Ch. VI (rev. 1962) p. 66.

108. *Ibid* ; Ch. XIII, p. 18 and Woolley, *Excavations at Ur,* (1964), p. 252.

109. Durrani, *A Review, Ancient Pakistan, Bull. Dept of Arch. Uni. Peshawar,* (1965-66), p. 238.

110. *Antiquity,* XXXVI, p. 180-191.

111. *Dawn of Civi.,* (1961), p. 248.

does not permit mention of more than a few of the numerous links between the Indus, the Mesopotamian and the Iranian Civilisations and Cultures:

(a) **Pottery :** The common Harappan pottery with a simple design formed by closely grouped vertical lines or diagonals connected with long horizontal lines is paralleled on a vase from Samarra[112]. The raised loop pattern above the lines in Harappan ware is seen at Halaf and Al' Ubaid[113]. The fish-scale design of the Harappan pottery and Halaf is not found at Samarra and Al'Ubaid[114]. The Intersecting Circles design of Harappa is so similar to the corresponding designs at Arpachiyya that one may be mistaken for the other[115]. The Harappan pattern of animal body with hatching and cross-hatching is paralleled at Halaf and Susa I[116]. The step pattern similar to the Harappan is found at Susa I but not in II[117]. Amazonite beads from Nilgiri hills, South India, were found in the lowest level of house ruins below the flood silt excavated at Ur, by Woolley and assigned to the Al' Ubaid period[118]. The black slip were manufactured from grey clay with a thick polished black slip is similar to the black pottery of the Uruk period in Sumer[119]. As regards the Reserved Slip ware, Patrick Carlton writes, 'This very curious technique can hardly, one would have thought, have arisen independently in two parts of the world. Yet it is found not only in Sumer during the Uruk period (4100-3700 B.C. or at the latest 3500-3300 B.C.)[120] but also in the lower levels at

112. F.S. Starr, *Indus Valley Painted Pottery*, p. 27.
113. Loc. Cit.
114. Loc. Cit.
115. Loc. Cit.
116. Loc. Cit.
117. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, (1958), p. 138 and *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilisation*, Vol. II, p. 104.
118. *Excavations at Ur*. (1954), p. 33 ; *Buried Empires*, (1939), p. 160 ; Pallis, *Antiquity of Iraq*, 1956, p. 662.
119. *Buried Empires*, (1939), p. 158.
120. *Burried Empires*, pp. 158-159. Uruk Period is later than the lower levels of Carchemish.

Carchemish (which are older than Uruk), far up the Euphrates. Since the Urúk period probably ended not very much less than 1000 years before the beginning of the early period at Mohenjodaro, these two types of ware raise problems to which, at present, the wisemen will not attempt to pose an answer."[120] The early period at Mohenjodaro represents the lowest levels excavated by Sir John Marshall and his colleagues. The sunmotif with seven rays found at Harappa is closely paralleled at Tell-Halaf[121]. The lozenge patterned pottery with connected lozenge design of Harappa is found at Rana Chundai I, Sialk II and Tell Halaf.[122] The comb-motif of Harappa is not found at Susa II and Jamdetnasr but at Susa I and also Tell Halaf.[123] The four petalled roseatte of Mohenjodaro, used as a border decoration, is to be found at Tell Halaf only[124]. The pottery stoppers of Mohenjodaro are paralleled at Jamdetnasr[125]. The exquisitely carved figure of a squatting monkey, discovered in the Royal Cemetery of Ur (earlier than Mesannipadda, of Early Dynastic III-a) is similar to the monkey figure in glazed frit at Mohenjodaro and as monkey has always been foreign to Western Asia. the origin of the motif must lie in India[126]. Similarly the etched carneillian beads found in the same cemetry came from India[127]; the hair dressing style represented by the helmet of Mesklamdug (Royal Cemetry of Ur) has been found on the still older statues of Eshnunna, and is also derived from India[128].

(*b*) **Seals :** Wheeler has acknowledged that at least two out of a total of thirty seals, which are of Indian oirgin or close copies thereof, discovered at Susa and various sites in Mesopotamia, have to be assigned to the Early

121. *Chanhudaro*, pp. 95-96.
122. Starr, *Indus Valley Painted Pottery*, p. 43 ; Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, 1959, p. 121.
123. Starr. *op. cit.*, p. 52.
124. *Chanhudaro*, p 100.
125. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East (1958)*, p. 100.
126. *Burried Empires*, pp. 160-161.
127. *Ibid*, p. 161 ; *Excavations at Ur* (Woolley), (1953), p. 112.
128. *Buried Empires*, p. 161.

Dynastic level, in the latter country. Though this seems, by implication, to be denied by Agarwal, Gordon Childe accepts it and so does Piggott[129]. A cylindrical seal of the Jamdetnasr period, depicting a tree with animals all round it (on one side there is a bull kneeling and nibling at its branches and on the other is shown an animal with the head of an elephant and the body of a bull)[130], is also partially paralleled in the Indus Valley. Since the elephant has always been foreign to Mesopotamia, bull has remained common in India, from immemorial antiquity, the motif must be originally Indian[131].

(*c*) **Bricks :** The people of the periods known as Al'Ubaid, Uruk and Jamdetnasr, all used flat bricks. But the Sumerians, when they can be first definitely identified as Sumerians, in the First Early Dynastic Period, after the post-Jamdetnasr flood, which destroyed Ur, Shuruppak, Kish etc., used the inferior plano-convex designs for their bricks[132]. The people of the Indus Civilization used flat bricks similar to those of Jamdetnasr Period. Also it has been found that the building of the Jamdetnasr period were found to be burnt. This has been interpreted to mean that a new people came over and occupied Sumer, and they were defined as Sumerians. Hence it is not unreasonable to assume that the Indus Civilisation was as early as the Uruk Period (4000 B.C.), para (5 i) as if it had been contemporaneous with the Early Dynastic I, and had been influenced then by the Sumerian it would have borrowed the plano-convex type of bricks.

(*d*) **Roll top pins and animal headed rods :** A roll top pin was discovered at a depth of 18.4 feet at Mohenjodaro and another in the Jhukar level overlying the Harappan level at Chanhudaro. Piggott finds their counterparts in 2600 B.C.[133] in the Anatolian-Agean

129. Gordon Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 169 ; Piggott, *Antiquity*, Vol. xvii, p. 178.
130. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. VI-C.
131. K. N. Sastri, *New Light on the Indus Civilisation* (1957), p. 80.
132. Woolley, *Op. Cit.*, 48-49 and Cartlon, *Op. Cit.*, p. 63.
133. *Ancient India* No. 4, pp. 26-40.

region and brings them to India in 2000 B.C. At the same time he admits that such pins have been found in a context of the 4th millennium B.C. at Hissar, Sialk and Anau. The same is the case with the animal headed rods, one from Harappa and the other from Mohenjodaro, parallels to which have been discovered in Susa and Mesopotamia, both assignable to the Uruk period. Thus these articles could have come direct to India. instead of first going to the Anatolian-Aegean region, then crossing their original homeland to reach India. This is strange logic indeed.

(*c*) **Script :** One of the strongest arguments for a high date for the Indus civilisation is the Indus Valley script, which is found equally well developed at the highest and the lowest excavated levels at Harappa and Mohenjodaro. No antecedent evolutionary stages have so far been found. It is impossible that such a developed script could have been born like Lakṣamī arising from the sea. It is well developed, ideographic and phonetic and yet it is more archaic than the earliest Sumerian cuneiform, and hence represents an older stage. Sidney Smith[134] and Stephen Langdon[135] have stated that the Indus Valley script is not connected with either the Sumerian or the Prote Elamite scripts, and the later scholar was of the opinion that it had some resemblance to the Egyptian heiroglyphids[136]. G. R. Hunter, whose studies are even now considered the best so far as the Indus Valley script is concerned, definitely states that similarities between the Sumerian and the Proto-Elamite scripts do not become noticeable till the Jamdetnasr Period (which cannot be dated below 3500 B.C.) and the mutual borrowings, if any, must be dated to 4000 B C.[137]. This evidence has been completely ignored by the advocates of low dates.

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134. *Mohenjodro and the Indus Civilisation (1931)*, Vol. II, p. 424.

135. *Ibid*, p. 424.

136. *Ibid*, p. 424.

137. *Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro*, pp. 47-48.

(f) **Religion :** There does not seem to be much in common between the religious beliefs and customs of the people of Mesopotamia, from the Al' Ubaid Period onwards and the Indus Valley people. In Mesopotamia, temples going back to 4500 B. C. (Gordon Childe, New Lights on the Most Ancient East, 1958, p. 171) have been found. In India, no temple or even a place of worship which could be definitely identified as such has so far been found. Similarly no *deva-pratimās* have been found, though some scholars consider that the terracotta figurines represent the mother-goddess. Not only is this the case in the period of Indus civilisation but also no such traces have been found between the end of the Indus Civilisation, dated to 1700 B. C. and at least the Mauryan Period in the 4th century B. C. It is significant, that the Vedic Aryan also did not have temples or *deva-pratimās*. K. N. Sastri[138] and B. N. Dutta[139] have shown remarkable resemblance between the religious beliefs and funeral customs revealed by the spade, in the sites of the Indus civilisation and the detailed descriptions to be found in the Atharva Veda, the Yajurveda, and the Brahmana Literature, none of which can be dated later than 2500 B. C. It was at about this time that the words Taimata, Aligi, Viligi, Urugala and Tabuva, were borrowed from Mesopotamia and are found in the Atharva Veda.[140] The above evidence, for a high antiquity for the Indus Civilisation, taking its origins back to the Al'Ubaid in times, is confirmed by F. S. Starr, who has pointed out that the Harappan ware shows a long evolutionary period on Indian soil and does not give any impression of affinity with either the Iranian or Mesopotamian pottery and has more in common with Tell Halaf than with the latter[141].

138-139. *New Light on the Indus Civilisation, (1965), Vol. II,* pp. 92-154 (conclusions) pp. 136-147) and B.N. Dutta, *Man India, Vol. XVI, Oct.-Dec. 1936 and Vol. XVII March-June, 1937,* Vedic Funerai Customs and Indus Valley Culture.

140. Lokmanya Balgangadhar Tilak, *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, (1917),* Chaldean and Indian Vedas and also his *Vedic Chronology and Vedanga Jyotish, Poona (1925),* pp. 125-144.

141. *Indus Valley Painted Pottery,* pp. 9-10.

XIX. Lately, it seems, reaction against the very low dates has begun and is well illustrated by the work of F. A. Durrani. He has examined, in a scholarly article,[142] the mutual influence exerted by the Indus and Mesopotamian Civilisations with special reference to the stone vases discovered at Khafaje and Tell Agrab. He has also commented upon the admission of Wheeler thus : 'It is not likely that the Harappan Metropolis like Mohenjodaro did not exist at time when Kot Dijians flourished, as suggested by Wheeler, but even if that be so, there is evidence of commercial links between Harappans, the Iranians and Sumerians in the Early Dynastic Period of Mesopotamia. This suggests that the Indus Civilisation has links already established with Mesopotamia in the first half of the third millennium B. C. As a civilisation would require a couple of centuries to attain status and position in international trade links, the beginnings of the Harappan Civilisation may be proposed at least as early as Early Dynastic I, if not earlier. The evidence cited above and the one collected through Dr. George F. Dales, boring in 1965 (and the recent boring in 1966) would suggest a much longer life for Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilisation. Sir Mortimer Wheeler is therefore correct in admitting that his earlier date bracket, 2500-1500 B.C., was 'excessively conservative' and that C-14 test so far made for the Indus Valley are inadequate and results yielded through them are insecure.[143] Thus Durrani supports, at least partially, the high dates advocated by Marshall and K. N. Sastri.

XX. Carlton also upholds the antiquity of the Indus Civilisation, "the Indus Civilisation existed, substantially, in the same form in which we find it at Mohenjodaro, at the time when the royal or priestly graves at Ur were being filled with gold and dead men's bones; and that the Sumerians first came into contact with it at that time, Archaeologists have exclaimed loudly at the wonderful and sudden flowering of material culture, the forward and upward impulse on all the arts and crafts to which the 'Royal Tombs' bear witness. The problem of those tombs is still to be solved; but it is not inadmissible to speculate on whether something of the impetus which the Sumerian culture undoubtedly received when they were

142. *Ancient Pakistan, Bulletin of Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, 1964-65, Vol. I*, pp. 79-80, plates 6(a) etc., pp. 81-82.

143. *Ibid, Vol. II*, (1965-66), p. 238.

dug may not have been due to contact with a more sophisticated culture, whose home was the valley of the Indus and the broad plain of the five rivers.[144]

XXI. It would not be out of place to invite attention to the fact that the Indus Civilisation covered, between the north Punjab to at least the gulf of Cambay in the south, Alamgirpur in the east and Baluchistan in the west, an area three times that of ancient Egypt and six times that of the Sumerian civilisation. It is curious that the C-14 dates for Harappa, Kalibangan, Lothal, etc. are within a hundred or two hundred years of each other. In those days of primitive communications, and lack of paved cross country roads, it was not possible for a civilisation to originate at some place and extend over such a vast area; in only a few centuries. Even in my boyhood, the wonders of cities like Calcutta and Bombay, used to leave peoples of less sophisticated cities like Kanpur and Allahabad, gasping for breath.

XXII. The work of K. N. Sastri, though completely ignored so far, in any publication, the present writer has studied, is of fundamental importance in determining the antiquity of the Indus Civilisation. It may be studied in all its fascinating detail in his two volumes.[145] It would have to suffice here to give the gist of his arguments.

(*a*) As regards the stratigraphy of Harappa, he has pointed out that, there is a glaring difference between the stratigraph of mound AB, dated 2500-1500 B. C. by Wheeler, and the mound F. The first occupation level in the former mound is along the contour line 557.5 while in latter mound it is along the contour line 519.5, a difference of 39′. Such a difference calls for adequate explanation, specially when it is realised that the cultural remains on both mounds are the same, showing that the same people inhabited the two mounds.[146] If the Harappans could live comfortably on mound F, what was the necessity of creating a platform (according to Wheeler) 33 feet in height, for building the mound AB habitations; at the same time. The

144. Patrick Carton, *Buried Empires*, pp. 161-162

145. *New Light on the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, 1957 and Volume II, 1965.

146. *New Light on the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, p. 68.

ten feet thick flood deposit, immediatly below the citadel wall, upto contour line 540, i. e. 20.5 feet higher than the first occupation level at contour line, 519.5, on mound F, clearly demonstrates that no life could have existed there, long before the beginning of the mound AB buildings. The principal public buildings, of Harappa, situated on mound F would have been completely ruined, as they all lie below the contour line 540. Wheeler has left all these points unanswered. Thus, if the mound AB is dated 2500 B.C., the mound F has to be dated 4000-3500 B.C. Nor did he appreciate the significance of his excavation cuttings HP XXXI and XXXV round the north-west corner or tower of mound AB where he found the ruins of buildings built with the typical Harappan bricks, which should have shown him that the Harappans had been in residence there long before the occupation level, at contour line 558·5.[147] As regards the pot-sherds, he discovered, found in a stratum 26 feet below the foundation of the citadel wall, it may be stated that such pale coloured pot-sherds had already been found mixed up with the red Harappa pottery, in previous excavations. Sastri states that he had himself examined, in the excavations carried out by Sri M. S. Vats, heaps of pot-sherds, lying in depth, and many of them were abnormal and yet they all belonged to the same ceramic culture and Industry.[148] The contention of Wheeler, that the citadel shows the arrival of the mature Harappa civilisation on mound AB, not only does not bear the test of scrutiny, but does not reveal the entire story of occupation on

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147. *Ibid*, p. 68 ; Sastri supports his charge, by citing Wheeler, (Indus Civilisation, p. 20), "The history of those defences was not a simple one. In addition to the village culture found below them in the main section, at two points fragments of underlying baked brick structures were also identified. Whilst, therefore, there is no indication of any lengthy pre-citadel settlement, there was certainly an applicable antecedent phase." Sastri observes on this, "May I ask, what are the eight strata of occupation in mound F. If not sure indication of a lengthy pre-citadel phase." *New Light on the Indus Civilisation*, Volume I, p. 69, footnote 2.

148. Sastri, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 69.

mound AB.[149] To this extent his excavation was defective.

(*b*) The present writer ventures to suggest that mere change in ceramic design does not prove that they were produced by different peoples. Also, if on the basis of the use of plano-convex bricks by the Sumerians, it be held, that they were different from their predecessors of Jamdetnasr period,[150] the converse proposition that similarity of bricks used in different layers of occupation strata at a site proves the identity of the peoples using them is also valid. Hence this also establishes, on equally valid grounds, the identity of the people, whose buildings made of typical Harappan bricks were found by Wheeler (already referred to) with the Harappan people of the Citadel phase.

(*c*) Wheeler's view that the mud and mud-brick platform rising to a height of 33 feet was designed to carry the weight of the buildings of the citadel,[151] has also been refuted by Sastri, who showed that the platform was not built at the same time as the citadel, there being a distinct line of cleavage between the two structures, nor was it designed to carry the weight of the citadel buildings. The foundations of the platform were carried down to a depth corresponding to contour line 540 and yet it was protected by a massive rampart whose foundations went 13 feet deeper. What was the necessity ? On the theory of Wheeler, it is inexplicable why the top of the platform was raised to the countour line 562.2 when the highest flood went upto contour line 548 only. If the platform had been a common feature covering the entire mound AB, its existence at this level in the extension Pits I and II, and in the trench excavated by Vats on the Southern slope of mound AB, where excavation went deeper than the top of the platform, would have been revealed. It should also have been revealed in the deep cut ravines due to heavy rains, on the eastern slopes of the mound near the Naugaza tomb. In short, Sastri, has demonstrated

149. Sastri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 69.
150. Woolley, *Excavations at Ur*, (1954), p. 49 ; Carlton, *Buried Empires*, (1939), p. 63.
151. *Ancient India No. 3*, p. 65 ; Sastri, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 70.

that it was not a platform but a buttress, built up against the wall, when the latter began to give way under the weight of mud and mudbricks of the wall itself.[152]

(*d*) In his anxiety to fix a low date for the Indus Civilisation, Wheeler held that the arrival of Harappans and the building of fortifications coincided in time, thereby ignoring his own findings about the buildings he had excavated below the cidital wall.[153] This view of Wheeler also implies that the baked brick industry started at Harappa with the arrival of the Harappans in 2500 B.C. when they built up mound AB. Yet this is contradicted by the fact that brickbats were used in the construction of the revetment, which was of importance for the strength of the citadel wall. The brickbats have always been obtained from the ruins of old and obsolete buildings and are used only when they are available at reasonable distance from the place where they are required, as otherwise the cost of transport and labour would be prohibitive. If the brickbats were imported into Harappa from some other place, that site has not yet been found. The real fact is that brickbats were already available from ruined buildings at Harappa itself and they had been there for centuries before 2500 B.C. the Harappans were not new comers when they built the citadel wall.[154] The arguments of Sastri, supported as they are by the findings of Durrani, combined with the evidence of Indus script and the ceramic parallels between Harappa on the one hand, Halaf, Al'Ubaid, Susa and Sialk on the other, definitely establish that, remains on mound F at Harappa are to be dated 4000-3500 B.C. and many of elements common to the Indus Civilisation, and the cultures mentioned, had their origin in the fifth millennium B.C.[155] Even if the chronology, for Egypt and Mesopotamia, suggested

152. Sastri, *Ibid.*, p. 70.
153. Sastri, *Ibid.*, p. 71.
154. Sasrri, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 71.
155. F.S. Starr, *Indus Valley Pottery*, pp. 9-10.

in this paper is either scoffed at or demolished, sufficient independent evidence had adduced to establish the antiquity of Indus Civilisation and whatever its origins, it was as Indian in character as was the Sumerain of Mesopotamia and the Egyptian of Egypt ; it did not originate in Mesopotamia. Prof. Gordon Ghilde rightly remarks—

"Enough has been said to show that India confronts Egypt and Babylonia by the third millennium with a thoroughly individual and independent civilisation of her own, technically the peer of the rest. And plainly it is deeply rooted in Indian soil. The Indus Civilisation represents a very perfect adjustment of human life to a specific environment, that can only have resulted from years of patient effort. And it has endured ; it is already specifically Indian and forms the basis of modern Indian culture. In architecture and industry, still more in dress and religion, Mohenjodaro reveals features that have always been characteristic of historical India".[156]

XXIII. A few words about the original habitat of this civilization may not be out of place. The fact is that apart from wild speculations, which are on par with similar speculations about the original home of the Aryans, no one has any idea though the probabilities are that it was born in India, at least to the same extent as the civilisation of Egypt and Mesopotamia were born in the countries where they later on flourished. The so-called pre-Harappan cultures at Amri, Kot-Diji and Kalibarnians merely show the Harappan civilization arrived at those places later than those cultures. Nothing more. The origin of the Indus civilisation is likely to remain a mystery, until archaeologists, specially from America and Europe, remove the veil from their eyes. Also there is no unanimity about the identity of the people who created it or the relationship between them and the Vedic and pre-Vedic Aryans.[157] Inspite of some contrasts there are many resemblances

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156. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, (1958,) p. 184.

157. Pusalkar, *History and Culture of the Indian People, Vidya Bhawan Series*, (*1954*) *VedicAge*, Vol. I, pp. 193-195 maintains that Aryans participated in the creation of the Indus Civilisation. I have purposely used the term pre-Vedic, as there is

between important aspects of the Vedic and Indus Civilizations.[158] Fortunately the theory that the hordes of barbarous Aryans destroyed the Indus Civilisation has been completely discredited.[159] and some scholars, even from Europe, have begun to think that perhaps the Aryans had already begum to participate In the prosperity of the Indus Civilisation rather than its sc-called decline.[160] The arguments of Tilak, Jacobi, Sengupta, Kameswara Aiyar and many other scholars, based on Vedic ritual ritus, months, years and *nakṣatras* of the ecliptic have never been countered by the advocates of 1500 or 2000 or even 2500 B.C. dates for the commencement of the Vedic literature, and they simply go on repeating that the astronomical argument is not convincing and Max Müller has proved that the Veda was created in the middle of the second millennium B.C. There is not the slightest doubt that the Vedic literature begins at least in the first half of the fourth millennium B.C. when the Mṛgśiram (Orion) headed the list of 27 nakṣatras. Prof. Langdon had observed : "In any way we may look at the problem, the Arynas in India are far more ancient than history admits.[161]" Again he states : "Far more is it likely that the Aryans in India are the oldest representatives of the Indo-Germanic race.[162]" The eminent Assyriologist, Prof. M.E.L. Mallowan, has conceded that the gods mentioned in the Boghazkeui treaty are Indo-Aryan.[163] As regards Wheeler's pronouncement (Nuremberg Style) "Indra stands accused" he writes : "we need a counsel for defence, before we can make a final judgement, and some not

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no doubt that if the Aryans came to India, from some other country, the interval between their arrival and the rise of the Vedic poetry, which is as specifically Indian as the Indus civilization, was so great that there is no indication of a direct or indirect memory of a pre-Indian home in any line of the vast Vedic literature.

158. K.N. Sastri, *New Light on the Indus Civilisation*, (1965), Vol. II, pp. 93-154. B.N. Dutta, Vedic Funeral customs and Indus Valley Culture, *Man in India*, Vol. XVI, Oct.-Dec., 1936 and Vol. XVII, March-June, 1937.

159. George F. Dales, *Expedition, Bulletin No. 3, Spring* (1964), Vol. VI, pp. 37-43 *of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.*

160. Mallowan, *Antiquity*, Vol. XXIX, (1955), pp. 199-200.

161. See Footnotes 7 and 11.

162. *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation*, (1931), Vol. II, p. 432.

163. *Ibid.*

uninteresting difficulties come to mind.[164]" Again, "The picture presented by early hymns of the Ṛgveda is of a highly organised tribal society, militant and skilled in arts and crafts. Aryans may have infiltrated into the Indus Valley before the great period of the Indus civilisation began to decline";[165] and further on "That is why we may legitimately wonder if an early wave of Aryans had not already entered the Indus cities some centuries before their decline, and participated in their prosperity rather than their degeneration.[166] As regards the antiquity of the Vedic literature, he sums as follows : Some have acknowledged that even higher date is admissible. Owing to the remarkable, even exceptional strength of the oral tradition in India, it seems, however, by no means unreasonable to suggest that the Vedic writings may accurately reflect the picture of a society many ceuturies, perhaps even a milennium, older than the date at which they are alleged to have been composed. Such a proposition would be far more difficult to accept for the western epic poetry."[167] Thus, chronologically also, there is nothing to prevent the Indo-Aryans being at least associates in the origin and development of the Indus Civilisation. My esteemed friend, Sri O.K. Ghosh, a man of actue perception, observes : "The origin of the four river valley civilisations of Indus, the Nile valley, Mesopotamia and the Hwang-Ho is bound up with the northward shift of wind-belts. The movement of the rain bearing winds northward can be explained in terms of barometric pressure; when the North Polar ice sheet was large, pressure over it was very high and it was quite high over all Europe, except perhaps the Northern Mediterranean coast, and high as well over a corresponding latitude in West Asia. Consequently, the west winds from the Atlantic did not blow over Europe, unless at some places on the North Mediterranean coast; they were reflected southward, dropping their moisture on the Mediterranean

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164. *Antiquity*, Vol. XXIX, 1955, p. 201 ; O.R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, 1961, pp. 104, 105, 124, 128 ; A.H. Sayce, (a) Early Home of Sanskrit in *J.J. Modi Comm.* Vol. 1939, pp. 68-72 ; (b) *J.E. Pavry Comm.*, Vol. 1933, pp. 399-402 ("Indians in Western Asia") ; K. Chattopadhyaya, Presidential address, *A.I.O.C., Trivandrum*, 1937, pp. 140-142 Sten Konow, *Aryan Gods of the Mitani People*, 1921 ; and above all H. Jacobi, *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 723 onwards.

165. Mallowan, *Antiquity*, Vol. XXIV, 1955, p. 201.

166. *Ibid.*, p. 201-202.

167. *Ibid.*, p 202, Footnote No. 7.

islands, and on the Sahara, the Libyan desert, the Syrian or North Arabian desert, and to a lesser extent—leser because of the amont they had already dropped further west—on the southern Arabian desert. Similarly the Sind and the Thar desert was once well watered. With the northward shift of ' the rain-bearing winds came desiccation. People moved to the river valleys and controlled the rivers, giving rise to river valley civilisations. For Iran, H. Bobek has given the period of desaccation as 9000—4000 B.C. By 3000 B.C. river valley civilizations were known in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and the same geographical circumstances must have led to a similar situation, at a similar date, in the Indus Valley. This cannot be proved, but is a great probability".[168]

XXIV. The main objectives of this paper, apart from an attempt to determine, by a commonsense analysis of the data, the antiquity of the Indus civilization, are an appeal to the Government of India, and the politicianes, to realise that it is high time for the immediate creation of an Institute of Archaeology, as an important adjunct of the Archaeological Survey of India, and associate with it, some very eminent Sanskrit scholars and Archaeologists with adequate staff and other facilities, for planning future exploration, excavation and correlation of archaeological discoveries with the literary references enshrined in the vast *Vedic* literature, the *Ramāyāṇa,* the *Mahābhārata* and lastly but not the least, the *Purāṇas*; care however being taken to prevent political pressures or public prejudices from interfering with the work of the Institute and the Department of Archaeology. Finally it is also an appeal to Sanskrit scholars, historians archaeologists, educationists, universities, learned societies and members of public to appreciate that the last word on Indian history, culture and civilisation cannot and does not lie with Whitney, Keith, Basham, Piggott, Woolley and Diringer. It is essential that Indian scholars, historians and archaeologists should be as objective as possible; and having formulated their views on solid evidence, should not hesitate to express them whether they run against the prejudices of Blind Indian orthodoxy or malicious Western obscurantism. Then alone would it be possible to write the history of India which would

168. A personal communication to the present writer. Śrī O.K. Ghosh, has cited the authority of C.E.F. Brooks, *The Evolution of Climate, London,* 1925, pp. 55-74.

be a credit to Indian scholarship. Then alone would it be possible for them to combat successfully the mischievous propaganda still emanating under the very aegis of the United Nations.[169]

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169. Sir Leonard Woolley, *History of Mankind, (Cultural and Scientific Development—Prehistory and Beginnings of Civilization), UNESCO*, Vol. I, pp. 389, 397, 405-407, 411, 458. For a sober criticism of the fulminations of Sir Leonard Woolley, who in some respects has bettered even Stuart Piggott and Mortimer Wheeler, see R.C. Majumdar, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona*, 1959, pp. 1-15. This type of propaganda is quoted in line with the old tradition of villification of the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit literature. It would not be out of place to cite a few examples of this, in support of my statement. A. A. Macdonell, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford, in his comments on a paper referred to him about the time of World War I, referred in following terms to an important passage of *Tattirīya Brāhmaṇa* (1-5-2 : quoted below), to Kameswara Aiyar, the author of the paper, "It is clear that the passage of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* cited merely divides the two sets of nakṣatras between the Deva and Yamalokas. Beyond this it tells us nothing and certainly has nothing to do with the equinoxes." (It is worthwhile noting that neither the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* nor Kameswara Aiyar, had made any references to equinoxes !). These remarks of Macdonell revealed to Kameswara Aiyar, how closed was the mind of the former and it also showed conclusively that he had not understood or chose not to understand the real import of the passage. Kameswara Aiyar was constrained to observe *QJMS*, Vol. XII, 1921-22, p. 180. "But does the passage say nothing more than that one set belongs to the Deva-loka and the other to the Yama-loka ? Even so, and if left with it, it would according to all tradition from Vedic times downwards imply (i) that the nakṣatras treated here are not all the stars in the heavens, but asteriosms marking the eliptical divisions, (ii) and that one set Kṛittikā to Viśākha lie in the Devaloka, that is in the northern portion of the ecliptic, and the other set (Anurādhā to Apabharaṇi), in the southern. But the passage does add something more than the former revolve south and the other revolve north—that is to say, in their respective hemispheres. *To ignore the obvious import of this passage without even alluding to the interpretations of the scholiasts does not bespeak the impartiality of critical scholarship* [Italics are mine.—KCV]. It is perhaps needless to state that Macdonell kept silent. Again Prof. A.B. Keith, Regious Professor of Sanskrit, University of Edinburgh, a stout defender of 1200 B.C. date for the Veda, in *J.R.A.S.* 1917, pp. 135-136, referred with approval to the attempt of Lehmann Haupt, to revive the theory of Babylonian origin of the Indian Lunar Nakṣatra zodiac. It was essential for him to do so as otherwise he would have had to concede the validity of the arguments of Tilak and Jacobi (Tilak's *Orion*, 1893 and Jacob's Age of the Veda, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 23, 1894, pp. 154-159). B.V. Kameswara Aiyar, *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XII, 1921-22, pp. 175-176, formulated a series of points which had to be cleared before theory could be considered. It may be noted, that Max Muller had refuted the theory in 1862, his Text of the *Ṛgveda*, Vol. IV, Preface ;

again his *India what Can it Teach us*, 1882, p. 126 ; and Agnes Mary Clerke, *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, XI Edition, (reprint of the Xth edition, with three supplementary volumes), 1922, Vol. 28, pp. 995-996, article 'zodiac'. The theory had been started by Weber, and strongly supported by W.D. Whitney, neither of them cited any evidence. In the pages of the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Kameswara Aiyar, in his paper "Age of the Brāhmaṇas" invited Prof. Keith to cite the evidence on which Lehmann Haupt and Fritz Hommel, both Assyriologists, who were 'perhaps as competent authorities on the Veda as on Assyriology,' had revived the theory. As Keith also not cited any evidence, Kameswara Aiyar remarked (*QJMS*, Vol. XII, 1921-22, p. 176), referring to the famous Krittika passage, in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II—1-3 (quoted below), "*Meanwhile Indians cannot help feeling that it is all camouflage, an ingenious device to shut out a whole class of evidence* [Italics are mine—KCV]. If Keith had admitted that theory of Babylonian origin was wrong, he would have been compelled to acknowledge that at least a part of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, has to be dated 2500—2100 B.C. and that would have pushed the *Ṛgveda* to 4000 B.C. or thereabouts. It is worthwhile mentioning that in more than 500,000 inscribed tablets that have so far been discovered in Mesopotamia and Western Asia there has never been found even a hint of Lunar Nakṣatra Zodiac ! Yet the theory of the Babylonian origin still flourishes among western scholars !

Again to what extent even scholars, otherwise same, are prepared to go in support of their prejudices is well illlustrated by the example of G. Bühler. He had propounded in his *Indian Paleography*, the theory that the ancient Brāhmi script of India was derived from Western Asia. The great Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaurishankar Ojha, sent to Buhler, some adverse comments ; and as the latter had no basis in reality for his theory, he kept silent. Ojha, in his *Prāchīna Bhāartīyā Lipimālā*, p. 26, showed how by the application of principies ennunciated by Bühler, it was possible to derive the ancient Brāhmi from the modern English script ! A similar feat was accomplished by a pupil of Prof. Devadutta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar in 1905, (*Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference, Poona*, 1919, p. 318), Yet like the cry "Max Müller has proved the date of the Veda to be in the second half of second millennium, B.C." the cry is that the Brāhmī script was derived from Western Asia. So illfounded is this theory that Prof. Rhus Davids declined to accept it and Prof. Giles, *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, XIth Ed. 1922, Vol. I, 731, also has had to admit that there was no sufficient evidence to establish it.

Passages from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas

देव नक्षत्राणि वा अन्यानि । (६)यत्र नक्षत्राण्यन्यानि कृत्तिकाः प्रथमम् । विशाखे उत्तमम् । तानि देवनक्षत्राणि । अनुराधा प्रथमम् । अपभरणीरुत्तमम् । तानि यमनक्षत्राणि । यानि देवनक्षत्राणि । तानि दक्षिणेन परियन्ति । यानियम नक्षत्राणि । तान्युत्तरेण इति ।

Taitlrīya Brāhamaṇa 1, 52

Sāyaṇa's comment—देवलोकस्य समीपे दक्षिण पार्श्वे कृत्तिकादीनि परिभ्रमन्ति अनुराधानि तु यत्र लोकस्य समीपे उत्तर पार्श्वे परिभ्रमन्ति ।

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara—देव नक्षत्राणि देवलोकं दक्षिणेन परियन्ति। यम नक्षत्राणि तु यमलोकमुत्तरेण परियन्ति। कृत्तिकादीन्युत्तरेण तावति प्रदेशे अदूरेण देवलोकः। अनुराधानि तु दक्षिणेन तावति प्रदेशे यमलोकः।।

एताहवै प्राच्यैदिशो न च्यवन्ते सर्वाणि हवाऽ अन्यानि नक्षत्राणि प्राच्यै दिशश्च्यवन्ते *etc. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa II-1-3*

Sāyaṇa's comment—नियतदिक्सम्बन्धवशेनैता प्रशंसति 'एताहवा' इति 'प्राच्य' 'प्राच्याः' दिशः सकाशात् न च्यवन्ते दक्षिणत उत्तरतो वा विक्षेपवशान्न चलन्ति। किन्तु नियमेन शुद्धप्राच्यामेवोद्यान्ति।। अन्यानि तु नक्षत्राणि प्राचीदिग्भागाद् दक्षिणत उत्तरतो वा विक्षेप वशात् चलन्ति। प्राचीदिग्भागाद् दक्षिणत उत्तरश्च नियमेव परिवर्तन्ते।।

Indo-Greek Invasion during the time of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga

DR. C. B. PANDEY

THE history of the time of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga is full of complexities owing to the paucity of enough materials, and, therefore, conjectures have been hazarded in the construction of the history of this period. The problems become more complex, because of the numismatic materials liable to divergent interpretations. The coins of Mathurā, Ayodhyā, Pañchālas, Kuṇindas and a host of several others, supposed to have been issued after the downfall of the Mauryas, exhibit another complexity. The materials testifying to the Indo-Greek invasion (or invasions ?) during this period add further to the already complex problems.

But there remains hardly any controversy at least, regarding Puṣyamitra's usurping the throne[1] from Bṛihadratha, the last Mauryan King. Purāṇas unanimously testify to this episode. Of course, opinions differ, as to how much of the vast Mauryan empire was inherited by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. The general tendency among the scholars is to maintain that local dynasties began to emerge in Northern India, and that Puṣyamitra inherited only a small kingdom in Magadh (according to Tarn[2] in Vidiśā). One of the latests cholars, Narain argues on the basis of numismatic evidence that Pāñchāla and Mathurā were enjoying independent positions. Definitely he follows Cunningham[3]. Allan[4] also strongly supported the latter and said : 'the dynasty was in

1. Pargiter. *the Dynasties of the Kali Age.* pp. 30-31.
2. Tarn *Greeks in Bactria and India* p. 133.
3. Cunningham *Coins of Ancient India*,pp. 79-84.
4. By this Allan meant the Pāñchāla Kings who issued an independent series of coins with typical three symbols known as Pāñchāla symbols.

existence long before the Śuṅgas', and 'if we date,' he adds, 'the accession of Puṣyamitra in about 184 B.C., it is clear that he survived not only the Śuṅgas but also the Kāṇvas, probably disappearing with the latter before the Sakas[5]'.

No doubt the series of the Pāñchāla coins present difficult problems and similarly the coins of Mathurā Kings also offer complexity to the present problem. Allan assigns them to the period approximately from the beginning of the second century B. C. to the middle of the first century B.C.[6] According to Narain who follows the footsteps of Cunningham and Allan : 'The Mathurās were one of the most powerful successors of the Mauryas in the Madhyadeśa[7]'. Thus, on the basis of Pāñchala and Mathurā series of coins most of whom have the mitra ending names, Dr. Narain has suggested, of course, on the authority of *Yugapurāṇa*, that at that time, 'the Pāñchāla and Mathurā made a bid to occupy Pāṭaliputra and in their attempts they took the help of the Indo-Greeks[8]'.

The above arguments seem apparently to be very convincing; but on a closer examination, they stand considerably on weak grounds. It has been accepted unanimously that Puṣyamitra, the *Senāpati* of the Mauryas usurped the Mauryan throne of Magadha, after killing the last Mauryan king Bṛhadratha. It has also been accepted that Śuṅgas were in possession of some key centres of power[9], and that they occupied Ayodhyā and Vidiśā has not been doubted by any scholar so far. Of course, Cunningham[10], and following him Tarn[11], regarded Puṣyamitra and his son, Agnimitra as the rulers of Vidiśā only. But none of them has tried to show why Puṣyamitra succeeded the Mauryan empire only in Vidiśā and not in Pāṭaliputra, the seat of the Mauryan emperors for centuries ; or if Puṣyamitra succeeded in Vidiśā who actually were the people to succeed the Mauryas in Magadha ? It is very natural to suppose that Puṣyamitra succeeded Bṛhadratha on the throne of Pāṭaliputra. And it has been shown by R. C.

5. Narain.—*The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 79-80.
6. Allan—*op. cit.* p. CXVI.
7. Narain, *op. cit.* p. 80.
8. Loc cit.
9. Narain *op. cit.* pp. 9-10.
10. Cunningham *op. cti.* p. 80 ff.
11. Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 133.

Majumdar[12] that 'the argument of Cunningham is weaker still. Puṣyamitra has not been called the ruler of Vidiśā, and the invitation to Agnimita, who was ruling at Vidiśā to attend the sacrificial ceremony shows that Puṣyamitra was ruling elsewhere, presumably at Pāṭaliputra.' He adds : 'as[13] a matter of fact there is no valid ground to suppose that the successor of the Mauryan empire ruled over only Vidiśā or a small principality like it.' Puṣyamitra was associated with Pāṭaliputra is attested by *Divyāvadāna's*[14] story connecting him with Kukkuṭārāma, that he started his vengeance against Buddhism at Pāṭaliputra on that famous Buddhist monastry. The story of *Divyāvadana*, for whatever it is worth, associates him with Sāgala i.e. modern Sialkot. And above all, he performed two horse-sacrifices, a fact which in itself is sufficient to denote that Puṣyamitra was not the ruler of a small principality. If we closely see the above facts, the statement of Narain[15] that 'Puṣyamitra's *coup* cannot have resulted in the creation of a large empire either under him or his successor' stands wholly baseless. He himself admits that Śuṅgas were in possession of key-centres of power, that Puṣyamitra performed his horse-sacrifices, that the Śuṅgas were associated with three prominent administrative centres, Pāṭaliputra, Ayodhyā and Vidiśā. But even then, he arrives at a surprising conclusion that they had neither the strength, nor the resources to retain all the parts of the Mauryan empire. Narain did not suggest about the capital of the Śuṅgas (a very pertinent question) from which they controlled the three important centres of Mauryan empire. Puṣyamitra's association with Pāṭaliputra[16], Ayodhyā, Vidiśā and Sialkot shows that he succeeded in inheriting the considerable, if not all, portion of the Magadha empire, and it was a continuous one, not divided into patches. The difficulty of the numismatic evidence regarding Pāñchāla, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā coins has to be solved in a different way.

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12. *Alteker Commemoration volume* p. 49.
13. Loc. cit.
14. *Divyāvadana* (Ed. by Cowell & Neil) pp. 433-4.
15. Narain *Op. cit.* p. 9.
16. It appears from the *Divyāvādana* also that the emperor continued to reside in Pāṭaliputra. *Vide. Divyāvādana* p. 434 ; cf. also, H.C. Ray Chaudhury. *P.H.A.I.* (5th ed.) p. 371.

It is well known that Puṣyamitra performed the two Aśvamedha sacrifices, which are attested by Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* and Ayodhyā inscription[17a] of Dhanadeva. Aśvamedha sacrifices, for what they evidence, are mainly for the acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the performer and not for the conquest of any fresh territory. This fact may be coupled with another, that state had no absolute monopoly over minting of the coins. There were certain dynasties in Indian history which are not known to have issued coins at all. The famous Vākātakas did not issue coins of their own. In case, the sufficient money was available in the market, the king did not bother to issue his own currency. It is likely that Śuṅgas might have allowed their small feudatory-like kings of Pāñchālas, Mathurās etc. to issue coins. Feudatory coins are not unknown in Ancient Indian History. Sātavāhana feudatories, Ānandas, Kurus, and Sebaka dynasty may be cited as examples.

Once accepted that Puṣyamitra inherited a large territory, it becomes clear that any east-ward advance of the Yavana (at least east of Jhelum) amounted to an attack on Śuṅga empire.

As regards Yavana invasion, it is almost unanimously admitted that Patañjali's grammetical examples of imperfect tense अरुणद् यवन: साकेतम्, अरुणद् यवनो माध्यमिकाम् record an event (or events) of some Yavan invasiona on Sāketa and Mādhyamikā. Though some doubts have also been entertained about it. It has been said that Patañjali's grammetical example are not his own creation but traditional examples, put together before his time[17]. In fact, at least one authority[18] on the basis of his mention of the Śakas put him much later than 150 B.C. It may be noted that the examples are given to illustrate and elucidate the Kātyāyana's Vrātika परोक्षे च लोक विज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शन विषये on the Pānini's Sūtra[19], and Patañjali[20] comments : परोक्षे च लोक विषये लङ् वक्तव्य: Thus, the purport, as Dr. V. S. Agrawala[21] says is 'that the imperfect tense is used to denote a past event, if it relates to an important public

17a. *Ep. Ind.* XX. p. 57, 'द्विरश्मेध याजिन : सेनापते: पुष्यमित्रस्य'

17. Weber. *Indiche Studien*, XIII. pp. 312 ff.

18. Delavallée Poussin, *L'. Inde aux Temps des Mauryas et des Barbares, grees, scythes, parthes el yue-chi*, (1930) p. 199-202.

19. *Asṭādhyāyī* III. 2. 111. अनद्यने लङ्

20. *Mahābhāsya.* (ed. Keilhorn).

21. *I.H.Q.* vol. 29 (1953) pp. 183.

happening लोक विज्ञात provided the same should have taken place in the life time of the speaker so as to be within possibility of his actually witnessing it प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शन विषये. Dr. V. S. Agrawala has also illustrated that this important grammetical rule was accepted or paraphrased by almost all the subsequent grammarians, leading to a series of illustrations of historical interests referring to important events contemporaneous with their authors ; and quotes Cāndra Grammar giving the examples अजयत् जर्तो हूणान् and Sidhaprabhā commentary giving the example अजैषीद् गर्तो (जर्तो, गर्तो गुप्तो) हूणान् according to Dr. Agrawala the same author also quotes Abhayanandīn's example अरुणद् महेन्द्रो मथुराम् । अरुणद्यवन: साकेतम् He suggests that the correct reading of महेन्द्र is मेनेन्द्र, the Kharoṣṭhī form of the bilingual coins of Menander.

If we accept Dr. Agrawala's valid suggestion that in the grammetical example of Abhayanandin the reading is अरुणद् मेनेन्द्रो मथुराम् and that *Menendra* is the form of his name in the Kharoṣṭhi script on his coins, that this name must have been the current form among the people of Northern India and in the Punjab, there is ground to suggest that Menendar was the author of the Indo-Greek invasion which finds reference in Patañjali. Narain[23] has doubted the suggested reading of Dr. Agrawala. He argues that '...it would be more appropriate to find in Mahendra, a king of Hindu medieval period than to amend the text without any special reason; it seems these are school examples, one referring to some contemporary event and the other giving the traditional examples borrowed from Patanjali'. The value of Narain's apparently cogent reasoning could have been more valuable, had he identified Mahendra with any medieval Hindu king in the light of Abhayanandin's date. In fact the possibility of invading Mathurā in Hindu medieval period is remote, as the centre of political activities in that period was not Mathurā but it had shifted to more east i. e. Kanauj ; secondly, so far no Hindu king with the name Mahendra is known in the epigraphic, numismatic or literary traditions to have invaded Mathurā. Thirdly, the argument that Dr. Agrawala's amending the text without any specific reason has little value. Because Dr. Agrawala gave a suggestion which is confirmed not only by the coins of Menander

22. *Ibid.* p. 180-1.
23. Narain, *Op. Cit.* p. 83-84.

but also on other evidences suggesting Menander's invasion on Mathurā. It may be noted that Narain himself[24] at one place in his solitary book does the same type of amendment of text without any specific reason. Dr. Agrawala's suggestion[25]—though only a suggestion—seems, thus, far from being incorrect. Menander's invasion at Mathurā, in the light of the contemporary political background, is not unlikely. He must have been wise enough strategically to cut the main line of contact between Pāṭaliputra and Vidiśā. Mathurā definitely occupied a very important strategic position from this point of view. And it was wise enough on the part of any king proceeding from the north-west, disirous of invading Pāṭaliputra to cut the line of contact and reinforcement between the two important strategic positions.

The relevant passages in the western classical sources quoted by Tarn[26], Whitehead[27] and Narain[28] are unanimous on Menander's conquest of India. That Demetrius could not have been the author of the Greek invasion referred to by Patañjali, has been ably shown by Tarn and Narain. According to Strabo : 'the conquest of India by Bactrian Greeks were mostly achieved by Menander and he probably advanced beyond Hypanis (Beas) as far as the river Imus or Isamus.' That was what Strabo was able to know. But Menander proceeded farther east-ward, at least, as far as Pāṭaliputra, is shown by the story Kṣemendra, for whatever it is worth, in which quite incidentally Budha prophesying to Indra says that a king Milinda would erect a stupa at Pāṭaligrāma.[29] Menander invaded Pāṭaliputra has been accepted by Narain, of course, with Mathuras and the Pānchālas, on the basis of pseudo-purāṇic tradition of Yugapurāna section of Gārgī Saṁhitā.

Following Whitehead[30] who believed that Indo-Greeks could have done no more than conduct a cold weather campaigns or

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24. Not much after (at the distance of only 5 pages) his discussion about Dr. Agrawala's illustration of examples of Abhayanandin, Narain suggests the reading *Sāketa* in place of Sākala, without any reason. *Vide. The Indo Greeks* p. 87 f. n. 3. which continues on page 88.
25. *I.H.Q.* vol. XXIV (1953) p. 181ff.
26. Tarn. *Greeks in Bactria and India* pp. 247ff.
27. Whitehead. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, pp. 317ff.
28. Narain. *op. cit.* pp. 79ff
29. Rhys Davids. *The question of Milinda*, pt. 2. p. xvii.
30. *Numismatic chronicle*, 1940, p. 92.

make long distance raids, Narain[31] tries to demonstrate that Tarn's theory about Menander's conquest of Mid-India has no basis to stand upon and doubts whether he made any conquest in east beyond Jhelum. He further adds that there was only one invasion of the Indo-Greeks, of the nature of raid in course of which, he might have reached Pāṭaliputra, but there was no conquest.[32] Narain's main arguments can be summed up as follows : (1) The western classical sources do not record any lasting Yavana's invasion in these regions. (2) The Yugapurāṇa section of Gārgī Saṁhitā does not attribute the Yavana leader with any permanent conquest of Pāṭaliputra. The Yavana leader had to return to his own country due to terrible war, which began among themselves. (3) Menander's coins are not commonly found east of Ravi.

His first argument is obviously in defiance of Appolodorus (to quote Tarn's phrase) who records Strabo saying that Menander crossed Hypanis (Beas), But Narain[33] tries to explain the difficulty created by Appolodorus by saying that when Strabo quotes Appolodorus, he himself records in paranthesis his doubts whether Menander actually crossed Hypanis, and that Strabo doubts may be due to the fact that he knew something about the unsuccessful nature of Yavana advance in Madhyadeśa. But Dr. Narain forgot to notice Strabo's[33a] clear mention of Yavana advance upto Ganges and Pāṭaliputra.

As regards his second argument, it may be noted that Dr. Narain himself,[34] on the basis of his readings of Yugapurāṇa passages admits that Yavanas, who were well known for their valour सुविक्रांता: together with Pāñchālas and Mathurā attacked Sāket and marched on to possess Kusumadhvaja (Pāṭaliputra). When they reached the mud fortification of Pāṭaliputra, the people became confounded and there was disorder.[35] Apart from what the word 'raid' would mean to him, right from Sialkot to Patna and that too in collaboration with two important powers of mid-India, the Mathurās and the Pāñchālas, the Yugapurāṇa lines are enough to suggest that attack on Pāṭaliputra was complete. This fact, coupled with another important one, is worth serious considerations. The

31. Narain. *op. cit.* pp. 80. ff.
32. *Ibid.* p. 88.
33. loc. cit.
33a. Strabo XV. 698, quoted by Tarn. *op. cit.*, p. 144 f.n. 6.
34. Narain. *op. cit.*, pp. 80ff.
35 *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. XIV p. 402. 1, 23. ततः पुष्पपुरे प्राप्ते कदमें प्रथिते हिते ।

evidence of *Divyāvadāna*[36] show that Milinda or Menander built a stupa at Pāṭaligrāma (Pāṭaliputra). It is also certain that Menander could not remain for longat Pāṭaliputra; and he had to retire to meet the situation created by the civil war in his own country. Whatever be the duration of Menander's stay at Pāṭaliputra, it seems certain that Menander, whom the literary sources regard as the champion of Buddhism, erected a stupa, as soon as he took Pātaliputra. The hurry with which he erected the Buddhist stupa tells a different tale and obliges us to consider the story of Puṣyamitra's Buddhist's persecution and his horse-sacrifice in the historical persective. But in the present context, it is permissible to ask Narain how manander could find sufficient time during his raid at Pāṭaliputa to erect a stupa there.

Narain's third argument of the paucity of numismatic evidence testifying to Menander's mid-India conquest can be explained that Menander could not get the time to do so, as he had to retire soon to West due to political circumstances[37]. Had he not retired, the story of Indian history of that period would have something else. He got little time to consolidate his position at Pāṭaliputra and mint coins for his newly conquered territory. Seen from this view point, it seems plausibly certain that the Greek invasion was not of the nature of raid. It was fully planned and seriously thoughtover step of the Indo-Greeks with a definite design to destroy the strongest power of the country, i.e. the Śuṅgas, by collaborating with the small potentates of Mathurā and Pāñchala, both subordinates of the Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, and by cutting the main line of contact between Pātaliputra and Vidiśā, by attacking on Mathurā. This was a step for which Menander's ingenuity and his strategic skill must be appreciated and praised.

One more fact is to be noted for our consideration that according to *Divyāvadāna's* description of Buddhist persecution, Puṣyamitra first went to Kukkuṭārāma at Pāṭaliputra. After that the story takes a sudden turn and informs that he reached Sākala and declared there that whosoever would give him a monk's head would receive from him one hundred *dinaras*.[38] Puṣyamitra's association

36. *Divyāvadana* (Ed. by Cowell and Neil.) p. 432ff. स यावच्छाकल अनुप्राप्त: । तेनाभिहित यो मे श्रमणशिरोदास्यति तस्याहं दीनारशतं दास्यामि ।

37. *JBORS*. Vol. XIV, p. 402. L. 42 मध्यदेशे न स्थास्यन्ति यवनाः युद्धदुर्मदा । also cf. line 44. आत्मचक्रोत्थितं घोरं युद्धं परम दारुणं ।

38. *Divyāvadana* (Ed. Cowell and Neil) Cambridge (1886), pp. 433-34.

with Sākala has not been doubted even by Tarn[39] the devout champion of Hellenism. But. Narain doubts it and says: 'The reliance usually placed on the story of *Divyāvadāna* to show that Puṣyamitra ruled as far west as Sākala is not justified on careful study of the whole context. To us it seems evident either there is some mistake in the name or that Sākala of Divyāvadāna must be placed not far from Pāṭaliputra.[40] He further argues: 'It is curious that the story takes Puṣyamitra straight from Pāṭaliputra. Not only is the distance between the two considerable but also there is no evidence to show that Sākala was an important enough centre of Buddhism in the Maurya or Śuṅga period to merit a mention on a level of Pāṭaliputra, specially when several other places in Madhyadeśa have been omitted...We might say that the Sākala in the text is a mistake for Sāketa which was probably in the dominion of Puṣyamitra and which was a centre of Budhist activity much near to Pātaliputra'[41] Narain's arguments which are apparently cogent, on careful scrutiny stand baseless. Divyāvadāna is a Budhist work and definitely, therefore, tries to magnify Puṣyamitra's persecution of Budhists, whenever the occasion arises. The non-mention of other places in Madhyadeśa was only because that Puṣyamitra was not persecutor of Budhists in general. He might have persecuted only at the places where the monks must have sided the foreigners (definitely the Indo-Greeks in the context) for their international brotherhood, (as they did several times in history), against national patriotism.[42] There is no point being obstinate against the identification of Sāgala or Sākala with Sialkot, when numerous references point to the same. Whitehead's[43] argument (and for that matter Allan's[44] also) that Sialkot has not produced the coins of Menander as one would expect from his capital, is not justified in this context as many of the Indian capitals of Ancient India have not produced coins as one would expect from a capital. In fact, even Pāṭaliputra has not produced coins of the imperial Guptas equal to Bayana hoard. It seems that Sāgala, not far away from the Indo-Greek dominion, was the centre of underground political

39. Tarn, *op. cit.* pp. 176-178.
40. Narain, *op. cit.* p. 83.
41. *Ibid*, p. 87 f. n. 3 which continues on p. 88.
42. For identification of Sākala, vide. B.C. Law, *Historical geography of Ancient India* (1954) p. 122.
43. *Numismatic chronicle*, 1950, p. 212.
44. Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*. II p. 863.

activities, and the Budhist place mentioned in Divyāvadāna was important Budhist monastry in the midst of the capital, which played not insignificant role in the political activities of Magadha. Puṣyamitra becoming alive to the situation must have turned his eyes first to Kukkuṭarāma and then to Sāgala. Our supposition is confirmed by Milindapañha's reference of Menander erecting a stupa at Pāṭaligrāma. It is noteworthy that Menander had only once gone to Pāṭaliputra and that too for a short time and he had to soon retire from the capital. It is noteworthy, therefore, to see with what hurry he erected the stupa even at his short stay at Pāṭaliputra. There is much ground to believe in the series of arguments given by Tarn with regard to the propaganda which the Indo-Greeks did before actually attacking the mid-India. The *Soter* varieties of Menander's[45] coins must have been part of Greek vigorous propaganda. In fact, in the numismatic tradition, coins with the legend *soteres* were issued only with political meaning. Tarn writing about this says[46] : 'the title had its full value in the Greek world. It had only been used twice before in the history. Ptolemy I had been *Soter*, because he had helped to save Rhodes from Demetrius, the Zesugu, and Antiochus I, because he had saved Asia Minor from the Gauls, and in the same way Appolodotus and Menander were *Soteres*, because they professed to come to Indians as saviours, to save them from Puṣyamitra,'[47] Tarn anticipated his being mistaken to talking of the alliance 'of Greeks and Budhism, the Budhist religion.' 'It[48] was entirely,' he adds, 'a political matter; but it happened that the people to be *saved*, were in fact, usually Budhists. Of course the Yavanas fought Puṣyamitra not because he was a Brāhamaṇa, but because he wanted what they wanted and was in their way. From Puṣyamitra's side, Tarn adds[49] further that he persecuted the Budhist monks not because they were Budhists, as the Budhists stupas of Bharahut and Sāñcī are monuments of Śuṅga period; but because

45. A list of the *Soter* varieties of his coins can be seen in Narain's *The coin-types of Indio-Greek Kings*.
46. Tarn. *op. cit.* p. 175.
47. Loc. cit.
48. Loc. cit.
49. Tarn has suggested the route of Pusyamitra's persecution by saying tha Puṣyamitra's route is from Pāṭaliputra to North-West Sāgala and thence to South-East. Tarn, *op. cit.* 177-78.

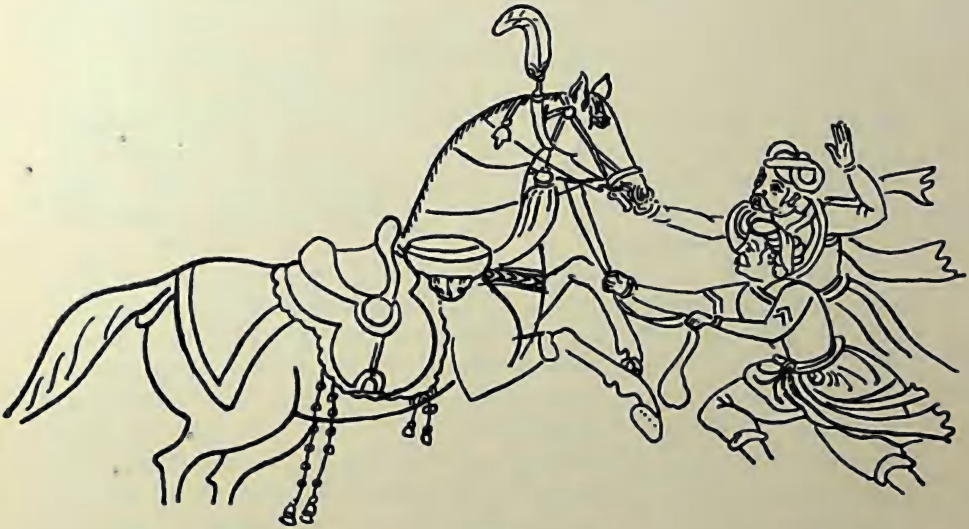
they must have been politically allied to the Indo-Greeks and for whom Menander wanted to be *soter* (saviour) by issuing such coins with Kharoṣṭhī legend *tratarasa* (saviour)

It is well known that Puṣyamitra performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices. Ayodhyā inscription[50] of Dhanadeva records him as the performer of two horse-sacrifices. One horse-sacrifice of Puṣyamitra Sugṅa finds reference in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*.[51] As regards dates of these sacrifices, at least this may be acceded, as it seems, that Puṣyamitra could not have performed the two sacrifices at one stretch. There must have been considerable gap in the dates of performances. The second horse-sacrifice must have been performed to signalise his authority again as a suzerain over what was once probably his sole authority. He also thereby gave a touch of the revival of Brahmanical religion of the period.

Now, to reconstruct the sequence of events, Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, the Commander-in-Chief of the last Mauryan King, seeing that his master was unable to resist the political dissensions of the country took upon himself the responsibility of doing so, by killing the feeble king and making himself and his suzerainty be felt by the people by performing a horse-sacrifice. He performed the horse-sacrifice, and in the process, he made rising petty potentates of Northern India to accept of whatever nominal worth, his suzerainty. R.C. Majumdar[52] is right to think 'it would appear that so long as Puṣyamitra was alive, he was able to maintain to a larger extent, the Magadhan empire, established by the Nandas and the Mauryas.' Though the Greeks made planned efforts to break through the strength of the Śuṅga empire and partly they were successful to conquer the capital, and hold it for some time,[53] but they had to retire due to internal war among themselves. Puṣyamitra seems to have soon recovered and got opportunity to establish once more the authority and prestige lost due to the Greek attack by performing a second horse-sacrifice.[54] Soon after his death, as Dr. R.C. Majumdar

50. Ep. Ind. Vol. X p. 57, Sircar. Select Inscriptions (1965) p. 95.
51. *Mālavikāgnimitra Act.* V.
52. R.C. Majumdar in Alteker's Commemoration Vol. p. 53.
53. *Yugapurāṇa* (*JBORS*) Vol. XIV. p. 1.
54. *Vide*—author's article : *The Problem of two Indo-Greek invasions during Śuṅga period* in '*The coinage of India* a souvenir' presented to the Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi in May 1968. It has been shown there in detail the political circumstances in which Pusyamitra performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices.

puts 'it showed the usual spectacle which follows the decline of a mighty empire, namely a congeries of states corresponding to old traditional kingdoms of Mathurā, Pāñcāla, Ayodhyā, Magadha and a host of others.'[55] The beginning of this disintegration may roughly be placed in the second half of the second century B.C.[56]

55. R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.* p. 54.
56. Loc. cit.

Pratihāra Rāmabhadra

DR. H. A. PHADKE

IN the Sāgartāl inscription, the poet Bālāditya gives a brief account of Rāmabhadra, the father of his patron, Mihira Bhoja. The description, it must be admitted, apart from its literary merit and the conventional praises which are so common with the royal *praśastikāras*, contains some information regarding the political events of the reign of Rāmabhadra. According to the Jain work *Bappabhaṭṭicarita*, the death of Nāgāvaloka (Nāgabhaṭa II) of Kanauj occurred in A.D. 833; while the Barāh copper-plate provides A.D. 836, which is the earliest known date of his grandson Mihira Bhoja. The reign of the latter's father Rāmabhadra, therefore, must be placed between these two dates. This period comes to about three years, which is, indeed, an unusually short reign. It is, therefore, very necessary to examine the data supplied by the contemporary inscriptions to find out the underlying causes for such a happening.

Verse 12 of the inscription referred to above hints at the destruction of the obstacle caused by the evil doers and a rebellion of the haughty and cruel commanders of the armies who were forcibly bound down by Rāmabhadra's subordinate kings, who had the best cavalry under their charge[1]. The very fact that the king had to summon his feudatories to crush the rebellion that Rāmabhadra was a weakling and the affairs of his kingdom were beyond his control. This receives confirmation from verse 15 of the same inscription which speaks of Rāmabhadra's pacific disposition, his averseness to the worldly affairs and his keen desire to dispose of the overlordship over his subjects. The poet with his intelligent use of figures of speeches like Utprekṣā, Sleṣa and Rūpaka provides an excellent garb to the actual course of events during the time of Rāmabhadra. As in the case of

1. *E.I.* XVIII, pp. 107 ff., V.

Rāmacandra this Rāmabhadra is also joined by his wife, i.e. fame, after she had been in enemies stronghold for some time. Doest not this point out that the fame of the imperial house was eclipsed during the reign of this unfortunate prince ? This perhaps finds corroboration in the Barah copper-plate[2] of his son Bhoja. The inscription refers to the restoration of a grant in A.D. 836, originally made by Sarvavarmadeva and sanctioned by Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭadeva, but which lapsed in the time of Rāmabhadra. The causes of such a development are attributed to the inefficiency of some judicial officers. B. N. Puri[3] holds that some loss of territory can also be gathered from the Gwalior inscription of Alla whose father Vāillabhaṭṭa was appointed warden of the marches by Rāmadeva, evidently Rāmabhadra.

The Osia[4] and the Buchkala[5] inscriptions point out that Jodhpur region formed a part of the Pratihāra kingdom under Vatsarāja and Nāgabhata; while the Daulatpur copper-plate[6], from the same region says that a grant in Gurjaratrābhūmi, was originally made by Vatsarāja and continued by Nāgabhata, but fell into abeyance ; thereafter it was restored by Bhoja in A.D. 843. This indicates that there was some obstruction in the enjoyment of the land of this grant also in the reign of Rāmabhadra and it remained so during the early years of Bhoja's reign.

Apart from the weakness at the centre, the other reason for the Daulatpur grant falling into disuse can be deduced from the Jodhpur inscription[7] of A.D. 837, of the Pratihāra Bāuka, son of Kakka who is known to have gained renown by fighting with the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri. This undoubtedly points out that the rulers of this dynasty owed allegiance to the imperial house at Kanauj and cooperated with their overlords against the Pālas of Bengal. In six grand eloquent verses, it refers to the heroic feats of Bāuka, who suddenly appeared on the scene, when the hoards

2. *E.I.*, XIX, pp. 17 ff. The expression 'किंचित्कालं विहृतम्' of this inscription is significant. It points out that the abeyance of the grant remained for a brief period probably hinting at the very short duration of Rāmabhadra.
3 *History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 49.
4. *ASIR.*, 1908-09, p. 108, *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 1010.
5. *EI.*, IX, p. 198.
6. *EI.*, V., p. 208, *Deva-rājye tu taca-chāsanam-anumatiś-ca vigatiṁ-upagate.*
7. *EI.*, XVIII, pp. 87 ff. ; Bhandarkar's list, No. 26, p. 6.

of enemy forces had reached Bhūakūpa after having killed (or taken ?) Nandāvalla. When Bāuka's own forces were broken into disorder, his younger brothers and ministers left him. Thus inspite of heavy odds, he quelled a confederacy of nine maṇḍals and killed Mayūra in a tumultuous battle, saving the country from a great disaster.[8]

An interpretation of the above description is by no means easy. The expression *Nandāvallaṁ prahatvā* is gramatically incorrect and it should have been *prahatya* if it was to denote the killing of a person named Nandāvalla. Hirananda Shastri's reading *cha hritvā* better puts the metre and if accepted it will mean *'after having taken* Nandāvalla' thereby making it a place. As the next part of the verse in question refers to the reaching of the enemy's forces to yet another locality named Bhūakūpa, the second reading is preferable. Was it then a part of Vallamaṇḍala as the name ending Valla may suggest? It is further to be noted in this connection that the Jodhpur Pratihāras were closely related to the Bhaṭṭi clan of that region and the Ghaṭiyāla inscription[9] of Kakkuka, son of Bāuka, mentions his acquisition of fame in adjoining countries including Valla. The Jodhpur inscription further informs us that Bāuka had to fight all alone. This was perhaps because of the fact that the imperial authority as notifed above, was considerably weakened during the inglorious reign of Rāmabhadra, hence there was no possibility of any help from that quarter.

Some attempt at restoring the imperial authority was no doubt made by the feudatory kings who remained faithful to the Pratihāras of Kanauj. So sudden and swift was the conspiracy that the king had to make an appeal to those who were best cavalry leaders. They seem to be no other than the Guhilas of Rājasthāna. The Chatsu inscription[10] indicates that Śamkaragana helped Nāgabhaṭa in his eastern campaignings ; his son Harṣa is known to have conquered kings of the north and presented horses to Bhoja, while his son

8. *EI.*, XVIII, pp. 87 ff., VV. 26-31. The identity of Mayūra is uncertain. According to Dr. Dasaratha Sharma if it is to be regarded as a clan name, he might have been some chief of the Morī clan, the members of which had, at one time, ruled over important tracts in Rājasthāna (*Rajasthān through the Ages*, p. 219).

9. *EI.*, Vol. IX, pp. 210 ff.

10. *EI.*, XII, pp. 13 ff,

Guhila II, with excellent horses from the sea coast, vanquished the Gauḍa king and realised tribute from the princes of the east. This pointed reference to horses makes us believe that the Guhilas were in possession of a fine cavalry so as to make a present of it to their overlord and assist him in his distant conquering expeditions. This explains the reference to the cavalry in the inscription under discussion.[11] The assistance of the Guhilas could not save Rāmabhadra from final doom. The root cause of the entire trouble was the king himself, and if his identification with Dunduka, a king of Kanauj, of the Jain *Prabhāvakacarita* is accepted, then it would appear that he became extremely unpopular because of his licentious character. The Sāgartāl inscription simply states that the king had no desire for world and that he was keen to get rid of the lordship over his subjects. Rāmabhadra, being the father of his patron Bhoja, it was not at all possible for the poet to give any further detail about the circumstances resulting in his hurried desposition.

The Barah grant was restored by Bhoja in A.D. 836, while it took him seven years to revive the other grant at Daulatpur. Because Karkka's queen cosort is called a Mahārānī in the Jodhpur inscription and the career of their son Bāuka is perhaps described so as to show him an independent king, some scholars[12] think that the Jodhpur Pratihāras threw off the yoke of Kanauj. It would be more proper to take the term Mahāranī of the said inscription in the sense of a chief queen which need not indicate an imperial status. Kakka was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa, and the career of his son as described by the epigraph does in no way denote his independent status, but it simply states the calamity which had befallen his kingdom, his difficulties, and his personal bravery, which ultimately revived order and peace. As it has been explained earlier, he had to fight single-handed because the imperial house itself was in trouble, and therefore, was not in a position to render any help. The inscription it must be noted, does not attribute any title to the king, indicative of the imperial status. On the other hand, the Gwalior inscription[13] recalls the assistance which

11. The reference to the fine cavalry of the Pratihāras in the writings of Sulaiman, the Arab writer, should also be noted. (Elliot and Douson, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 4).

12. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 29.

13. *EI.*, XVIII, p. 99 ff. V. 18.

was given to Bhoja by kings of his own *Kula* against Dharma's son, i.e. Devapāla and the possibility of Bāuka being one of them cannot be ruled out. The Ghaṭiyala inscription[14] of Kakkuka speaks of his conquest of Lāta during the times of Mihira Bhoja. This is only possible under the latter, during whose times the Pratihāra empire extended up to Saurāṣṭra. It was perhaps a friendly gesture on the part of Kakkuka to assist his overlord, who was engaged in a terrific battle with the Rāstrakūtas for control over Lāta and Mālava regions. Under such circumstances, the contention, that the Jodhpur Pratihāras threw off the yoke of Kanauj does not hold good.

The delay which Bhoja made in restoring the Daulatpur grant seems to have been caused because of his pre-occupations with the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, who were threatening the eastern borders of the kingdom of Kanauj[15]. Barah was nearer and hence, immediately after his accession, Bhoja could restore his authority there. The appointment of Mahāsāmanta Viṣṇurāma at Deogarh[16] (Jhansi District) and of Alla at Gopādri[17] (Gwalior) supports this view. These appoinments were not without political significance. The Monghyr copper plate[18] refers to the wandering of the Pāla elephant forces in the midst of the Vindhya forests, and that the region was lying close to the route used by the invaders from the south. As for the other grant, it must be remembered, that there was his feudatory Bāuka who coped well with the situation and when Bhoja fully consolidated his position at home, he resumed the old grant at Daulatpur which had fallen in desuetude during the feeble reign of his father.

14. *EI.*, IX, pp. 210 ff.

15. *EI.*, II, p. 161, ff. The reference to the breaking of the conceit of Gurjaranātha is noteworthy. Commenting on this, R. C. Majumdar (*History of Bengal*, p. 119), writes, 'that the lord of Gurjaras whose pride had been curbed by Devapāla was no else than Bhoja I, as this event must have occurred fairly late in the reign of Devapāla and the credit for this achievement is taken by Kedār Misra, the grandson of his first minister Darbhpāṇi.' There is, therefore, no basis for the view (*Glory that was Gurjaradeśā*, p. 95) that the cruel commanders referred to in the Sāgartal inscription were some foreign soldiery or the Pāla troops.

16. *EI.*, IV, p. 310.

17. *EI.*, I, p. 155, 159.

18. *IA.*, XXII, p. 255 f. ; *EI.*, XVIII, p. 304 f.

The Jain *Prabhāvakacrita*[19] states that during the brief interlude of Dunduka distant parts of the empire began disintegrating. Because he was exposed to his subjects and relatives, his immoral ways of life could not go *ad libitum* and he met his end at the hands of his own son Bhoja, who killed him and ascended the throne. Rāmabhadra's unillustrious short reign, as indicated by contemporary inscriptions, not only makes a strong case for his identification with Dunduka, but also supports the information supplied by the Jain work. As for his immoral activity, it is not quite improbable, for we cannot do better than cite the instances of the Rāstrakūta kings Govinda II and Govinda IV, who were deposed as a result of similar activities.[20] It is difficult to agree with the view of K.M. Munshi, who rejects this legend in order to save Mihira Bhoja from the accusation of patricide, 'a crime unknown to Hindu dynasties.[21] It may be pointed out that the patricidal traditions of the Śiśunāgas and the Nandas prove that the killing of a father was not altogether unknown in Ancient India.

The foregoing discussion, thus points out how a comparative study of the Gwalior, Jodhpur, Barah and Daulatpur inscriptions, together with the Jain *Bappabhaṭṭicarita*, leads to a new understanding of the political vicissitudes of the reign of Rāmabhadra, which is indeed, as inglorious episode in the brilliant history of the Gurjara Pratihāras of Kanauj.

19. *Bappabhaṭṭicarita* (Singhī Jain Granthamāla) verses 726-57. Particular reference must be made of verse 766, which states that 'Bhoja had to bring back into submission such territory as had been allowed to fall out.'
    For the identification of Nāgāvaloka with Nāgabhatta II, see *IA.*, 1911, pp. 239-40 ; *EI.*, IX, p. 255, verse 14, *EI.*, II, p. 121 and notes, B.N. Puri, '*The Gurjara Pratihāras*', pp. 48-49.
20. *EI.*, IV, pp. 278 f. ; *IA.*, XII, pp. 263 f,
21. *The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, p. 94.
    List of Abbreviations—EI (*Epigraphia Indica*), ASIR (*Archaelogical Survey of Indian Reports*), IA (*Indian Antiquary*).

†Hui Ch'ao's Record on Kashmir

JAN YÜN-HUA

Introductory Notes

Hui-ch'ao (704-?)[1] was a native of Hsin-lo (Silla) kingdom of Korea peninsula. He went to China to study Buddhism when he was still a young boy. After he was ordained into the Order at the age of sixteen, he came to India from China by the Sea-route. He visited kingdoms like kuśīnagara, Varāṇasī, Magadha, Central India, and farther proceeded towards the South, West and North India. He visited Jālandhara, Suvarṇagotra, Ṭakka and

† This is a part of author's manuscript : *Memoirs of Hui-ch'ao's Pilgrimage to Five Indies*, which will be soon published. [Editors.]

Following abbreviations are used in this article :—

BEFEO=*Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient.*

Fuchs=Walter Fuchs : "Huei-ch'ao's pilgerreise durch Nordwest Indien und Zentral-Asien um 726". *Sitzung der phil.-hist.* Klasse V. 22, 1938, pp. 426-469.

HJAS=*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.*

Hob.=*Hōbōgirin.* Fascicule Annexe, Redacteur en chef, Paul Demieville, Maison Franco-japonaise, Tokyo, 1931.

JAs=*Journal Asiatique.*

Lo/Fujita=*Hui-ch'ao wang-wu-t'ien-chu-kuo-chuan ch'ien-shih*
(Notes and Commentary on Hui-ch'ao's Pilgrimage to Five Indies). By Fujita Toyohachi, with notes of Lo Chen-yü. Revised and edited by Ch'ien Tao-sun, Peking, 1931.

Nj.=B. Nanjio : *A catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka.* Oxford, 1883 ; Rep. Tokyo, 1929.

T=*Taisho Issaikyo* (Tripiṭaka in Chinese, Taisho edition). Edited by J. Takakusu, K. Watanabe and others, Tokyo, 1924-1931.

TP=*T'oung Pao.*

1. This date comes from the year when Hui-ch'ao was ordained into the Order. It is stated that Hui-ch'ao became a monk in 719 A.D. when he was a sixteen years old boy, thus 719—15=704. But the date of his death is still unknown. Cf. *Bukkyō daijiten* by Mochizuki Shinko, p. 283a.

Sindh. From Sindh he came to Kashmir. Later, he proceeded through the countries such as Gandhāra, Uḍḍiyāna, Kapiśā and finally reached An-hsi of the T'ang frontier in December 727 A.D.

After Hui-ch'ao returned back to China, he wrote a record on his pilgrimage and travels to India and Central Asia in Chinese. Since 732 A.D. Hui-ch'ao worked under Vajrabodhi (671-741 A.D.) and Amoghavajra (705-774 A.D.) as a disciple to these two great Indian Tantric Masters[2]. In the year 780, he went to Wu-t'ai mountain, and completed the translation of a Sanskrit text on Tantric Buddhism[3]. After that, we have no fruther information about him. It is likely that he might have remained in China upto his death, as he was already eighty years old when he went to Wu-t'ai mountain.

For centuries, Hui-ch'ao's travelling record was lost. Excepting some reference about this record mentioned in *Yi-h'ieh-ching yin-yi* (A Dictionary of all Buddhist Canons[4]), we had no other information about it. In 1908, P. Pelliot took a large number of Mss from Tun-huang cave and made it known to the world. One of these Mss is a fragment of Hui-ch'ao's record[5]. During the period 1908-1939, nine editions including a German translation of this fragment came out[6]. Scholars like Lo Chên-yü, Fujita Toyo-hachi, P. Pelliot and others all have valuable contribution on the study of this work. On the other hand, many

2. About the life of Vajrabodhi and that of Amoghavajra, see Chou Yi Liang : "Tantrism in China". HJAS Vol. VIII, 1944-45, pp. 272ff. and 284 ff.
3. i.e. Chinese translation of *Mahāyāna-yoga-vajrā-prakṛtisāgara-manjuśrī-sahasrabāhu-sahasrapātra-mahātantrarāja-sūtra*, Hob. No. 1177a & Nj. 1044.
4. Hob. No. 2128. Reference about Hui-ch'ao's record is contained in ch. 100, T 55, 926.
5. Pelliot collection of Tun-huang Mss No. 3532. Descriptive notes on this fragment by Wang Chung-min, see *Tun-huang ku-chi hsü-lu* (A Descriptive record on Old Books recovered from Tun-huang), p. 267, Shanghai, 1958. About Pelliot's remark on Hui-ch'ao, see BEFEO VIII, 1908, p. 511 ff.
6. These are (i) Lo Chên-yü's edition and commentary on Hui-ch'ao's fragment published in his collection of *Tun-huang shih-shih yi-shu*, 1909. (ii) Fujita's edition and studies *Hui-ch'ao-chuan ch'ien-shih*, 1910. (iii) Tokyo edition, 1911. (iv) *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho* edition, 1915. (v) Ed. by Pelliot-Haneda, Kyoto, 1926. (vi) Taisho edition 1927. (vii) J. Takakusu's ed. in *Yūhoden sosho*, 1931 and (viii) Lo/Fujita. (ix) Fuchs.

scholars in this country are not aware of the name of Hui-ch'ao and his record on India.

Although Hui-ch'ao's record is not so detailed as those of Hsuan-tsang (600-664) and Yi-tsing (635-713)[7] nevertheless, it is far better than those of Sung-yun, or Wu-k'ung[8]. Moreover, his record reveals certain important information relating to the social, political, military, religious and geographical conditions of India during the early decades of the eighth century A.D. His record on Central Asia is also very significant. This is undoubtedly an important source for the students of History. His record about Kashmir contains certain valuable information about this land under the reign of Muktāpīḍa (699-736)[9]. His references to the donation of village including its inhabitants to monastery reveals interesting customs which are not found in other similar sources.

The following is a translation from the original Chinese text which is mainly based on Taisho edition and on Fuchs edition of Mss originally edited and published by Pelliot and Kaneda. In some places our readings and identifications are different from those of Lo Chen-yu, Fujita and Fuchs.

Translation[10]

From this place (i.e. Sindh-kūla) (Hui-ch'ao) walked towards the north, after fifteen days (he) entered a mountainous (place) and reached the country of Chia-lo[11], This Chia-mi-lo

7. Cf. T. Watters : *On Yuan-chwang*, pp. 132, 258 ff. Li Yung-hsi, tr. *The Life of Hsuan-tsang*, p. 71, Peking, 1959.
About Yi-tsing's travel, see J. Takakusu, tr. *A Record of the Buddhist religion...... by I-tsing*, Oxford, 1896. Also cf. E. Chavannes, tr. *Mémoire sur les religieux, éminents...par I-tsing*, Paris, 1894 ; Paul Lévy : "Les Pélerine chinois en Indé", contribution to *Presence du Bouddhisme*, *France-Asie* Nos. 153-157, 1959, pp. 375 ff.
8. About Sung-yün's pilgrimage, see E. Chavannes : Voyage de Song Yün dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra", BEFEO III, 1903, pp. 379-441. For Wu-k'ung, see S. Lévi/Chavannes : "L'Itnéraire d'Ou-kong", J.As. Sept./Oct. 1895, pp. 341-84.
9. C. S. C. Ray : *Early history and culture of Kashmir*, Ch. II, esp. pp. 38-46, (Calcutta, 1957).
10. Original text of these passages contained in T 51, 976c-977a and Fuchs, *op. cit.* pp. 462a-463a.
11. Lo Chen-yu has rightly said that *Chia-lo* should be an abbreviation from *Chia-shih-mi-lo-*=Kashmira. In the next sentence of the text, we also find another abbreviation *Chia-mia-lo.*

(Kashmira) is also counted[12] within Northern India. This is a rather big country. The king here possessed three hundred elephants. It is situated amidst mountains. The roads here are bad and dangerous, it has not been invaded by foreign country. The population of this country is quite flourishing. The poor are many, the rich are very few. The clothings of the king, chiefs and richmen are not different from those of Central India; whereas the common people all wear[13] woollen blankets on their ugly bodies.

The productions of this land are copper, iron, cotton cloths[14] woollen blankets, cows and sheep. There are elephants, but less[15] horse. Paddy[16], grape (*Drākṣā*) and such other things are also grown in this country. The land is extremely cold, this is different from other countries mentioned before[17]. There are frosts in autumn and snows in winter. In summer, there are enough rains which pour continuously[18]. Various flowers are evergreen, leaves are carved[19]. In the winter, grasses dry up.

The valley is narrow and small. From south to north, it takes five days. From east to west, it takes one day to complete

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12. In other edition, this passage is read as *Yi-shih pe-shu* or "It is also within the number of North......".
13. In original Mss, this word is *Chih* (branch). Lo read it as a mistake from *Pei* (coverlet) ; Fuchs thinks this word is a mis-copying of *Chan* (blanket). But from the structure of the sentence, I read it as a mistake from *Pe'i* (to throw on), and this is also more similar to the original character *Chih*. The blanket mentioned here probably means *Kaṁbala*, a local production of Kashmir.
14. Cotton cloths (*Tieh-pu*). According to B. Laufer, *Tieh-pu* is a translation and transliteration from the Persian word *Dib*. Cf. *Sino-Iranica*, p. 489. More reference on this term, see Chou Yi Liang op. cit. note No. 39, HJAS VIII, p. 292.
15. Fuchs reads the word *Shao* (less) as a mistake from *Hsiao* (small, little) ; but I follow the original version because in other source, horse is mentioned in the list of productions of Kashmir, but no reference about the size and number of the horse. Cf. P.C. Bagchi, tr. : *She Kia Fang Che*, p. 47, Viśva-Bhārati, 1959. Also see his article : "Ki-pin and Kashmir", *Sino-Indian Studies*, II, 1946-47, p. 47.
16. *Keng-mi*=Non-glutious rice.
17. About the countries mentioned before the passage on Kashmir, see page 1 of this article.
18. Here I followed Takakusu's edition reading *Lin-yü* (=continuous rains) in place of *Shuang-yü* (Erost rain). It probably means monsoon rain.
19. Fuchs thinks that the word *Tiao* is a miscopying of *Ch'ou* (growing or thick). But *Tiao* is also readable, thus I follow the original text.

the journey. This is the boundary of the territory (of the valley). The rest are dense mountains[20]. The roof of the house are made by rows of planks, straws and tiles are not used. The king and (his) chiefs and common people deeply worship the Three Precious Ones. This country has a Dragon-pool[21], one thousand[22] Arhan-monks are fed daily by the Dragon King. Though there is no one who has witnessed these holy monks taking food, but cakes and rice have been seen rolling up disorderly from below the water after the offerings. From this we know about it. This offering still continues.

The king or grand chief rides on elephant when they go out. The common people all go on foot[23]. There are good number of monasteries and monks in this country. Both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna are prevalent there.

According to the law of the Five Indies, from the king, the royal consort and the princes[24] down to the chiefs and their wives all build monasteries separately in accordance with their respective capacities and abilities. Each of them builds their own temple but does not constuct it jointly. They say when each person has one's own meritorious virtues, what is the necessity of joint effort? Such being the case. This is also followed by other countries.

Whenever a monastery is built, village and its folk are immediately offered to support the Three Precious Ones. Mere building monastery without making any donation of village and its folk is not done. This is followed as an example by the foreign

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20. About the territory of Kashmir, cf. P.C. Bagchi's resume: "Ki-pin and Kashmir", *op. cit.*, note No. 15.

21. Cf. *The Life of Hsuan-tsang*, p. 71. Watters *op. cit.* I p. 257 and S.C. Ray, *op. cit.*, 141.

22. On this passage I have followed Fuchs, Mss reading *Yi-ch'ien lo-han-seng...* (one thousand Arhan-monks) in place *Pu-vi* (=a different...).

23. According to Lo Chen-yu, *T'u* is a mistake from *T'u*.

24. Lo thinks that the characters *Chih-kuo-wang* are the mistake which duplicated from *Shang-chih-kuo-wang, chih-kuo-wang......* But if one follows the original Mss and read *chih-kuo-wang* in the sense of "royal or king's......"......it is also correct.

countries[25]. The king, the queen and royal consorts have their respective village and their folk. The princes and chiefs also have their respective village and their folk. Donation is free and the king is not asked for that. This also applied in case of building a temple. When it is necessary to build a temple they build it and the king is not asked. The king dare not to obstruct, he is afraid lest it should infect him with sins[26].

As to rich commoners though they have no village to donate, they try their best to build temples and manage it by themselves. Whenever they obtain things they offer them to the Three Precious Ones. As in the Five Indies, no human being is sold, so there are no female slaves. Villages and their inhabitants could be donated if wanted and necessary.

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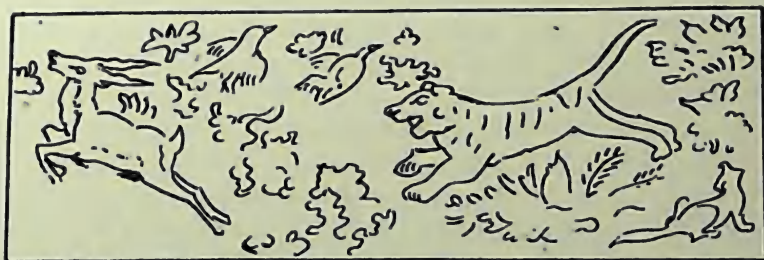
25. Lo thinks that the term *Wai kuo* (foreign country) here means Kashmir itself. Lo fartherly stated that because Hui-cha'o wrote his record from the Chinese point of view, thus "Foreign country" means Kashmir which is a foreign country to China or Korea. But I think Lo's explanation is not acceptable because in Hui-chao's record, the term "Foreign country" is used in many places, and none of them means the country which is under discussion. Therefore, the term mentioned here cannot mean Kashmir but a foreign country or countries to Kashmir.

26. Fuchs thinks *Chan* ? But the word *Chan* or "to grasp or to pick up" is more readable than the word (i.e. to occupy) as suggested by Fuchs. Otherwise, *Chan* should be read as *Chan* or "to be infected".

The personality of Rājasiṁha : An assessment of his Birudas

K. S. RAMACHANDRAN

Narasimhavarman II better known by his title Rājasiṁha ruled over the Pallava territory for twenty-eight years (AD 700-728). His reign being as it were devoid of any internal strife or external invasion, the Cālukyas having been routed by his father Parameś-varavarman I, he was able to concentrate on peaceful activities like temple building. He is credited with constructions of manys tructural temples, notably the Kailāśanātha or Rājasiṁheśvara temple at Kāñcheepuram, the Talapurisvara temple at Panamalai and the shore temple at Mahābalipuram. Like his predecessors, particularly his great grand father Mahendravarman I, he seems to have been very much fond of assuming *birudas* or titles. In each one of the four tiers on the innerside of the enclosure of the Rajasimhesvara temple at Kancheepuram he had his *birudas* permanently engraved.[1]

They are over two hundred and thirty in number and are in quadruplicate, each tier bearing one set. The *birudas* would perhaps reflect the many sided qualities of Narasiṁhavarmā Pallava. An attempt has been made here to assess his personality from these and to show that at least some of his titles and ideas are after those assumed by earlier rulers of various dynasties' reigining in the different parts of the country.

A. Warlike qualities, prowess, valour etc.

There are more than hundred *birudas* which can be categorised under this heading. To denote his martial spirit and skill Rājasiṁha assumed titles such as : रणजयः, रणविक्रमः, अतिरणचण्डः, अपराजितः, अप्रतिहतः, अमोघविक्रमः अजय्यः, उग्रदण्डः, परचक्रमर्द्दनः, दावाग्निः, जयनिधिः, क्षत्रद्रावणः, etc. His

1. E. Hultzch (ed.), *South Indian inscriptions* Vol. I (Madras, 1890) p. 10 - and no. 25.

bravery was exemplary as represented by आश्चर्यवीर्यः, उग्रवीर्यः, खरवीरः, दीप्तपौरुषः, शूराग्रगण्यः, etc. He was merciless and could never spare his enemies. His titles अमित्रान्तकः, अरिनाशः, अरिमर्दनः, निरमित्रः bear ample testimony. Like the king of jungles, the lion, he was a lion among rulers and men—राजसिंहः, पुरुषसिंहः पार्थिव सिंहः, वीरकेसरी, आहवकेसरी are some of *birudas* indicative of lionic majesty. By the title राजकुञ्जरः, he compared himself with elephant in strength.

The prowess and courage of heroes of the epics have been the ideals of many a king. Rajasimha was no exception to this. He called himself आहवभीमः, भीमविक्रमः, समरधनञ्जयः, पार्थविक्रमः, युद्धार्जुनः, संग्रामारामः, उपेन्द्रविक्रमः, खरविक्रमः etc.

चारचक्षुः and दूरदर्शी would indicate his knowledge of statecraft.

Above all he was an emperer, king of kings—चक्रवर्त्ती, एकराजः, त्रैलोक्यनाथः, सार्वभौमः, अवनिदिवाकरः, अवनिभाजनः and भुवनिभाजनः.

Now some of these ideas are reflected in the inscription of earlier kings and it is also possible to infer that the Pallawa *birudas* were in all probability inspired by those of the earlier kings through cultural and other contacts. A few examples are cited below.

···वीरस्य शूरस्य अप्रतिहतचक्रस्य···[2]
अपराजित विजयपतक शत्रुजन···[3]
वरवारण विक्रमस्य···[4]
रामकेशवार्जुन भीमसेन तुल्यपराक्रमस्य···[5]
प्रियतनुजः सत्याश्रय पृथिवीवल्लभ रण
विक्रमाङ्कनृपः···[6]
विक्रमेण रामतुल्यः···[7]
पार्थसमोतिशूरः[8]

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2. Nanaghat cave inscription of Nāganikā datable to second half of 1st century B. C. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* (Calcutta, 1965) no. 82 p. 195.
3. 'Nāsik cave inscription of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi, A.D. 149. D. C. Sircar *Op. Cit.* no. 86, p. 206.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. J. F. Fleet, Mahākūta Pillar Inscription of Mańgaleśa', *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XIX p. 17·
7. 'Supia Stone Pillar Inscription of the time of Skandagupta, A.D. 141'. D. C. Sircar *Op. Cit.* no. 26A, p. 318.
8. 'Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of the lime of Bhanugupta, A.D. 570'. *Ibid* no. 38, p. 346.

गुप्तवंशैकवीरः[9]
महाराजस्य पृथिवीतलैकवीरस्य[10]
अतुलबल समुदयाप्त[11]
पार्थतुल्यपराक्रमः[12]

Such kingly qualities as compassion, protection of thoes who sought refuge and munificence could be understood from the titles like, खिन्नानुकम्पी, दरिद्रानुकम्पी, अभयराशिः आश्रितवत्सलः, छायावृक्षः, दानवर्षः, नित्यवर्षः, दानशूरः etc. To be in a position to justify this quality one has to be the store house of wealth. His *biruaas* श्रीभरः, श्रीमेघः, श्रीवल्लभः, denote that his coffers were always full.

His orders were never disobeyed—अप्रतिहतशासनः Proud of his lineage he was जातिगम्भीरः; he was the banner of his line कुलध्वजः and the sun of the Pallavas पल्लवादित्यः

Following terms viz. सुरगज इव दानवर्षः[13], अर्थिजने कामधेनुः[14], नयविनय दानदयादाक्षिण्य सत्यसंपदोपेतः[15], appearing in inscriptions elsewhere echo his munificent nature.

A verse in the inscription extolling the Kadambakula could perhaps be cited as a comparison to his character of granting asylum to the distressed. The verse runs :

धर्मा क्रान्ता इव मृगगणा वृक्षराजिं प्रविश्य
छाया सेवा मृडति मनसो निर्वृतिं प्राप्नुवन्ति ।
तद्वज्ज्यायो विहत गतयो बान्धवास्सानुबन्धाः
प्रापुश्शर्माव्यथित मनसो यस्य भूमिं प्रविश्य ।।[16]

Śivaskandavarman, on early Pallava ruler bestowed endowments through an indisputable deed. The grant was made in his

9. 'Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (A.D. 455-467) D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.* no 25, p. 322.
10. 'Narasaroapet copper plate Inscription of Siṁhavarman', regnal year 4. Ibid no. 67, p. 470.
11. 'Jirjringi copper plate Inscription of Indravarman AD. 535', Ibid no. 71, p. 486. अतुलबलः is one of the titles of Rājasiṁha. See Hultzch *Op. Cit.*
12. J. F. Fleet, 'Satara copper plate grant of Viṣṇuvardhana I, *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XIX, p. 309.
13. J. F. Fleet, undated copper plate grant of Eastern Cālukya king Viṣṇuvardhana *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XIII, p. 186.
14. Ibid.
15. J. F. Fleet, Sanskrit and old Canarese Inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary* Vol. VII p. 161.
16. Tālguṇḍa Stone Pillar Inscription of the time of Santivarman' (A.D. 455-470). D. C. Sircar *Op. Cit.* no. 69, p. 478.

eighth regnal year. The term used there is identical with one of the *birudas* of Rājasiṁha:

धर्मायुर्वल यशोवार्द्धनिकं विजयवैणिकं च
कृत्वा अप्रतिहतशासनेनं…[17]

The path of righteousness was the road paved for this king. He assumed *biruḍas* like धर्मकवच:, धर्मसेतु:, धर्मनित्य:, धर्मविजयी: Rājasiṁha was मनुचरित:, following the code of Manu.

We may perhaps quote the following from earlier inscriptions as examples of similar ideas,

धर्मोपचित करविनियोगकरस्य…।[18]
विजिगीपुधर्म्मं…[19]

Śivaskandavarman, on early Pallava ruler had assumed the high sounding title

धर्ममहाराजाधिराज:[20]
गोहिरण्यभूम्यादिप्रदानै: प्रवृद्ध धर्मसञ्चयस्य
प्रजापालनदक्षस्य…[21]

कुलध्वज:, a title indicative of his proud lineage has some parallelism in "वंशध्वजेन" in a western Ganga inscription.[22]

To sum up his qualities Rājasiṁha possessed all the virtues of an ideal king and surely the ideals envisaged by Bhisma viz.

आत्मत्याग: सर्वभूतानुकम्पा
लोकज्ञानं पालनं मोक्षणञ्च ।
विपस्मानां मोक्षणं पीडितानां ।
क्षात्रेधर्मं विद्यते पार्थिवानाम् ।।[23]

would be fitting Rājasiṁha.

B. Appearance and nature :

There are many epithets giving his personal appearance. He was exceedingly graceful ((ललितविलास:, चारुविलास:), a rising sun

17. 'Hirahadagalli copper plate Inscription of Sivaskandavarman', Ibid no. 65 p. 465.
18. Nāsik cave Inscription of Vāśiṣṭhiputra Puḷumari, D. C. Sircar *Op. Cit.* no. 86 p. 206.
19. Narasaraoapet copper plate Inscription of Siṁhavarman. Ibid no. 65, p. 470.
20. Hirahadagalli copper plate Inscription of Śivaskandavarman, *Ibid* no. 65, p. 465.
21. Narasaraopet copper plate Inscription of Siṁhavarman Ibid no. 67, p. 470.
22. Penukonda copper plate Inscription of Mādhava. D. C. Sircar, *Op. Cit.* no. 70, p. 481.
23. Mahābhārata, Śānti Parvan Ch. LXIII p. 29.

(उदयभास्करः), rising moon उदयचन्द्रः[24], early spring उदयवसंतः, pleasing to the eyes नयनसुन्दरः, lovable अभिरामः, spotless कलंकरहितः and in short एकसुन्दरः, the only beautiful person. His beauty can best be summarised as कन्दर्पइवमूर्तिमान्[25]

His good qualities and enthusiasm are summarised in his titles गुणालयः, उत्साहनित्यः, नित्योत्साहः and the like.

C. Love for fine arts :

Rājasiṁha's interest in fine arts was unbounded. He was a कलासमुद्रः, a tumburu in the knowledge of musical instruments—अतोद्युततुम्बुरुः, वाद्यविद्याधरः, equal to Nārada in playing the Vīṇā, वीणानारदः. His *birvda* काव्यप्रमोधः would indicate his love for poetry and literature.

A distant echo is revervated in the inscriptions of Samudragupta, Rudrādaman and Khāravela, Compare

> गान्धर्व्वललितैर्व्रीडित त्रिदशपति गुरु तुम्बुरु नारदादे-
> र्व्विद्वज्ज्नोपजीव्यानेककाव्यक्रियाभिः प्रतिष्ठित कविराज
> शब्दस्य...[26]
> शब्दार्थ गान्धर्व्व न्यायाद्यानां महतीनां पारण धारण
> विज्ञान प्रायोगाप्त विपुलकीर्तिना...[27]
> तृतियो पुनः वर्षे गन्धर्व वेदबुधः दर्पनृत्य
> गीतवादित्र सन्दर्शनै...[28]

D. Love for horses and elephants.

Stately animals like the horse and the elephant which were of immense utility in warfare deserved special consideration by the king. His interest in horses is borne out by his *biruda* अश्वप्रियः More than the horse, elephant, it seems, has greater fascination. Like Udayana, The Vatsa king who was an adept in dealing with elephants Rājasiṁha was also an expert. He called himself इभविद्याधरः He took pride in the *biruḍa* इभवत्सराजः He also equates himself with Bhagadatta—वारणभगदत्तः Like अश्वप्रियः he was also नागप्रियः

E. Religions fervour.

Since the conversion of Rājasiṁha's great grand father, Mahendravarman I to Śaivism by Appar, the Stater eligion of the

24. J. F. Fleet, *Op. Cit.* Indian Antiquary Vol. XIX.
25. Identical term उदयचन्द्रः has been used in the Eastern Cālukyan king. Fleet *Op. Cit. Indian Antiquary* XIII p. 186.
26. Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (A.D. 335-376) D.C. Sircar *Op. Cit.* no. 2 p. 267.
27. Junāgarh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I A.D. 150. *Ibid* no. 67 p. 179.
28. Hāthigumpha cave Inscription of Khāravela. *Ibid* no. 91 p. 219.

Pallavas had been Śaivism. But being never biased by sectarian foibles they were tolerant towards other religious practices. Rājasiṁha too was not an exception. He worshipped Śaṁkara (शंकरभक्तः) and surrendered himself at His feet ईशानशरणः He followed the tenets prescribed by the Āgamas—आगमानुसारी, आगमप्रमाणः. His religious virtue was *par excellence*—आचारपरः In the knowledge of metaphysics he was ज्ञानांकुशः Though a staunch Śaivite, he was not a diehard, and he had regard for vaiṣṇavism—श्रीपतिवल्लभः His *biruda* ऋषभलाञ्छनः taken to denote the royal seal could also indicate his tolerance to jainism. Like many other kings of the past he took pleasure in hearing narration of the epics—इतिहासप्रियः

Let us compare these titles with those found in earlier inscriptions.

आगमानां निलयस्य...[29]

इतिहास पुराणतत्वज्ञस्य...[30]

पुराण रामायण भारतेतिहास कुशलः...[31]

By assuming such a large number of superlative and egotistic titles glorifying himself it would appear that Rājasiṁha might be accused of megalomania, especially with regard to his martial prowess when no war was ever waged during his long tenure as a king. But then, it is quite possible that as a *yuvaraja* he would have had a greater share in routing the Cālukya Vikramāditya I by his father in the battle of Peruvalanallur. Further it is but a traditional practice with rulers to assume superlative titles. In fact *birudas* like अवनिभाजनः भुवनभाजनः, श्रीमेघः, श्रीनिधिः, रणजयः, परापरः, महामल्लः etc. were the titles of some of his forefathers which Rājasiṁha had reassumed. Again we can absolve him of the charge on account of his great enthusiasm, spirit of enquiry and his contribution to south Indian structural temple architecture. He had carved a permanent niche for himself in the galaxy of great men through the earliest extant structural temples in south India and his experiments towards that end. The shore temple, the Panamalai temple and the Kailāsanatha are mute monuments proclaiming his achievements in the peaceful period of his reign. Rājasiṁha is dead but his glory is everlasting. Surely he was an अत्यन्तकामः—a man of boundless desires.

29. Nāsik cave Inscription of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumari D. C. Sircar, *Op. Cit.* no. 86 p. 206.
30. Penukonda copper plate Inscription of Mādhava, *Ibid* no. 70, p. 481.
31. J. F. Fleet, *Op. Cit.* Vol. VII p. 161.

卐

The Maktab Khāna

S. A. A. RIZVI

THE early history of the scientific and intellectual activities of the Muslims is characterised by three marked phases of development. In the first they translated Sanskrit and Greek works, in second they syncretized various Indian and Greek systems and in the third they made original contributions of their own. Of the Sanskrit works, what applied to them most were astronomy, mathematics and 'wisdom literature'. The *Siddhānta* (Arabic *Sindhind*), a treatise on astronomy, and *Kalilawa Dimna* were translated. The intellectual legacy of Greece was so compatible with the early rationalistic movements of Islam that they largely ignored the Sanskrit religio-philosophical works. *Al-Birūni* (362/973-448/1048) translated several such works and made further researches in his monumental *Tārikh al-Hind*. *Shahrastānī* (469/1076-548/1153) gave an analytical summary of Hinduism in his celebrated *Kitāb al Mil wa'l-Niḥal*, a treatise on religions and sects, but these works did not make any impact worth the name upon the Muslims of succeeding generations. The travellers and geographers who visited India from the tenth to the thirteenth century and wrote their accounts in Arabic did not examine their sources critically. Their works are based mainly on oral information. The account of Hinduism in the works of Banākitī (d. 730/1329-307) and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (d. 1430), which the Muslim elites of Persia and India between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries studied, are imaginary and baseless.

Of the scholars of thirteenth and fourteenth century India, Hinduism aroused the interest of Amīr Khusrau (658/1253-725/1325) but his studies were not very deep. Saiyid Maḥammad bin Saiyid Yūsuf Ḥusainī Gīsūdarāz (720/1320-825/1422) claims to have studied the religious work of Hindus with the avowed purpose of

carrying on polemical discussions with the brahmins.[1] Sultān Fīrūz Shah Tughluq, after his conquest of Nagarkōt in 763/1362, acquired about 1300 volumes of Sanskrit manuscripts from the Jwalamukhi temple there. He had some of them translated and seems to have become enamoured of Sanskrit works on astronomy and mathematics. A Sanskrit work on physics and astronomy was translated into Persian at the Sultan's insistence by Izz al-Dīn Khālid Khānī and was entitled *Dalā'il i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, The work is not extant but it was available in Akbar's reign and was examined by Niẓām al-Din Ahmad Bakhshī.[2] One of the Persian translations of Sanskrit works ordered during Sultan Fīrūz Shāh's reign which is still available is the translation of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, written by the celebrated Indian astronomer Varāhamihira, son of Ādityadāsa. It was translated by 'Abd al-'Azīz Shams Bahā i-Nūrī.[3] The original was earlier translated by al-Bīrūnī[4] but 'Abd al-'Azīz does not seem to have utilized that version. Sultan al-'Ābidin of Kashmir (826/1420-877/1470), Sultan Sikandar Lodi and several other Muslim rulers of India took an interest in the Sanskrit works and had them translated, but Akbar gave a new impetus to the translation of works of outstanding merit from different languages into Persian.

As a child, Akbar had not been interested in reading and writing but had listened attentively to the verses of Rūmī and Ḥāfiẓ. When he came to the throne, books were regularly read to him. History and legends were his favourite themes. The exploits of Amir Ḥamzah, son of Abd al-Muṭṭalib, an uncle of Muḥammad, had become the subject of stimulating Arabic and Persian poetry and books of tales. Several *Ḥamza Nāmas* in poetry and prose were written. In his youth Akbar had been extremely fond of these legendary tales[5]. In about 1568 he ordered a number of court painters to illustrate the legends of Amīr Ḥamza on a vast scale. A team of about 100 artists were employed to complete the work, at first under the direction of Mīr Saiyid 'Alī

1. *Gīsūdarāz Jawāmi' al-kilam*, British Museum Ms. (Or. 252) pp. 87a-90a.
2. Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad Bakhshī ; *Tabaquāt i-Akbarī I* (Calcutta 1913) pp. 233-34.
3. India Office London, Ms. (I.O. 1262)
4. Sachau ; *Alberunī's India* (London 1887) ; preface p. 20.
5. Abū'l Faḍl ; *Ā' īn i-Akbarī I* (Lucknow 1892) p. 76.

Judā'ī, the son of the famous Persian painter Mīr Muṣawwir[6], and subsequently under Khwāja 'Abd al-Ṣamad[7] Shīrāzī. The work was planned in twelve big volume comprising 100 leaves of one cubit square. The prose rendered into verse by Khwāja 'Aṭā Allāh Munshī Qazwīnī provided a running commentary to the illustrations[8]. Similarly the legendary tales of Abū Muslim Khurāsānī, (killed January-February 755) the celebrated adventurer of Persian origin, who had led the movement to supplant the Unaiyāds by the 'Abbāsids, aroused Akbar's interest. He also admired the *Shāh Nāma* of Firdausī and the *Jāmi 'al-Ḥikāyāt*[9].

By 1574-75 Akbar's increasing absorption in religion and intellectual yearnings broadened his interests. In Jumada II 982/September-October 1574 at Qanauj, when he was returning from his eastern campaigns, he ordered Mulla 'Abd al-Qādir Badāūnī to translate the *Sinhāsan Battīsī* (*Simhāsanadvātrimśatikā* or *Vikramacaritram*), embodying the stories of Bikarmājīt (Rājā Vikramāditya) and the thirty-two statues (*puttalīs*), from Sanskrit into Persian. A learned brahmin was appointed as Badāūnī's collaborator to interpret the Sanskrit text for him. In obedience to the Emperor's order, he translated two pages and submitted them on the very day he was commissioned to undertake the work. Akbar found them satisfactory and the work, which was entitled *Nāma--Khirad Afzā* ('The Wisdom Augmenting Book') was completed within about a year[10].

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6. The celebrated painter at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Safawī of Persia (930/1524-984/1576). During his exile to Persia, Humāyūn tried to attract him to service, but he seems to have joined him at Kābul before 1555. Mīr Saiyid 'Al the son of Mīr Mansūr distinguished himself as a great painter under Akbar. Humāyūn invited him to join his court after his conquest of Kābul in November 1545.

7. 'Abd al-Samad was also invited by Humāyūn to join his court at Kābul [*Bāyazīd Tadhkira i-Humāyūn wa Akbar* (Calcutta 1941) p. 65] He was appointed by Humāyūn to teach painting to Akbar. A miniature signed by 'Abd al-Samad, and preserved in Gulistan library in Tehran, depicts the young Akbar presenting a painting to his father Humāyūn, probably shortly before his death in 1556. [C. Barrett and Gray ; *Painting of India* (Treasures of Asia Series) p. 78]

8. 'Ārif Qandaharī ; *Tārikh i-Akbari* (Rāmpur 1962) pp. 45-46.

9. Badāūnī ; *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* (Calcutta 1864-9) II p. 320.

10. *Ibid* p. 257.

Next year Akbar ordered Abū'l Faḍl to translate *Ḥayāt al-Ḥaiwān* the celebrated zoological dictionary, and a compendium of folk-lore, popular medicine etc. by Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Mūsa Damīri (d. 808/1405-6) from Arabic into Persian. According to Badāūnī, the actual translation was made by Shaikh Mubārak, the father of Abū'l Faḍl[11].

About the same time a Deccani brahmin, Shaikh Bhāwan, who had embraced Islam, propounded the theory that certain statements of the *Atharva Veda* were compatible with Islamic principles. This aroused considerable excitement in religious circles. Badāūnī was ordered to translate the text on the basis of Shaikh Bhāvans interpretations, but the interpreter failed to explain several complicated passages adequately. Badāūnī reported his difficulties to Akbar. The Emperor ordered first Faiḍī and later Ḥājī Ibrāhim Sarhindī to translate the work, but not much progress was made[12].

When the scope of the activities of the *Ibādat Khāna* was widened and members of different religions were admitted to the discussions, the need for authentic Persian translations of religious works became imperative. In 986/1578, Abū'l Faḍl was ordered to translate the *Injīl* (The Gospel) into Persian. Maclagan says 'But whether this related to the Four Gospels of the Scriptures generally, and whether the order was carried out either directly or through the Fathers we do not know[13]. It seems that by Rabī I 990/March-April 1582, when Akbar wrote a letter to the king of Portugal, authentic Persian or Arabic translations for *Taurīt* (The Books of Moses) *Injīl* (The *Gospel*) and *Zubūr* (The *Psalms* of David) were not available at his court; and he had to ask him for these works together with other Persian and Arabic works on Christianity, obtainable in Portugal[14]. No copy of Abū'l Faḍl's translation of the *Gospel* is extant, but it seems that he made a translation with the help of the Fathers. In place of the *Bismi'llāh* (In the name of God) with which the Muslim scholars commenced their works, Abū'l Faḍl introduced the formula, *Ai nām-i-wai Zhiuh wa Kristō* ('Those whose name is Jesus Christ i.e. Saviour and

11. *Ibid* p. 204.

12. *Ibid* p. 212.

13. Maclagan, E ; *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London 1932) p. 213.

14. Abū'l Faḍl ; *Insā i-Akbari* (Delhi 1846) I pp. 37-38.

Anointed') Shaikh Faiḍī added to it the line—*Subhānaka lā Siwāka ya hū* ('Praise be to Thee, there is none like Thee, O He !')[15].

These translations seem to have stimulated Akbar's interest in the translation of Sanskrit religious work on an ambitious scale. A regular translation bureau called *Maktab Khāna* (School house) was established in the *Diwān Khāna* of Fatḥpūr Sikrī[16]. Badāūnī says that after getting *Shāh Nāma* and the story of *Amīr Ḥamza* transcribed and illustrated and after having repeatedly heard the stories of Abū Muslim and the *Jāmī 'al-Ḥaikāyāt*, he decided to get the works of the ancient Indian sages translated into Persian. The Emperor, according to Badāūnī, thought to himself :

> 'Most of these books are nothing but poetry and fiction ; but since they were first related in a lucky hour, and at a time when their stars were in ascendancy, they obtained great fame. Now why should I not have these Sanskrit works translated in my name; for they were written by the ascetics and sages of the past and all of them embody correct and convincing proofs (about Hinduism) and are the very pivot on which all their religions, beliefs and forms of worship turned. They are by no means trite but quite original; and they will produce all kinds of felicity both temporal and spiritual, and will be the cause of circumstances and power, and will ensure an abundance of children and wealth, as is written in the prefaces of these books[17].

Abū'l Faḍl in his preface to the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* gives a detailed account of the motives which prompted Akbar to see that Persian translations of Sanskrit works were made under his auspices. This tends to show that this comprehensive scheme was designed to promote the understanding of different religions among his subjects. Before discussing Akbar's motives, Abū'l Faḍl laments that the rulers of the past neglected the vital duty of looking after the religious needs of the common people. Even when the religious problems of their subjects reached their ears, they did not pay attention to them. Fear of the slanderous campaigns of 'babblers' precluded them from taking up religious questions personally; they entrusted these problems to people who

15. *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh,* II p. 267.
16. *Ibid* p. 344. The term *Maktab Khāna* has not attracted the notice of the modern scholars.
17. *Ibid* p. 320.

know about nothing except issuing *fatwās* (judicial or religious decrees), and to theologians who did not understand the real spirit of their religion:

But, says Abū'l Faḍl, Akbar initiated a bold policy so that in his age 'the pillars of blind following' were demolished and a new era of research and enquiry in religious matters commenced[18], Referring to the new religous regulations issued by Akbar, he says that it was only after they were promulgated that the consciousness grew that kings were not well advised to rule without them[19].

Turning to Akbar's motives in getting the *Mahābhārata* translated into Persian, Abū'l Faḍl says that Akbar was anxious to introduce reforms among all sections of his subjects and did not discriminate between friend and foe. As he found that there were exceedingly great differences amongst Hindus and Muslims, and there was no end to the polemics involved, he decided to get the reliable texts of both religions translated, so that, shaking off their enmity, they should try to search for truth. Thus having obtained a knowledge of their respective shortcomings they should get themselves to reform. Moreover Akbar found that there was no dearth of people in every religion who thought of themselves as perfect, who misinterpreted their religious beliefs and did not bring the standard works of their religion to the knowledge of the common people. Thus the spirit of the faith remained concealed. Akbar found it essential to prevent the people from falling victims to the nefarious designs of such custodians of faith, and decided that if the standard works of different religions were translated into a simple language, they would be able to know the truth for themselves. This would put an end to the monopoly of those who did not state the real spirit of their religion to their respective followers[20].

Time and time again Abū'l Faḍl turns to criticize the ignorance and short-sightedness of his contemporaries. He was convinced that Hindu scholars held fantastic views about their faith ; that, because of their ignorance and want of discrimination, they considered even the silliest objects of their belief above reproach and followed their faith blindly.[21] They had filled the minds of the

18. *Mahābhārata*, Persian Translation (Lucknow Ed.) Abū'l Faḍl's preface p. 4.
19. *Ibid* p. 6.
20. *Ibid* p. 15.
21. According to Badāūnī, the Hindus did not disclose their books to the Muslims (*Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*) II p. 320.

simple people with superficial things and held them back from the path of religious enquiry. 'The followers of the Aḥmadī faith (the Muslims) who were ignorant of the realities of Hinduism based their views on such misrepresentations and denounced the religion. They did not have any first hand information of the standard works of different religions such as those of the Indians and the Chinese, nor had they studied the works of great men of their own religion such as those of Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq[22] (80/699-148/765) and Ibn al-'Arabī[23] (560/1165-638-1240). They thus believed that the human race had been in existence for seven thousand odd years and all of its intellectual heritage was confined to that period.[24]

The translation of the *Mahābhārata* was given priority for several reasons. It was the standard text of Hinduism and 'a compendium of the basic and minor beliefs of the brahmins.' It described the great antiquity of the world and its inhabitants. Lastly, the study of history enabled the people to take lessons from the past and to devote their present to compliance with the commandments of God Most High in the right spirit. Thus kings, more than anyone else, are in need of obtaining knowledge of the past.[25] Abū'l Faḍl says,

> 'A group of wise linguists who because of an abundance of wisdom and uprightness were free from bigotry and fanaticism and were endowed with equity and justice in their outlook, were collected in order that they should translate the work into a lucid and intelligible language with penetrating insight. After the work was compiled a large number of people obtained copies, and took them as gifts to different parts of the world'.[26]

According to the colophon of the manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata* in the Lytton Collections of Aligarh Muslim University

22. Ja'far bin Muḥammad called Ṣādiq ('The Trustworthy') (80 or 83/699 or 702-148/765) is recognised by the Shī'as as their sixth Imām. A large number of traditions connected by the Shī'as with Muḥammed are ascribed to him by them.
23. For the cosmological doctrines in the *Rasā'il* of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*, the works of al-Bīrūni, Ibn Sīna and Ibn al-'Arabī, see Seyyed Hossein Nasr ; *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines* (Cambridge—Massachusetts 1964).
24. *Mahābhāratā* p. 24.
25. *Ibid* pp. 15-16.
26. *Ibid* p. 17.

Library, Dēbī Miśra, Satuwanī, Madhusūdana Miśra, Chatūrbhuja Miśra and Shaikh Bhāwan collaborated with Muslim scholars in preparing its translation. The work was commenced at the end of 990/1503, by Naqīb Khān. For several nights the Emperor himself presided. On the third night Mulla 'Abdal-Qādir Badāūnī was ordered to collaborate with Naqīb Khān.

Badāūnī says,

> 'The consequence was that in three or four months I translated two out of eighteen sections, at the puerile absurdities of which the eighteen thousand creations may well be amazed.'

Afterwards Mullā Shērī and Naqīb Khān completed a part of the work and another was compiled by Ḥājī Thāneswarī. Shaikh Faiḍī was then ordered to rewrite the translation into elegant prose and verse, but he could not complete more than two sections. Sultan Ḥājī wrote two sections and amended the mistakes which had occurred in his earlier renderings. One hundred closely written *juz* (about a quire of paper) were written. According to Badāūnī, not a flymark of the original was omitted.[27]

It seems that the first two *parvans* were re-written in an ornate prose by Faiḍī in 997/1587.[28] The rest of the translation was made by Naqīb Khān, Badāūnī, Mullā Shērī, and Ḥājī Sulṭān Thāneswarī. The conflicting notes in the colophons of the available manuscripts and Badāūnī's self-contradictory remarks have made it exceedingly difficult to exactly determine the share of each contributor. On the whole, the work is not disjointed. It seems that Naqīb Khān finally rewrote it to make it a unified whole.

The translation was named *Razm Nāma*. Badāūnī says,

> 'Shaikh Abū'l Faḍl in contrast to the commentary on the *Āyeh al-Kursī*,[29] which he had formerly composed, now wrote for it a preface extending to two *juz*.[30]

Abūl Faḍl's preface is found in many manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata* and was also published by the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow. It runs into thirty-six pages of the Nawal Kishore edition and consists of two parts : (a) an account of Akbar's motives

27. *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, II pp. 320-321.
28. India Office Ms. (I.O. 761)
29. *Qur'ān*, II, 256.
30. *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, II, p. 321.

in getting the work translated and (b) an analysis of the contents of the work. Nowhere does Abū'l Faḍl mention his commentary on the *Āvah al-Kursī*, let alone contradict it. This shows how Badāūnī sought to denounce Abū'l Faḍl without any fear of being exposed.

Akbar carefully supervised the translation in order to guard against the possibilities of interpolation and misinterpretation. He often wrongly suspected that Badāūnī was trying to make interpolations; occasionally he lost his temper and abused him, calling him *ḥarām khōr* (venal or *shalgham khōr* (a turnip eater). Badāūnī gives the following detailed account of one of Akbar's criticisms which he made in Rajab 1003/March-April 1595,

> "We (Akbar) had thought that so and so (Badāūnī) was an unworldly being of Sūfi tendencies, but he appears to be such a bigoted jurist (*faqīh*) that no sword can sever the jugular vein of his bigotry."

Abū'l Faḍl enquired in what book had the author thus written, that his Majesty spoke of him thus. He replied, 'Why in the *Razm Nāma* i.e. the *Mahābhārata*, and last night I called Naqīb Khān in witness of this matter.' Shaikh Abū'l Faḍl said, 'He committed a mistake.' Badāūnī in his own defence submitted, 'I was a translator, nothing more, and whatever the sages of India have represented therein, I translated without alteration, but if I had written it myself, I should have been to blame, and should have acted accordingly'. Shaikh Abū'l Faḍl supported Badāūnī, and the Emperor was silenced. In fact, Badāūnī had formerly, in the *Razm Nāma*, translated a certain story in which it was told that one of the teachers of the people of India said by way of advice to those present :

> 'It is right that a man should step out of the limits of ignorance and negligence, should first of all become aquainted with the Peerless Creator, and should pursue the path of knowledge, and not be satisfied with mere knowledge without practice, for that yields no fruit, but should choose the path of virtue, and as far as in him lies, withdraw his hand from evil actions, and should know for certainty that every action will be enquired into.'

Badāūnī concluded the passage with this hemstitch :—

> Every action hath its reward,
> And every deed its recompense.

Akbar deemed it as an interpolation designed to bring in the Islamic beliefs in Munkir and Nakīr, the Resurrection and the Day of Judgement etc., which according to Badāūnī were incompatible with the beliefs of the Emperor, who never talked of anything but metempsychosis. Badāūnī subsequently impressed upon all the courtiers that the Indian sages believed in the truth of 'Reward and punishment' of 'Good and bad actions'. Thus he says,

> 'When a person dies, the scribe who writes the chronicle of the deeds of mankind throughout their lives, takes it before the angel, who is the Seizer of souls, and is called the King of Justice. After he has examined his good and bad deeds, and has found out which one predominates, he says, "This person has his choice". Then he asks him, "Shall I first for thy good actions take thee to paradise, that thou mayest there enjoy to the full delights in proportion to thy good actions, and after that send thee to hell to expiate thy sins or vice versa ?" When that period comes to an end, he gives orders that the person should return to the earth, and, assuming a form suitable to his past actions, should pass a certain period ; and so on, *ad infinitum,* until the time when he attains absolute release ; and is freed from coming into and leaving the world.[31]

Abū'l Faḍl's Preface :

Abū'l Fadl's preface to the work which he wrote in 995/1587 is valuable in its own right, It begins with the forumla *Śrī Gaṇeśāya namaḥ* (Reverence to Lord Gaṇeśa) and praise of God, omitting the praise of Muḥammad altogether, but without forgetting Akbar. It introduces the translation to the readers, mainly Muslims, in a very scholarly manner. He classifies the Indian sages into three categories : metaphysicians, ascetics and law-makers.[32] Of Hindu theories of cosmogony, he found thirteen propounded in the work, none of which fully convinced him. Some of them belonged to the category which, according to him, could not be contradicted by reason; others after a little thought could be rejected; while the rest deserved thoughtful consideration. Up to the time of the writing of the preface a large number of

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31. *Ibid.* pp. 399-400.
32. *Mahābhārata* p. 17.

Brahmas had come into existence and vanished.[33] He found this theory compatible with the view of Imām J 'afar al-Ṣādiq who is said to have observed that before the birth of Adam thousands of other Adams had been born. Similarly, Ibn al-'Arabī held that before the race of one Adam came to an end, the next Adam was born.[34]

Abū'l Faḍl also seeks to warn his readers about the self-contradictory material in the stories and urges them to pay attention to the spirit of the illustrative anecdotes. He says :

> 'If I say that all the stories embodied in the work are correct, I would be outstepping the bounds of the possibilities of physical existence. If I liken them to the stories of Amīr Ḥamza, I shall not be doing injustice to the work[35]'.

In the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī,* he puts forth the same point of view :

> 'Although this work contains numerous extravagant tales and fictions based on imagination, it affords many instructive moral observations and is an ample record of felicitous experience[36]'.

According to him the most important part of the work, constituting three-fourths of the whole, is that embodying philosophical, political and ethical teachings. He therefore advises his readers to concentrate their thought mainly on this vital part of the work and not to take the anecdotes very literally. The political, spiritual and philosophical teachings of Bhīṣma in the sixth *parvan* was of considerable interest to Abū'l Faḍl. He felt that the translators had not been able to do adequate justice to this section and wished to evaluate it in the light of the philosophy of Greek and Arab thinkers, but gave up the idea, for this would have made the preface prolix and unduly lengthy.[37] It seems that he wished to prepare a commentary of the *Gītā* in the Bhīṣhma *parvan.*

The Rāmāyaṇa

The translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was undertaken by 'Abd al-Qādir Badāūnī on the orders of Akbar in 992/1584-85 and comple-

33. *Ibid.* p. 20.
34. Abūl Faḍl ; *Akbar Nāma* (Calcutta 1873-87) I, p. 52.
35. *Mahābhārata* p. 29.
36. *Ā-īn-i-Akbarī,*
37. *Mahābhārata,* pp. 17-18.

ted in 997/1589-90. It seems that he was called upon to translate it by himself, except for the half of the brahmin interpreters. Again he found the stories indicating the great antiquity of the world challenging to his conscience. He says:

> 'And the opinion of this set of people (the Hindus) is that the world is very old, and that no age has been devoid of the human race, and that from that event (the period of the *Rāmāyana*) 100,000 years have passed. And yet for all that they do not believe in Adam, the father of the human race, whose creation took place only 7,000 years ago. Hence it is evident that these events are either not true at all and nothing but tales of pure fiction and imagination like the *Shāh Nāma* and the stories of Amīr Ḥamza, or else they must have happened in the time of the dominion of the beasts ond the *jinns*.

To Abū'l Faḍl on the other hand, the philosophical teachings of the *Rāmāyaṇa* were of much educative value.[39]

The draft translation ran into 70 *juz* but the final version comprised 120 *juz*. Badāūnī was ordered to contribute a preface to it 'after the manner of authors', presumably like the one Abū'l Faḍl wrote for the *Mahābhārata*. He, therefore, imagined that the preface would have to be written without praise of Muḥammad. This was too much for him to bear; he therefore did not undertake it.[40]

The *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, the nineteenth *parvan* or supplement to the *Mahābhārata*, was transtlated by an eminent Persian poet Mulla Shērī.[41] The translation of Vālmīkī's Sanskrit work *Yogavāśiṣṭha* is generally ascribed to Faiḍī, but Abū'l Faḍl does not mention it in his list of the translations made under the auspices of Akbar. An illustrated copy of the work in the Chester Beatty Library Dublin is dated 1602. The illustrations are also signed and the painters belonged to Akbar's reign.[42] Though we cannot authoritatively ascribe the translation to Faiḍī, its production in Akbar's reign cannot be doubted. Faiḍī's popularity as a translator of Sanskrit works stimulated anonymous scholars to translate Sanskrit classics

38. *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, II, pp. 336-337.
39. *Ā'īn i-Akabarī* I p. 76.
40. *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, II, p. 366.
41. *Ā'īn i-Akbari* I, p. 77.
42. *Painting of India*, p. 96.

and sell them in the name of Faiḍī. Thus the authorship of a treatise on *Vedānta* philosophy based on the *Yogavāśiṣṭha*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and other Sanskrit works, entitled *Shāriq al-ma'rifat*, is also ascribed to Faiḍī[43], but was apparently compiled in Shāh Jahan's reign.

The success that Akbar obtained in his scheme for the Persian translation of Sanskrit work is remarkable. None of the translators had studied Sanskrit; Faiḍī's knowledge of the language was only superficial. The Sanskrit scholars explained the original to the Persian scholars, who made the translations into a literary language. It is also noteworthy that a number of Sanskrit scholars who could explain the complex ideas of the original in Persian had been assembled. The terminology of Persian Sufic works greatly helped the translators in making their translations intelligible. Apart from Faiḍī, Abū'l Faḍl, Naqīb Khān and Fatḥ Allāh Shīrazī, none of the Muslim translators were interested in the contents of the originals. Badāūnī, decidedly one of the best translators, loathed performing his task. He considered the scheme for the translation of Sanskrit classics to be a deliberate conspiracy against Islam. Each time a new work was assigned to him, he was overcome by an attack of acute depression. Every time he had to seek God's pardon for associating himself with the translation of the religious works of the 'despised Hindus'. He concludes his account of the translation of *Mahābhārata* in his *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* :

> "Most of the scholars who were engaged as interpreters or translators of the work are being questioned for their deed in their after-life, like the associates of the Kurūs and Pānḍūs. To those who are still alive, may God grant deliverance, and grace to repent, and may He accept the excuse of "Whoso after he hath believed in God denies Him ; if he were forced to it and if his heart remains steadfast in the faith (shall be guiltless). Verily He is the merciful Pardoner."[44]

After giving an account of the completion of the translation of *Rāmāyaṇa*, he wrote :

> "And from that black book (the *Rāmāyaṇa*), which is naught like the book of my life, I flee to God for refuge. The transla-

43. India Office Ms. I. O. 1355.
44. *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, II. p. 312.

tion of heresy is not heresy ; I repeat the declaration to exonerate myself from the sins of heresy ; for I fear lest this book, which I have reluctantly written in obedience to the imperial command, should bring a curse on me."[45]

Once someone asked Ḥāji Sultān Thāneswarī about his translation of the *Mahābhārata*. He replied, "I am translating what was well known ten thousand years ago into the modern tongue."[46] Mulla Shērī felt that the far-fetched fables in the *Mahābhārata* resembled the dreams of one stricken with fear.[47]

Faiḍī and Abū'l Faḍl on the other hand took a genuine interest in the scheme. Faiḍī also made a poetical paraphrase of the first two *parvans* of the *Mahābhārata* which he had already rendered into ornamental prose.[48] He wrote a *mathnawī* entitled *Nala-Daman*, comprising more than 4,000 hemstichs. This work describes the romance of Nala, the king of Niṣadha or Mālwā, and Damayantī, the daughter of the King of Vidarbha, in touching poetry.

In fact he undertook to write *Nala-Daman* in connection with a plan for writing a *khamsa* or collection of five *mathnawīs* in imitation of the *khamsa* of Nizāmī Ganjawi (535/1140-576/1181). He started the composition of all the five *mathnawīs* at the same time and wrote several sections of each work, but completed *Nala-Daman* in four months and presented it to Akbar on 1 Dai of 39 Divine Era/11 December 1594.[49] Badāūni says :

> 'Verily it is a *mathnawī*, the like of which for the last 300 years since Mīr Khusrau, no poet in India has composed'.[50]

The work did not form part of the scheme for the translations, but its execution would have been impossible without the production of the translation of the *Mahābhārata*, from which the story is derived.

What is significant in Faiḍī's *Nala-Daman* is a long encomium on Muḥammad and an account of the m'irāj (Muḥammad's supposed journey to heaven) on traditional lines. Badāūnī says :

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45. *Ibid*, p. 367.
46. *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, III p. 119.
47. *Ibid* p. 252.
48. India Office Ms. I. O. 761.
49. *Akbar Nāma* III p. 661.
50. *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, II p. 396.

"When he (Faiḍī) was near death he wrote, at the earnest solicitations of some of his friends, some couplets in praise of the Prophet and of his m'rāj, and incorporated them in the *Nala-Daman*."[51]

Faiḍī's encomium on Muḥammad is not a latter addition, for it is written in the same strain as in the rest of the work. It served as a model for subsequent poetical works on Hindu themes written by Muslim and Hindu scholars.

All the translations of Sanskrit works prepared in Akbar's reign were illustrated by the court painters. The Rajput chiefs and the Mughal nobles also had illustrated copies made for their private libraries. One of the copies of the *Mahābhārata* made for the imperial library is now in the possession of the Maharaja of Jaipur. Its illustrations seem to have been made between 1584 and 1589.[52] An illustrated copy of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was made from Akbar's original in 1598-99 for 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān i-Khānān, and is now in the Freer Gallery, Washington.[53] The illustrations must have aroused interest in the contents of the works.

The Sanskrit translations of Akbar's reign provided a new intellectual outlet for the energies of later Persian scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Several independent translations of other Sanskrit works were made in the reigns of Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān and Aurangzēb, besides the works that Dārā Shukōh had rendered into Persian. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Chishtī (died 1094/1683) syncretized the Hindu theories of cosmogony in his *Mir'āt al-Makhlugāt* and gave an Islamising explanation of the *Bhagavad-gītā* in his *Mir'āt al-ḥaqā'iq*.[55] *Mathanwīs* on Rāma and Sītā, some comprising free translations of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, were also composed. Most outstanding are those written by Girdhar Kāyath[56] and Shaikh S'ad Allāh Masīḥ[57] who flourished in Jahāngir's reign. From the later part of the seventeenth century, Tulsī Dāsa began to receive greater attention from the translators, and translations of his *Rāmāyaṇa* were also made.

51. *Ibid* III p. 306.
52. *Painting of India*, pp. 83-84.
53. *Ibid* p. 96.
54. British Museum, Or 1883 pp. 239-250.
55. *Ibid*, Or 1883, pp. 257-271.
56. India Office Ms. I.O. 803.
57. India Office Ms. I.O. 1367.

Several original works on the fine arts, sciences and the philosophy of the Hindus were also written. The most noteworthy is the *Tuḥfat al-Hind* composed by Mīrzā Muhammad ibn Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad, in the reign of Aurangzēb at the request of Kukultāsh Khān for the emperor's son, Prince Muḥammad Mu'izz al-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh.[58]

The colophons and the notes on the fly-leaves of the available manuscripts of the Persian translations indicate that both Hindus and Muslims had them transcribed, and illustrated and purchased them. The Hindus, mainly those associated with the civil administration such as the Kāyasthas, took a keen interest in the works. They helped them to understand the spirit of their religion independently. Among the Muslim educated classes, even the theologians owned Persian translations of Hindu religious works. As late as the early twentieth century, one or two Persian translations of Hindu religious works were invariably found in the homes of Kāyastha families in the U.P.

The Rājataranginī

Akbar's interest was not confined only to religious works. He was deeply interested in historical works too. The *Rājataranginī,* the metrical history of Kashmir by Kalhana, completed in 1148-49, stimulated Akbar's interest in the ancient history and culture of Kashmir, which was annexed by him to the Mughal empire in 1586. Mulla Shāh Muhammad of Shāhābād, a learned scholar who had for some time served as the *sadar* of the Punjab, was commissioned to translate it into Persian.[59] According to Abūl Faḍl, the work was translated from Kashmīrī.[60] It seems that the translation of the original Sanskrit into Kashmīrī, apparently made in Sultan Zain al-'Ābidīn's reign, was utilised. Subsequently Badāūnī was ordered to rewrite it in a literary style. He completed the work in two months in 999/1590-91.[61]

Kathā Sārit Sāgara

In 1003/1594-95, Badāūnī translated a collection of Sanskrit stories, a portion of which had already been translated into Persian

58. India Office Ms. 1269.
59. *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* II p. 374.
60. *Ā'īn ī-Akbarī* I p. 76.
61. *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* II p. 374.

at the instance of Sultan Zain al-'Ābidin and was entitled *Bahar al-Asmar* (Ocean of Stories). First of all Badāūnī was ordered to translate the last portions of the work which had not been rendered into Persian. He was required to complete it in five months. One night, while he was busy on the translation, the Emperor summoned him to his private bedroom and kept on enquiring about the stories till morning. Subsequently the Emperor ordered that the first volume of the work, which was in an archaic Persian, should also be rewritten in a more lucid style. Badāūnī hoped to complete the work within two or three months, but the abrupt ending of the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* has left us in the dark about its completion. The title of the original is also not given by Badāūnī.[62] Lowe thinks it was the *Rājataraṅginī*[63] but this work had already been translated and it would not have been taken up again. It was most probably the *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgar*.

Kalila Wa Dimna

This Sanskrit work, written as an Indian 'mirror for princes' to instruct them in the art of government through fables about animals, had already been rendered in Arabic several times. The first complete Persian translation was made by Niẓām al-Dīn Abū'l Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh bin Muḥammad in 1144. Ḥusain Wā'iẓ Kāshifī revised Naṣr Allāh's version, but instead of making it lucid, he made it exceedingly verbose and rhetorical. Akbar ordered Abū'l Faḍl to rewrite it in a simple Persian. He completed it, in sixteen chapters with a conclusion, on 15 Sha 'ban 996/10 July 1588.[64] Its short sentences and simple prose stands as a great contrast to the long and involvod sentences of his diplomatic correspondence and the *Akbar Nāma*.

Astronomy and Mathematics

Next to works on religion and history, Akbar took an interest in astronomy and mathematics. Three Sanskrit works on astronomy were translated into Persian by Amīr Fatḥ Allāh Shīrāzī and Shaikh Abū'l Faḍl The names Kishn Jōshī, Gaṅgādhar and Mahesh Mahānand given in the *Ā' īn-i-Akbarī* seem to be the names of the authors[65] The Most important is Faiḍī's Persian translation of

62. *Ibid* p. 401.
63. Lowe, W. H. ; *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* (Calcutta 1926) p. 415 note 2.
64. *Ā'īn i-Akbari,* I p. 77,
65. *Ibid* I, p. 76.

Bhāskarācarya's *Līlāvatī*, a work on arithmetic and geometry. Faiḍī completed it in 995/1587.[66]

Arabic Works

Though Sanskrit works increasingly engaged Akbar's attention; Arabic was not neglected. *Mu 'jam al-Buldān*, an encyclopaedic work on geography with stories relating to the wonders of the world was brought to the Emperor's notice by Ḥakīm Hamām. About ten or twelve scholars were selected to translate it. Of them Mulla Aḥmad of Thatta, Qāsim Bēg, Shaikh Munawwar and Mulla 'Abd al-Qādir Badāūnī are noteworthy.[67]

In Rabī 'I 1101/December 1592, Badāūnī in consultation with Shaikh Abū'l Faḍl made a summary translation of the *Jāmi Rashīdī*, a voluminous Arabic work on the Umaiyad and the 'Abbāsid Caliphs, Muḥammad and other prophets.[68] The Arabic works selected for translation tend to show that Akbar took interest only in the historical and scientific works written in Arabic.

Turkish

Bābur Nāma, in Turkish, a mine of information relating to Central Asia, Kābul and India, was of an absorbing interest for the Indian Tīmurīds. The portions relating to the Indian period of Bābur's autobiography had already been translated by his *Ṣadr,* Zain al-Dīn Khwāfī, into Persian.[69] In 994/1584 Mīrza Pāyandah Ḥasan Ghaznawī commenced its translation at the insistence of Bihrūz Khān (who was afterwards given the title of Naurang Khān by Akbar and died as a governor of Junāgarh in 1002/1593-94), but he could not translate the account beyond the first sixth and a part of the seventh year. Subsequently one Muḥammed Qulī Mughul Ḥiṣārī continued the work and brought it down to 935/1528-29.[70] Akbar ordered Mīrza 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānan to translate it again and he completed the work in 998/1589. He presented his translation to the Emperor on 24 November 1589 when the latter was returning from Kābul.[71] Khān-i-Khanān excelled all the previous translators.

66. India Office Ms. I.O. 1411.
67. *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* II p. 375.
68. *Ibid* II p. 384.
69. British Museum Ms. Rieu III 926b.
70. India Office Ms. I.O. 913.
71. *Akbar Nāma* III p. 570.

Christian Works

No works of Christian theology were taken up for translation at the *Maktab Khāna,* though Akbar exhibited increasing interest in Christianity, Father Jerome Xavier, who on 5 May 1595 arrived with the third Jesuit mission at Akbar's court in Lahore, and remained in attendence on Akbar till his death, studied Persian for about seven years and made the translation of Christian works into Persian possible. He composed a work in Portuguese based on the Gospels which at the instance of Akbar he translated at Agra in collaboration with one Maulānā 'Abd al-Sattār bin Qāsim Lāhauri: The work was entitled *Mir āt' al-Quds* (The Mirror of Holiness) or *Dāstān i-Masīḥ* (Life of Christ) and was completed in 1602.[72]

This aroused Akbar's interest in the lives of the Apostles and he ordered Father Xavier to compile a work on them. The Father first wrote it in Portuguese and then translated it into Persian with the help of Maulānā 'Abd al-Sattār. It was named the *Dāstān i-Aḥwāl i-Ḥawāriyān*[73] (Lives of the Apostles). It comprised the accounts of SS. Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James the Less, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Jude, and Matthias. The biographical notes on the first four of these were submitted to Akbar before his death, and the rest of the work was presented to Jahāngīr first at Lahore in 1607 and later on at Agra in 1609.

Ā'īna i-Ḥaq Numā (The Truth-Showing Mirror) an exceedingly controversial work was commenced by Xavier before 1602 but it was completed in Jahāngīr's reign and dedicated to him.[74] Maclagan says:

> 'The treatise written in the form of dialogue between a padre and a philosopher or freethinker whom he purports to have met at Court—a thinly veiled personification of Akbar himself—while at times a mulla intervenes as a third interlocutor.[75]

Finding the work rather voluminous, Xavier prepared an abridgment entitled *Muntakhab i-Ā' ina i Ḥaq Numā.*[76] The work

72. Sachau and Ethe; *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* No. 364.
73. *Ibid.* No. 365.
74. British Museum, Ms. Harl. 5478.
75. *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* p. 207.
76. British Musuem Ms. Add 23, 584.

seems to have formed the source of the *Dabistān i-Madhāhib*, on which the author's imaginary dialogues between the members of different faith at Akbar's court seem to have been based.

Thamrat al-Filāsfa

Akbar's unquenchable thirst for a knowledge of religion, philosophy and history led him to take an interest in the philosophy of the West, particularly that of Greeks. From his letter to the king of Portugal, what he expected was to receive a deputation of thinkers who could discuss religion and history in his court objectively. The Fathers who came, belied his expectations. He accordingly encouraged their collaborator, 'Abd al-Sattāar, to learn Portuguse and translate books for him. The latter, given this impulse, translated Portuguese excerpts embodying an account of Greece and Rome and biographical notes on Greek philosophers. The work was named *Thamrat al-Filāsfa* (The Fruit of Philosophy.)[77]

The translation of Akbar's reign gave a new dimension to Indian Persian, which has already acquired a distinctive character. Its impact was felt by a vast majority of the élite of those days; its administrative and philosophical concepts percolated down to several regional languages and enriched them. The typical Mughal culture would have been much poorer without its intellectual and artistic contributions.

77. British Museum Ms. Or. 5893.

The East India Company and the common folk of Bombay

ANTHONY D'COSTA

THERE is no dearth of histories dealing with the rise of the British power in India. But for the most part they deal with their subject as though it were just a story of wars, treaties, conquests and annexations. To give but one instance, Henry Beveridge at the end of his massive *Comprehensive History of India* summed up the process by saying, 'The British Indian empire having been thus founded i.e. by securing the diwānī], continued to advance in the face of hostile combinations which continued to interrupt its progress, and at times even threatened its existence, till every power hostile to it was overthrown, and its supremacy was completely established.'[1] A little reflection, however, will make one realise that conquest and annexation do not by themseleves suffice to establish an orderly empire, unless the people too are disposed to accept the conqueror. Hence it is the purpose of this paper to set forth the dealings of the Company with the common people of Bombay, as far as may be gathered from the 'Diaries of the Government of Bombay for the years 1734-1741.'[2] Investigations along this line will eventually give us more adequate idea of how British rule came to be accepted.

One might begin with the Indian soldiers who by now formed a large, if not the larger, part of the Company's force. Their needs and complaints used to be readily attended to in order to

1. Henry Beveridge, *A Comprehensive History of India, from the first landing of the English to the suppression of the sepoy revolt*, Vol. III (London 1966) 705.
2. For brief information about the 'Diaries' and their chronological peculiarities of *Indica* (Journal of the Heras Institute) 4,43 ff.

keep them contented. The sepoys of Bombay, for instance, used to be given *batty*[3] or unhusked rice. In 1739, however, those serving in outposts of the island were supplied instead 'black Sindi rice,' meaning probably the parched rice that used to be sold by Gujerati merchants.[4] The sepoys remonstrated that it was a change for the worse, since the 'batty' could be boiled and husked by pounding in their own homes. This left the brown substance adhering to the grain, which could then be used for preparing *kāñjī* or rice-gruel. The sepoys further pointed out that, as it was, they were obliged to purchase 'batty' from the Company at a higher price than that obtaining in the market. Moreover, being at the outposts, away from their families, they had to incur extra expenditure on necessaries like firewood. The Government admitted that they had just cause for complaint and decided to restore the ration of 'batty'.[5]

The Company also adopted the system of paying life pensions to sepoys who became incapacitated for military service. We find this first mentioned in 1739 in connection with the 'topasses' or soldiers of Luso-Indian descent, who were by now part of Indian society. A private who had served for a period of 7 to 19 years was to get Rs. 3 per month, while one who had served for 20 years and more would draw Rs. 4. A corporal would get Rs. 4 and a sergeant Rs. 5. In addition, from time to time the Company responded favourably to their requests for loans if that appeared to serve its cause[6].

Like consideration was shown towards those in the Company's civil employ. The Prabhus, who were traditionally the village scribes, now found a new avenue open to them and took service as clerks under the English. One such was Murar Prabhu whom we find in 1741 as assistant in the hospital, attending regularly to his work and proving himself 'extremely useful in preparing the doctors' prescriptions'. The post of 'mate' or head-clerk having fallen vacant, he applied for it. The Government granted his request in view of his past record, and resolved that 'for his encouragement the allowance to be increased from

3. Derived from the Marathi word *bhāt*, through the Luso-Indian form *bate*.
4. Cfr. H. Yule—A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases* (London 1886) art. 'Sind'.
5. Maharashtra State Archives, 'Diaries' 12 B, 352 f.
6. *Ibid.* 12 C, 604 f; 13 B, 368 ; 13 C, 428.

twelve to sixteen rupees per month, being the same as the other enjoyed,'[7]

The 'Bandarees', who made their living by drawing toddy and manufacturing arrack, were the special object of the Company's favour, 'they being of a military cast [e] and having [on] several occasions behaved with courage.' Hence they were regarded as being 'of all our inhabitants the most to be depend [ed upon] in any exigency.'[8] In fact when the Marathas wrested Salsette from the Portugues in 1737 and appeared to threaten Bombay as well, the 'Bandarees' demonstrated their loyalty by tak ing up positions at the narrow and shallow ford of Sion, which the English themselves admitted to be 'the most exposed sector.'[9]

When the island came in possession of the Company, there was a sub-caste of 'Bandarees' living here, who were later joined by two other sub-castes from the neighbouring regions. They were at first left to ply their trade free of tax, on the understanding that they would help to defend the island and mount guard at the Governor's gate daily for two hours in the morning and two in the afternoon.

It was not long, however, before they were prevailed upon to agree to a tax on their profession. A lump sum was fixed, and it was left to their headmen to apportion the burden equitably. The headmen began increasing demands arbitrarily, and so the Government took farming the tax to the highest bidder. There was keen competition and the bidding ran high, with the result that the farmer's demands weighed heavilly on the 'Bandarees'. Accordingly, in 1735 they proposed that the tax should be fixed in perpetuity at Rs. 10,000 per year, and it be left to their headmen to distribute the burden, as used to be done formerly. The Government agreed to recommend the proposal to the Home authorities.[10]

It was also the practice to grant the monopoly of trade in toddy and arrack to the highest bidder, and this obliged the 'Bandarees' to sell their product to the monopolist only. They experienced two inconveniences under the system. One was

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7. *Ibid.* 14 C, 693 f.
8. *Ibid.* 8,222—The name is derived from the Maraṭhī word *bhandārī*.
9. *Ibid.* 10 B, 280-84.
10. *Ibid.* 8,224-27.

that the monopolist demanded more than they could supply, and took to importing the additional amount from outside. As it was, the 'Bandarees' found it hard to maintain themselves and their families, and the importing of toddy from outside meant for them the loss of an opportunity to earn more. So in 1736 they petitioned the Government to grant them the lease of 900 of the Company's coconut trees. The Government admitted that they were right and granted the request.[11]

The other inconvenience was that there were years when the successful monopolist bid high, while the consumer price remained constant. So he compensated himself by paying less to the 'Bandarees'. The Government wanted to change the system but the Home authorities had ordered them to continue auctioning the monopoly, so that by 1737 many of the 'Bandarees' were ruined. The presence of the Marathas in Salsette now rendered it all the more urgent to retain their goodwill. Accordingly, the Government decided to grant the right of selling arrack for three years to the 'Bandarees' themselves in return for Rs. 12,000. When the Home authorities were informed of this arrangement, they left it to the Bombay Government 'to act therein as may be most for the interest and security of the Island, without making the lease perpetual.' So when the agreement was due to lapse in 1740, it was renewed for a further period of three years.[12]

Then there were the 'Coolys'.[13] Fisherfolk by profession, they were subject to a profession tax. Besides, they used to be employed by the Company in packing cases and loading ships, and as palanquin beares. Those employed in this last service were known as 'Dolcarrs'[14] and used to be paid Rs. 3 per month. In 1736 they complained that some unauthorised Englishmen used to demand that they should carry them, with the result that they were drawn away from their fishing and had not wherewith to pay the tax. They repeated the complaint in 1740. On both occasions the Government ruled that only a certain category of officials were entitled to the service of the 'Dolcarrs' of whom there were fifty-five in the latter year. From across the borders the Marathas were

11. *Ibid.* 9 A, 185 f.
12. *Ibid.* 10 B, 280-84 ; 13 B, 427 f.
13. From the Marathi word *kolī*.
14. From the Marathi word *dolkar*.

trying to entice them, and hence their pay was increased by half a rupee in order to ensure their loyalty. That brought up their pay to Rs. 3 1/2 per month. However, even this was subject to a profession tax of about Rs. 4 annually, which meant nearly half a rupee out of their monthly salary. It does not come as a surprise then, that the Government itself had to admit that they were the ones who were 'put to the hardest duty with the least reward of their labour.'[15]

Nor were the farmers forgotten. Just in those years the creek between Camballa Hill and Worli was filled up, and the ground of the present Mahalaxmi race-course reclaimed.[16] Soon people got plots on lease from the Government and started cultivation, so that by 1738 the Company received from it a land revenue of more than Rs. 1000. It was decided to encourage them to bring more of it under cultivation. A survey was then ordered with a view to settling the leases 'at a reasonable rent for a certain number of years, to be then renewed and the rent advanced according as the produce of the ground shall be found to afford.'[17] Here we find the principles of what was three-quarters of a century later to become famous as the ryotwari settlement.

The Government also evinced concern that the poor in general should not lack the necessaries of life. When the Marathas occupied Salsette, relations between them and the English were strained, and it was feared that they might stop the supply of rice to Bombay. Accordingly, the Governor and his councillors met urgently in January 1739 to decide on alternative ways of securing 'grain for the immediate support of the inhabitants, the labouring part of which chiefly depends on the Government for even their daily supplies.'[18] In the event, the Marathas did not cut off supplies, but the entry in the Diary shows the Company's concern for the common folk.

Then as now a rise in prices and the traditional high interest rates spelled hardships for the poor specially, and the Company concerned itself about this too. In 1734 Goa was experiencing

15. 'Diaries' 9 B, 638 ; 10 B, 346 ; 13 A, 92-94.
16. The place today goes by the name of Breach Candy. This is a combination of the English word 'breach' and the Marathi *khiṇd* (=ravine) which has become transformed into 'candy'.
17. 'Diaries' 11 B, 398.
18. *Ibid.* 12 A, 64.

difficulty in securing rice from Kanara, and so the Portuguese stopped the export of that article from Salsette to Bombay, in case it should be necessary to divert it to Goa. The Bombay Government, too, thereupon forbade the export of grain 'to prevent the price rising too exorbitantly on our poor inhabitants.'[19] At the same time the problem of excessive rates of interest was dealt with. The Government had some time back sent information on the subject to the Court of Directors, who had then made a regulation 'for preventing extravagant interest being taken on small sums of money.' The Government caused it to be translated into Portuguese and the vernaculars and publicly proclaimed.[20]

In addition, the Company succoured the needy by advancing them loans free of interest. In 1716, for instance, fire destroyed the huts of the 'Coolys' of Worli, in the western part of the island. The Government advanced them more than a thousand rupees to rebuild them. In 1735 the 'Coolys' of Dharavi, in the north of the island, got a loan of Rs. 60 to enable them to repair their boats. They repaid it punctually, and in 1741 secured a further loan of Rs. 100 for the same purpose. That same year fire rendered homeless a group of weavers. When thier 'muccadum' or headman represented their plight, the Government took the view that 'the encouragement of such a set of people may be of service to [the Company]' and advanced them Rs. 2000.[21]

The Government also showed itself sensitive to the burden of taxation of the poor. We have already seen that the 'Dolcarrs' or palanquin bearers paid yearly Rs. 4, i.e. more than an entire month's salary, as profession tax, The 'Coolys' who engaged in fishing paid the same amount, while those given to other professions had to pay more. The house tax was of two kinds. Those who had houses on the Company's grounds paid 'ground rent', while those who owned the ground paid 'quit rent'. Within the town wall the ground rent was 5 reis or one-twentieth of a rupee and the quit rent 6 reis per square yard; outside, the ground rent was 4 reis and the quit rent 5 reis. The 'Corumbis',[22] or farmers were subject to land revenue called 'toke',[23] estimated on the basis of the average yield.

19. *Ibid.* 7 B, 260.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.* 11 A, 110, 113 ; 14 A, 15 f, 90 f.
22. From the Marathi word *kuṇbi*, through the Luso-Indian form 'Corumbins'.
23. From the Marathi word *ṭokā*, meaning 'a measure'.

In 1737 the Government drew up a report on taxes for the information of the Home authorities. They pointed out that the 'Coolys' had complained about the profession tax, and urged in their behalf that it could not be increased "without oppressing those poor people.[24] Against the house tax also the merchants and well-to-do inhabitants had complained in 1732, pointing out that it bore heavily on the poor, 'the hire they receive for their labour very barely affording them and their families subsistence.' They suggested that a tax on trade be substituted for it. The Bombay Government was agreeable, but the Court of Directors turned down the suggestion. Accordingly, in their report of 1737 the Government insisted that the tax could not be increased.[25] The 'Corumbis' on their part were exposed to the hazards of weather and pests, and complained of bad harvests in 1735, 1736 and 1737. On each occasion the Government, after investigation, remitted a part of the tax, 'as it has always been customary for the Honble. Coy. to bear their proportion of such loss, which indeed is but reasonable.'[26]

The Company also adhered to the principle of paying compensation for whatever land it requisitioned. This happened, for instance, in 1737 when the island was put in a posture of defence in consequence of the Maratha invasion of Salsette. Coconut trees were cut down and certain rice fields taken over at Mahim, in the north of the island, in order to construct a ditch. Knowing the mind of the people, the Government realised that a mere money payment would not be satisfactory form of compensation, and decided instead to 'assign an equivalent in trees and ground from those of our Hon'ble Masters.'[27] A similar situation arose with the fall of Bassein in May 1739. There were reports that the Marathas were contemplating an attack on Bombay, and it was decided to demolish all trees and houses within a hundred yards of the town wall, lest they should afford shelter to attacking troops. The Government then ordered an estimate to be prepared of the value of the houses and trees that were going to be affected. However, the plan was put off because of 'the near approach of the rainy season,

24. 'Diaries' 10 B, 346.
25. *Ibid.* 7 B, 377-79 ; 10 B, 348
26. *Ibid.* 9 B, 22 f—Cfr. 8,83 f ; 10 A, 46 f.
27. *Ibid.* 14 A, 227-29.

which may drive the sufferers to great straits."[28] The danger did not materialise, and friendly relations were established between the Marāṭhās and the English by a treaty of August 1739.[29] So much so that in the following year Bombay sent a certain Capt. Inchbird to join Chimnājī Āppā in an attack on Sambhājī Angre. In the course of a conversation, Inchbird drew Chimnājī's attention to the contrast between the Marāṭhā and the English practice by pointing out how burdensome it was to fortify Bombay, because it was "more expensive to us than it would be to them in doing, by reason we made a conscience of every man's property, a poor or rich man's house, coconut trees, and everything that is of advantage to him."[30]

The issue of compensation also arose out of other kinds of action. Thus, in 1736 some Government land was allotted for housing weavers who had been brought over from Surat. That meant a loss to the 'Corumbis' to whom it had been leased out, for it meant 'destroying the green trade etc. planted thereon.' The Government resolved 'to make them easy on the best terms.'[31] Again when Bassein fell, the evacuated Portuguese garrison was harboured in Bombay for a short while. They caused damage to the farm of a Parsi gentleman by the name of 'Ruttunjee' and the Government felt that it had to indemnify him 'as the quartering of the soldiers, where they necessarily would intrench on the ground leased to him, was in so much a real damage to him.'[32] Yet another example occurred in 1741, when the Government ordered large owners of estates to plant hedges of 'milk bush'. Known by the botanical name of *Euphorbia Tirucalli,* this is a slender leafless plant yielding a poisonous white juice. It was needed in the manufacture of gunpowder, and hence the order. When the question of who should bear the expense came up, the Government readily agreed that 'as it is so material a part of the composition for gunpowder, and solely designed for that use, we think our Hon'ble Masters justly should bear the expense.'[33]

28. *Ibid.* 12 B, 295.
29. *Ibid.* 12 B, 445 f, 456-66, 517.
30. *Ibid.* 13 B, 331.
31. *Ibid.* 9 D, 660.
32. *Ibid.* 12 C, 801 f.
33. *Ibid.* 14 B, 233.

Moreover, in the conduct of the administration the Company took note of the people's customs. We have seen, for instance, how the 'Bandarees' in 1737 bought the right to sell arrack from the Government. In 1741 it was observed that "there has been an old custom excusing the Chaugalas[34] and Patells[35] (who are persons appointed by the Caste or Sect to decide differences amongst them) from paying anything towards the arrack farm." It was therefore decided, "they are now pursuant to such custom to be relieved accordingly, every Chaugala and Patell being to enjoy thirty-six trees free."[36]

The Company also took notice of unfair practices which affected the poor, and tried to provide a remedy. In 1736, for instance, the Collector of Revenues informed the Government that the overseer of the Bombay 'Coolery'[37] had misappropriated a past of the profession tax and charged the fishermen with having defaulted. He was subjected to a deterrent fine of Rs. 300, and if he was not dismissed it was because it was difficult to find a substitute for him.[38] Two years later it came to light that the one who had bought up the salt monopoly had been manufacturing and exporting more than he accounted for. The Government suspected that he and his associates must have similarly deceived the 'Corumbis' who worked the salt pans. It was decided to rescind their contract and punish them. The case of the monopolist was deferred as he was ill at the time. His associates were subjected to whipping, because they were judged 'too poor to make restitution.'[39]

We have seen above how in 1937 the 'Bandarees' obtained the monopoly in arrack for Rs. 12,000. The very next year they complained that their 'muccadum' demanded from them more than was due. The complaint reached the Court of Directors who instructed the Government to inquire into it. Eventually it appeared that, in addition to the price of the monopoly, the 'muccadum' had just been levying 'an ancient tax on the Bandarees stiled auto

34. From the Marathi word *chaugula*.
35. From the Gujarati word *paṭel*.
36. 'Diaries' 14 C, 711.
37. From the Marathi word *kolivādī*, through the Luso-Indian form 'coloaria', meaning a fishing village. The 'Bombay Coolery' comprised the fishing villages in the neighbourhood of the Bombay fort.
38. 'Diaries' 9 B, 391 f.
39. *Ibid.* 11 A, 318-20.

sallamee.' As the name suggests,[40] it was in the nature of goodwill offering and amounted to Rs. 509. To avoid misunderstanding the Government prescribed that thenceforth the monopoly and the 'sallamee' should be accounted for separately.[41]

The Company also encouraged craftsmen from elsewhere to come and settle in Bombay. We have seen earlier how land had been allotted for housing weavers from Surat. The full story is as follows. In 1735 it was learnt that "sundry weavers have deserted from Ahmadavad, Dolea and other parts."[42] The Company's agents at Surat got into touch with them, and eventually forty familes came over, their 'Muccadum' being a certain Bomanjee Patel. The Government built mud houses for them at a cost of Rs. 6460, preferring them to bamboo huts, although dearer, since they would be safe against fire. The understanding was that the weavers would occupy them free of rent for two years, after which they would either refund the cost or pay rent.[43] At first they demanded a higher price than at Surat for their article, so that it seemeded it was a mistake to have invited them over. But soon they contended themselves with the Surat price, and by way of additional encouragement the Government decided to 'take off the five percent charged on the tannahs[44] which [are] furnished them, and supply them at prime cost.'[45]

In 1736 the Company persuaded a carpenter from Surat, of whom it was said that there was none equal to him in skill, to come over. Six years later he asked for a loan of Rs. 1,000 in order to build a house, so that he might bring over his family. The Government readily acceded, believing that this would be 'an excitement to his diligence and care, besides the tie of fidelity to us while his family remain under our government.'[46] A similar step was taken in 1741 when news came that war was certain to break out between England and France. The number of smiths in Bombay did not suffice for the preparations for defence. Accordingly the Government instructed their agents at Surat to secure the services of

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40. *Salāmī* means 'a compliment' or 'a gift'.
41. 'Diaries' 11 A, 162, 226 ; 14 C, 709-17.
42. *Ibid.* 8, 221.
43. *Ibid.* 8, 245 ; 9 C, 492, 582 ; 11 A, 113 ; 13 C, 630.
44. From the Marathi word *tāṇā*, meaning 'yarn'.
45. 'Diaries' 13 B, 343, 348 ; 13 C, 465.
46. *Ibid.* 15 A, 81 f.

twenty-five smiths. Besides their regular salary they were offered "as a further encouragement a monthly allowance for provisions."[47]

Favour used also to be shown to visitors to the island. One such class was the 'Vanjarahs',[48] who are accurately described thus in a minute of the Bombay Council : '......with regard to the Vanjarahs it is remarked that they are properly inhabitants of the Gaut country who resort hither in the fair season bringing with them considerable sums of money with which they purchase large quantities of goods and then return upcountry.' In 1742 for reasons of security the Government imposed a curfew, obliging all who did not actually reside in the fort to leave at nightfall. A group of merchants represented that if the 'Vanjarahs' were made to submit to this they might take offence and leave off coming. Sensible of the loss to trade, the Government made an exception in their favour, and contented themselves with requiring the merchants to stand guarantee for them.[49]

The effect which such treatment had on the common people may be inferred from the conduct of the 'Bandarees' of Chaul. After the fall of Bassein, the Portuguese entered into negotiations with the Marathas offering to surrender Chaul. Thereupon the leading 'Bandarees' of the place, viz. 'Bannajee Naique Muccadom, Locomogy Segattacar, Crisnajee Naique, Biccajee Pitta Naique,' petitioned the Bombay Government to give them and their fellow 'Bandarees' asylum on the island. 'Your petitioners and their forefathers,' they said, 'for many years past have lived under the Portuguese Government at Chaul, and have hitherto maintained the character of true and faithful subjects to that Government. But to our great misfortune Monajee Angria in March last entered our limits.........when our houses were burnt and trees cut down, which has ever since deprived us of the means of subsisting ourselves and families as Bandarees.' They only asked for the means of plying their trade, and promised to be faithful subjects. The Government readily granted their request and even encouraged their headmen with gifts.[50]

47. *Ibid.* 14 B, 322 f.
48. From the Marathi word *vanzār.*
49. *Ibid.* 15 A, 71-73.
50. *Ibid.* 13 A, 175 f, 184-86 ; 14 A, 114.

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Swami Vivekananda and the Terrorist Movement in Bengal

DR. K. MAITRA

NOWHERE the revolutionary idea thrive except being preceded by a cultural revolution. In Bengal, also, in the nineteenth century we had a renaissance and a cultural revivalist movement helped by a galaxy of great men who really nursed and fostered the idea of political emancipation. This new era of reform was inaugurated by Raja Rammohan Roy, who perhaps, for the first time realised the need of social reform in order to set in motion an era of cultural revolution. Rammohan's struggle for the abolition of *sati*, establishment of the Brahmo Samaj, innate love for English education were singularly aimed at making the people conscious and strong enough to wage a war against social injustice. Rammohan did not live long to carry on his programme. For two decades from the death of Rammohan, Bengal made little progress. And thus during the great revolution of 1857 Bengal's role was insignificant. It is a known fact in sociology that revolution first takes place in the ideal plane, and then it bursts forth in the material plane. Such a process was going on in Bengal since Rammohan which though for a time received a setback by his sudden death was again set in motion after a lapse of nearly two decades.

Although the Bangalees did not take part in the Great Revolution of 1857, the intelligentsia of Bengal did not fail to realise the implication of that great uprising. Soon after the quelling of the revolt there was a mass upsurge in Bengal against the indigo planters. The hero of this movement was Harish Mukherjee, the editor of the *Hindu Patriot*. The agitation revealed the nature and seriousness of the atrocities of the indigo planters and forced the

government to enact laws which ultimately stopped indigo cultivation.

When Harish started his indigo agitation, Bengal was passing through a cultural renaissance. It was the period of intellectual and spiritual wrestling. On the one hand the Bangalees were avidly taking western education and on the other applying the quintessence for cultural revivalism. This new movement led to the urge for expansion by breaking the bond of stagnation. Priestly the bond was gone, but the British Imperialism hindered the process of expansion which the Bangalees refused to accept.

Harish died in 1861 and Bankim published the first instalment of his famous novel *Ānanda Maṭha* in 1880. Bankim was a government employee and thus it was impossible for him to express his anti-British ideas freely. The *Ānanda Maṭha* was written in the background of the famine of 1770. The Sannyasis of *Ānanda Maṭha* organised themselves into a band of selfless workers to liberate the motherland from the hands of the *mlecchas,* the term apparently meant for the Muslims but is really meant for the British here. A discerning reader know that political power slipped out of the hands of the Muslims after Buxar, so it was futile to wage a war against the former ruler. But unfortunately his contemporaries failed to understand the significance of his veiled utterances. The result was that for more than two decades since the publication of the novel, the imagination of the Bangalees did not stir up. The worship of a new goddess—the Motherland, as initiated by Bankim was never understood. Just as the mystery af the *gopīprema* lay hidden in the *Bhāgavat Purāṇa* till the advent of Chaitanya, similarly the worship of the motherland lay dormant in the hearts of the Bangalees till it got a new significance from the teachings of Vivekananda.

Apparently Vivekananda was a preacher of Vedanta but at heart he was a politician. He clearly percieved that it was futile to preach religion without first trying to remove the poverty and sufferings of the people. While explaining the Vedanta and its application to Indian life he wrote : "......The Upanishads are the great mine of strength. Therein lies strength enough to invigorate the whole world ; the whole world can be vivified, made strong and energised through them. They will call with trumpet voice upon the weak, the miserable and the downtrodden of all races, all creeds and of all sects to stand on their feet and be free,

Freedom, physical freedom, mental freedom and spiritual freedom are the watchwords of the *Upaniṣads*. Though Vivekananda did not explicitly mention political freedom at this stage, any discerning reader is sure to find it included in the comprehensive term, physical freedom. On many occasions he raised the metaphor of the tiny seed of banyan tree hiding within itself the mass of energy which will one day turn into a huge tree covering a large area. With wonderful vividity he brought before the mind's eye the image of the nation rising up : "Slowly the infinite giant is, as it were, waking up, becoming conscious of his power and arousing himself : and with his growing consciousness, more and more of his bonds were breaking, chains are bursting as wonder, and the day is sure to come when, with the full consciousness of his infinite power and wisdom, the giant will rise to his feet and stand erect. Let us help to hasten that glorious consumation." Here Vivekananda made direct appeal to the young men of Bengal to lend their helping hand in the noble work of making the country free.

The mission of Vivekananda was to arouse the downtrodden masses—the storehouse of energy, to shape India to a new destiny. This he expressed to a friend of his on the eve of his departure for America to attend the Chicago religious conference. "I have now travelled all over India...It is my firm conviction that it is futile to preach religion amongst them without first trying to remove their poverty and sufferings." Those who think that Vivekananda thought of spirituality and spiritual salvation to remove the poverty of India, they have not understood him. Vivekananda was fully conscious of the material civilisation of the West. "We talk foolishly against material civilisation... material civilisation, nay even luxury is necessary to create work for the poor." He was not dead to the fact that without satisfaction of material wants, higher thoughts and ideals cannot be developed. "I do not believe in a god who cannot give me bread here, giving me eternal bliss in heaven" was his catchword. He was opposed to exploitation of all kinds and as a remedy he wanted to uplift the masses on the basis of equality in whom he saw the future hope of India. "You, young men of Bengal, come up, you can do everything and you must do every thing" was his call to the young Bengal.

Vivekananda attended the religious conference at Chicago in 1893 and took it by storm as some one expected. But his victory

was altogether phyrric. It was not a fact that the Americans became convert to orthodox Hinduism as voiced by the credulous Ramakrishnaites of Bengal. Lots of tomfoolaries began to be circulated among the emotional Bengalees helped by the Ramakrishnaites. But to assure the credulous Ramakrishnaites it must be bluntly told here that the United States of America is a plutocratic, chauvinist Christian country. Instead of dabbling in necromancies of spiritualism, Jogio-feats and charlatanisms of various sorts, they would prefer to utilise their energy for the betterment of material comfort. Their salvation lies in material progress and not in spiritualism and starvation as ours. Vivekananda was not slow to realise this truth. He found that no amount of Vedantic preaching or 'Jogi-ism' would be able to raise the estimation of India in the mind of Americans. It is said that after he returned from the West, he told a youngman, who visited him at Belur that "What India needs today is bomb". And in 1908 the bomb made its appearance in Bengal.

What made Vivekananda think in terms of bomb ? The story goes that during his tour to New York once an old Roman Catholic priest met him and said : "You come from the East and it is written in our scriptures that light shall come from the East. But go back home, free your country and then we shall hear you." The same story has been repeated by Bipin Chandra Pal in his writings and speeches, and this was not very unlikely. Soon after Vivekananda returned from his tour to the West, he made a bold attempt of forming a combination of Indian princes to overthrow the foreign yoke.

A year before his death when sister Nivedita with the collaboration of some noted citizens of Calcutta started a nationalists group, and which later on became the nucleus of the terrorist movement in Bengal, Vivekananda desisted her from joining it. On being asked as to why he requested his disciple to keep aloof from Indian politics, he answered : "What does Nivedita know of Indian conditions and politics ? I have done more politics in my life than she ! I had the idea of forming a combination of Indian princes for the overthrow of the foreign yoke. For that reason, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, I have travelled all over the country. For that reason, I made friends with the gun-maker Sir Hirman Maxim. But I got no response from the country. The

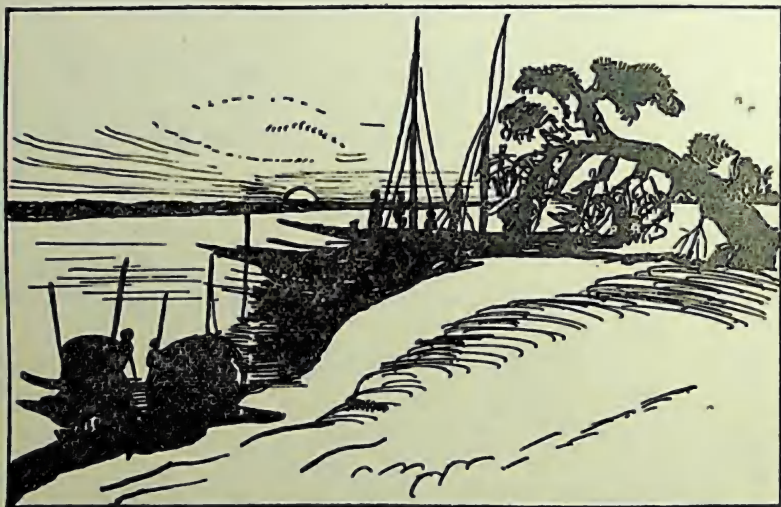
country is dead." This view of Vivekananda was not unknown to the terrorist of Bengal. Sakaharm Ganesh Deuskar, an active supporter of the terrorist, one day paid a visit to Belur and met Vivekananda. He asked him point blank regarding the future of the country. Vivekananda answered : "the country has become a powder magazine. A little spark may ignite it. I will see the revolution in my life time."

Vivekananda could not proceed with his plan. He died a premature death. The Ramakrishna Mission, which he established to achieve his aim was thronged by men who had no belief in his ideology. The result was that after his death his ideal was distorted, his programme was mutiliated and his broadness was stagnated by his unworthy followers who pulled down his dream to its utter doom. The group of Swamiji is left behind by Vivekananda turned into a band of parasites who had no other task than to exploit the genius of their master.

Vivekananda died in July 1902 and within two weeks from his death Nivedita was forced to dissociate herself from the Ramakrishna Math. Even during the life time of Vivekananda, the so-called *Sanyāsis* of the Ramakrishna Math did not like her taking part in politics. But they dare not say anything to her as long as Vivekananda was alive. But no sooner Vivekananda died than Swami Brahmananda, the President of the Ramakrishna Math, told Nivedita "either you give up your political activities or you must sever your connection with this mission." Nivedita listened to him calmly and then categorically refused to give up politics. "I would die rather than abandon it." Nivedita severed her connection with the Math. Nivedita was perhaps the only true disciple of Vivekananda who openly supported the terrorist movement in Bengal.

The firmament created by Vivekananda in the intellectual plane burst forth in Bengal after his death through a group of young men—the terrorists, who in a certain sense may rightly be called his real successors.

In Bengal, from Aurobindo to Subhash, whosoever have tried to follow the path of armed struggle for political emancipation was influenced by the teachings of Vivekananda. Almost all had the conviction that for an effective national service spiritual enlightenment was necessary. Once Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal,

enquired from a terrorist whether he was a Vedantist and a devotee of Vivekananda. It would be interesting to know that the sedition committee began their report on the cause of terrorist movement in Bengal with an account of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. The committee has quoted Vivekananda in verbatum to show his influence on the terrorists. It is doubtful if the revolutionary movement would have taken shape, as it did, without the teachings of Vivekananda.

The Annual Register : A spectrum of British Attitudes towards India during the East India Company's Administration

B. M. SANKHDHER

IT is curious that scholars who have worked on Indian history, particularly the nature and evolution of press and public opinion in India during the East India Company's administration, have not made use of *The Annual Register*, London, which is a remarkable source material for history. Conducted by F. C. Rivington and J. Rivington and printed at 62 St. Paul Churchyard and 3 Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, London, *the Annual* did not seem to be very prominent in the closing years of the eighteenth century. However it did not take long to gather momentum and in the beginning of the nineteenth century it had acquired a reputation of its own among the notable periodicals of England.

An annual review of the history, politics and literature, the major interest of the journal remained circumscribed to Europe and America. It did not however, neglect the Orient, more so, India. On the contrary it published from time to time valuable information on liberty of the Indian Press ; Press Regulations in India ; James Silk Buckingham's case of deportation ; Sati ; Petitions of the Calcutta inhabitants of the H.M. the King of England ; death of Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras ; the Vellore Mutiny ; and the publication of Indian newspapers and periodicals such as the '*Sambad Kaumudi*'. It comprised brief extracts from the Indian newspapers, particularly the *Calcutta Government Gazette* and the *Bombay Courier*.

Its priority and preference being Europe and America it allowed its maximum space to intelligence and commentary of

primarily western interest such as Napoleon's marriage ; French-English rivalry, censorship in France; suit of libel against editors of *The Sunday Times* and the *Morning Post* ; debates in the British Parliament ; slavery ; and political developments in Russia.

Fundamentally politico-historical, *the Annual* frequently commented on literary and scientific subjects. Poetry ; Customs and Manners ; characters ; Natural History ; Chronology ; State Papers, and European History had almost become regular unchangable items of the periodical.

The Annual Register had a wide scope and coverage. Despite its multifarious interests, its treatment of subjects, was rather commendable. It was sober and thoughtful. Its format and printing were so impressive as to challenge comparison with the best periodicals published from India. Its printing, done under the supervision of R. Gilbert, was neat and to a great extent, flawless. For intelligence about England, *The Annual* mainly depended on *The London Gazette* and *The Asiatic Mirror*, the two notable vehicles of public opinion in England, during the nineteenth century.

About India it published comparatively brief accounts. It was on account of the apathy of the British elite towards the Indian affairs in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Subjects such as the capture of Bharatpur ; the annual income and expenditure of the Jagannath Temple ; the British administration of Justice, Indian castes and tribes, British hostilities against Nepal ; renewal of the East India Company's Charter ; and Mirza Abu Taleb Khan's travels—were treated with curiosity and interest juxtaposed with British sense of superiority. It attracted popular notice through its numerous accounts of rapes, abduction, murders and *The Female Husband*.[1]

The realization of Indian politics' significance for the western world, particularly the British elite, had gradually dawned upon *the Annual Register*. The 1799 number of the journal, which included a brief retrospect of the East Indian Affairs since 1792, contained an editorial confession that "the paramount interest in European history since the year 1792" had afforded the editor "little room to advert to the English government in the East."

1. *The Annual Register* for 1829, Chronicle, p. 10.

Admiring 'the vigilence, the energy and the perseverance of Lord Mornington,' in dealing with Tipu Sultan, *the Annual* remarked :

"If the Government of India had been less keenly attentive to the Sultan's intrigues with the French in 1798,—less immediately active in its preparations for offensive warfare, or less unbendingly decided in carrying it into the heart of Mysore, a tedious and doubtful, if not a most disastrous conflict might have ensued. The result of a vigorous and determined policy on the other hand was alike honourable and beneficial to England, and the splendid success with which Lord Mornington's operations were crowned, not only advanced the glory but confirmed the safety and secured the tranquillity of British India."[2]

In the same number, among the Miscellaneous Essays, the periodical published an article on the duties of a faithful Hindu widow. It was a reproduction from the *Asiatic Researches*,[3] a commendable research publication of *the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. It is clear, thus, that the British periodicals had started drawing the attention and indulgence of the western intelligentsia towards Indian social traditions and practices even in the closing years of the eighteenth century.

Although it is difficult to test the velocity with which the British journals attacked many of the ferocious customs and practices of the Indians during the nineteeth century, it is axiomatic that they prepared a favourable ground for social and political regeneration of the Indian people.

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2. *The Annual Register* for the year 1799, pp. 115-138.

3. Founded by Sir William Jones, the Asiatic Researches came into existence in 1788. It created quite a sensation in the literary world, and the demand for it was so great that a pirated edition was brought out in England in 1798. This also sold so rapidly that within the next five or six years, two other editions were brought out in octovo.

The demand for the work was also urgent on the continent and French translation was brought out in Paris under the title of *'Researches Asiatiques.'* This annual publication, though tardy and irregular, won great admiration of the contemporary European journals, which reproduced from time to time valuable extracts from it.

Contemporary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1748 to 1883 published by the Society, Calcutta, 1885, p. 47.

Henry Colebrook's article : 'On the Duties of a Faithful Hindu Widow', however, did not attack the Indian social practices but examined a few of them on the basis of information available in the Hindu scriptures.

In 1803 *The Annual* published certain proceedings of the British Parliament on matters pertaining to the East India Company's finances. Lord Castlereagh had drawn the attention of the British Parliament, through his vigorous speeches, towards the miserable financial plight of the Company. *The Annual Register*, besides the proceedings, also published the detailed charts of the accounts—meticulously prepared by the honourable Member—with flawless accuracy.

It also objectively placed before the public, in 1805, the furious controversy that obtained between the East India Directors and Marquis of Wellesley, the then Governor General in India.

In the Preface to 1805 number, the editor published the following statement :

"The causes of the unhappy dissensions between the Court of the East India Directors and the Marquis Wellesley, connected details of which have never yet been laid before the public at least in any history of the year, have been unfolded with impartiality and the strictest deference to truth."

There is no doubt that the periodical, without taking sides, adopted a rather detached attitude towards the subject.

In 1805, *The Annual wrote :*

"Although the concerns of the foreign settlements belonging to Great Britain, can never possess the same interest as those of Europe; yet they claim no inconsiderable part of the political reader's attention. Of these the transactions in India are paramount in dignity and importance."

It further remarked :

"The circumstances connected with our Indian possessions, inspite of their importance to the public fail to make a universal impression on the people of England.

The gentlemen connected with the several oriental settlements, it is natural, that they should endeavour to press the concerns of them on the attention of their countrymen. The appeal to notice is constantly made, but the claim is rejected. The topic is entertained

with impatience and dismissed with an indifference bordering on apathy."

Absorbed in the view of interests nearer home and that come more closely to the affections, Englishmen regard the wars in Hindustan as equivalent in moment to those with the barbarous tribes on the banks of the Missouri ; and esteem the various princes of that part of Asia as sovereigns of no consequence, the inhabitants of the different States as being of another planet ; and the territory itself as a region *extra flammantia maenia mundi* immediaterial to all, expect those who are unfortunately doomed to make it their temporary residence.

The truth is, that Asiatic institutions must ever appear disgusting to the cultivated understandings of Europeans ; and it is not therefore surprising that men whose minds are enlarged by the principles of science and polished by every art of social existence, should turn with almost fastidious contempt from the contemplation of individuals, whom they hold much inferior in every point of human attainment to themselves ; and whose manners, culture and phraseology excite their wonder without touching their feelings or commanding their respect.

With the lofty and supercilious scorn of a citizen of Athens or a Senator of Rome, a Briton disdains to notice modes and habits which he deems puerile, and a race whom he despises for enervated effeminacy and blind submission to the decress of a despotic ruler.

India will most probably never be considered in any other light than a commercial station,[4] and of no real or political advantage or significance, except as far as it contributes to the extension of trade."

The Annual had a lot of admiration for the statesmanship of Marquis Wellesley condemned Sir John Shore for his "weak and temporising" administration in India :

"It is certain" *The Annual* remarked "that if the government of India had remained on the base so continually, diminished in breath and stability by Sir John Shore, that it must have sunk under the inveterate enmity and premeditated attacks of the princes of Hindustan, and would in a very short time have exhibited nothing but a splendid ruin of those extraordinary and astonishing accumulations of grandeur and utility which had

4. A factor which made British apathetic towards India's enlightenment and progress.

contributed to the glory and renown of English traffic and the aggrandisement of England herself.

Had the timid and inefficient, though well-intended line of action, pursued by the Marquis Wellesley's predecessor, been persevered in much longer, British commerce might have been wasted by propitious elements to every part of India, but would have sought in vain for an asylum of even temporary convenience on her shores."[5]

Again in the same year, the periodical contained an account of the beauty and charm of the Indian women, whose '*skins*' were "*of a polish and softness beyond that of all their rivals on the globe.*" It wrote :

"Nature seems to have showered beauty on the fairer sex throughout India with a more lavish hand than in most other countries. They are all, without exception, fit to be married before 13 and wrinkled before 30—flowers of too short a duration not to be delicate; and too delicate to last long. Segregated from the company of other sex, and strangers, to the ideas of attracting attention, they are only the handsomer for this ignorance; as we see in them beauty in the noble simplicity of nature.

Hints have already been given of their physiognomy; their skins are of a polish and softness beyond that of all their rivals on the globe; a statuary would not succeed better in Greece itself in his pursuit of the Grecian form; and although in the men he would find nothing to furnish the ideas of the Farnesian Hercules, he would find in the women the finest hints of the Medicen Venus".

The article, a reproduction from Robert Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire* and published under the title "On the Effeminacy of the Inhabitants of Indostan", also criticised the lack of activity on the part of the Indians, which, of course, was a product of soft climate and fertile soil of India; It said :

"Breathing the softest of climates, having so few real wants and receiving even the luxuries of other nations with little labour, from the fertility of their own soil the Indian must become the most effeminate inhabitant of the globe; and this the very point at which we now see him."

The Annual had to depend on books and other publications for acquiring information about India. It was natural because

5. *The Annual* for the year 1805.

of the inordinate delay, and lack of adequate means of communications, in receiving news from India.

'The Account of the Seiks' which the periodical published about the people of Punjab, was again a reproduction from William Franklin's 'Military Memoirs of George Thomas'.

Even the Members of Parliament had but little interest in matters concerning India. Debates on Indian Affairs received only the contempt and criticism of the audience. *The Annual Register* of 1806 wrote about such indifference when Mr. Paull produced his charges against Wellesley and all the parties concurred in the absolute urgency of investigation. It was generally admitted that for the Indian debt of 'thirty one millions sterling' Lord Wellesley should be held responsible, The matter was quite interesting. But the majority of British Parliament had hardly any curiosity or interest in the matter. *The Annual* wrote :

"After what has been said of the extreme apathy of Parliament to Indian affairs, the reader will not be surprised to learn that the patience of the few members, who attend the discussions was nearly exhausted by the voluminous calculations and multiplicity of comments, made on the several points at issue by the honour able gentleman that spoke.

Indeed the latter never perceived that they had the good fortune to possess the *mollia tempora fandi.*

In proportion as they laboured to convince, they found they incurred the actual peril of being totally deserted by their audience. The house was frequently in danger of being counted out: and on one occasion only seven and twenty members were found to be present."

Under 'Affairs of India' the 1806 number of *the Annual* published brief comments on the appointment of Marquis Cornwallis as the Governor-General; his measures and death; treaties with Scindia and Holkar and differences between H.M's Ministers and the Court of the East India Directors, respecting the nomination of Lord Landerale to be the Governor General in India. Comments on 'Massacre at Vellore', however, had a popular appeal.

Next year, it wrote about DandeeKhan, and Indian chief who was awarded a domain for his "neutrality while the British Government carried on war against Holkar and Scindia."

The Annual now took increasing interest in Indian political developments and social institutions. although these still formed

a part of the European History[6]. It continued to reproduce material from Indian newspapers and other publications as the latter were using foreign publications as a major source of information. From the *Historical Sketches of the South India* by Lt. Col. Wilks it published a vivid description of athletic contests in Mysore; and for life and travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan during the period 1799 to 1803 it depended on Charles Steward's translation[7]. The 1811 issue comprised articles on the administration of justice in British India and an account of Hyder Ally. These were based on the writings of Lt. Col. Wilks[8].

Another interesting article published the same year reflecting on the religious revellings of the Hindus, was reproduced from Dr. Buchanan's 'Christian Researches in Asia'. The title of the article was 'Account of the Temple and Rites of Juggernaut in Orissa'. A word about the expenditure incurred over this temple reveals the religiocity of the people:

		Rupees		*£sterling*
1.	Expenses attending the table of the idol	36,115	or	4,514
2.	Ditto of his dress or wearing apparel	2,712	,,	339
3.	Ditto of the wages of his servants	10,057	,,	1,259
4.	Ditto of contingent expenses at the different seasons of pilgrimage	10,989	,,	1,373
5.	Ditto of his elephants and horses	3,030	,,	378
6.	Ditto of his rutt or annual state carriage	6,713	,,	839
	Rupees	69,616		£ 8,702

Such descriptions, it may be stated, were useful not only to the curious but also to those wanted to acquaint themselves with India for their own interests. From Forbes 'Oriental Memoirs', *the Annual* in 1818 extracted valuable intelligence about Indian cities such as Delhi, Surat, Goa and Ahmedabad. These accounts were published

6. Indian political matters etc. were published by *the Annual* under the broad caption 'European History'.
7. *Annual Register* for 1810/Characters/ p. 681 and pp. 949-963.
8. *The History of Mysoor*, by Lt. Col. Wilks.

on account of the commercial and political importance of these centres.[9]

Apart from serving as an index to standard publictions on India, *the Annual* almost impartially commented on many politico-administrative flaws in the Company's Indian administration. After all it had neither the fear of censor, nor that of provoking insurrection among the Indians: the two major factors which haunted the Indian Press, and British Indian government respectively, throughout the Pre-Crown period of the Indian history

An insurrection at Bareilly in 1816 drew the attention of *the Annual*. It vividly described the attack of Bareilly mob on its chief administrator Dumbleton and the ruthless slaughter and suppression of the revolt that followed. It is difficult to say that the editor demonstrated any weakness for the British. Its accounts, on the contrary, were factual and unbiased.

"A sanguinary tumult occurred in the month of April at the city of Bareilly in Rohilcund. It arose from the popular discontent excited in that and the neighbouring towns by the introduction of what is called the Chookedaree establishment, and contributions for which the people of Bareilly had for some time refused to pay. On the 16th as Mr. Dumbleton, the Chief of the place was riding in the city, the mob made an attack upon him and killed two of his horsemen. Sending for a party of the provincial battalion, for his protection, several of the assailants were killed, and wounded, among the latter of whom was the mufti. Some of the leading Mussulmans with a number of lower class then quitted their horses, assembled at the Masjid in the old town, giving the quarrel the appearance of a religious dispute.

Capt. Boscawen with two companies and six-pounders was sent to disperse them and at night took his station close to the insurgents: in the morning, however, he found his force so inferior that he did not venture to move from his position and it was thought advisable to send an express for a detachment of Capt. Cunningham's horse stationed at Moradabad.

The numbers of the insurgents continued to augment and on the 18th they were joined by several thousands of matchlock and swordmen from Rampoor, Pillibeet, and the Nawab's provinces.

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9. *The Annual Register* for 1813, Miscellanies, p. 537.

Other despatches were therefore despatched for a battalion of the 13th regiment and for more troops from Puttighur. The rioters had now planted four green standards/the mussulman colour/and posted strong picquets close to Capt. Boscawen's party, which they threatened to attack.

Capt. Cunningham, who had arrived with about 450 men of his corps, had been obliged to take a position about half a mile in front of Capt. Boscawen's right flank, the wide plain between them being entirely occupied by the insurgents.

On the morning of the 21st, the latter apprised of the approach of more troops, commenced hostilities, by killing young Mr. Leycester who was walking unarmed between their outposts and Capt. Cunningham's station.

A general engagement ensued, in which Capt. Boscawen's small party drawn up in a square was surrounded by a whole army; and a desperate charge being made by a body of Puthans, sword in hand, broke in and were near carrying one of the guns, but were at length driven off with great slaughter.

A severe conflict was maintained in other quarters for a considerable time, while finally concluded in expelling the insurgents from their posts in the old directions and retreated to the new city.

The loss was severe on both sides, but much the greatest on that of the aggressors. A force was afterwards assembled in district of Bareilly sufficient to keep in awe; and tranquillity, if not good-will, was restored."[10]

To find an account of British expedition against the Pindaris, on the basis of information collected from the *Calcutta Government Gazette* and the *Bombay Courier,* in *the Annual,* may not be astonishing; what is unexpected and astounding however is a biographical sketch of Pestonjee Bomanjee (1758-1816)[11] a trader of Bombay, which appeared in 1817 issue of *the Annnal.*

During this period another British periodical the *Asiatic Journal,* which commenced in January 1816, drew the attention of

10. *The Annual Register* for 1816, pp. 168-170.
11. Bomanjee was a prominent Parsee trader. He was a 'Wadia', though this fact has not been mentioned by *the Annual Register* or the *Asiatick Journal,* which wrote about him round about 1816-17.
See : *Parsi Lustre on Indian Soil* by H. D. Darukhanawala—Bombay, 1939—pp. 84-85/Pestonjee Bomanjee Wadia, (1758-1816).

the western elite towards the Indian problems. It was a monthly devoted exclusively to 'British India and its Dependencies'. It was from this periodical that *the Annual* borrowed information about the life and death of Pestonjee Bomanjee, which was rare even for the Indian periodicals except the Bombay Press, particularly the *Bombay Courier* which admired his liberality and 'knowledge'.

'Indian Politics' even during this period did not acquire sufficient prominence to be treated under an independent head among the columns of *the Annual.* Many a number of *the Annual* did not include India at all ; e.g. in the 1818 issue, except for stray reproductions about 'Vizier Ali' and 'Voyage from Calcutta to Ochotsk in Siberia', from *the Asiatick Journal,* there was hardly anything worthwhile in the whole issue. This fact becomes all the more significant when we remember that *the Annual* was an annual publication.

With the gradual enhancement of the British interest in Indian affairs, the resources of *the Annual* increased tremendously, but at the same time, its originality, as regards India, dwindled. Its sole occupation, it seems, had declined to endless borrowing of news and other materials. In 1822 number, the periodical devoted a sizable portion of its commentary to India. It wrote about the publication of *Sungbad Kaumudi,* a Bengali weekly from Calcutta; Devanagari types; and the influence of a free Press at Calcutta. But unfortunately all this was a reproduction from *the Gentleman's Magazine*—an English periodical,—which demonstrated rare interest in Indian matters during this period. About the Press, as a vehicle of social reform in India *the Gentlmen's Magazine* wrote in August 1822:

"It must gratify every friend to the progress ot human reason to learn, that notwithstanding the difficulties long experienced as insuperable, a great change is effecting in British India.

The Free Press of Calcutta has operated most powerfully in reforming the most inveterate and revolting abuses. The effect of seven native presses at work in that great city has been to triumph over Hindoo superstition in its stronghold.

During the last festival of Jaggernaut, there were so few pilgrims present that they were unable to drag the car. The Brahmins called in other aid, but no devotee could be persuaded to sacrifice himself to the idol.

They now talk of removing the Rath to a more central situation. The wily priesthood have sagacity enough to perceive that they must remove the theatre of their sanguinary superstition beyond the sphere of a free press; or that the bigotry of 30 centuries will disappear.

To the glory of our Indian administration, a large portion of the population of Bengal are receiving the rudiments of an improved system of education, while thousands of elementary works are circulating throughout our empire. Even Hindoo women, among whom widowhood and consequent burning alive are denounced for learning the alphabet and who must not read the Veda under pain of death, have placed their daughters at the public schools."[12]

As already stated *the Annual* reproduced it adverbatum in its columns.

As compared to Europe, particularly England the Press in India, still exhibited signs of under-development. No doubt, the *Calcutta Journal*, the *Calcutta Government Gazette*, the *India Gazette*, the *Bengal Hurkaru*, the *Asiatic Mirror*, the *Friend of India*, the *Samachar Durpan*, and the *Dig Dursan*—had prepared a ground for a better journalism in India, nevertheless in development, maturity or prosperity it had hardly any claims of comparison with the British counterpart, by which is meant those newspapers and periodicals which were published from England. In England, round-about 1821 twenty-three millions of newspapers were sold annually, of which not less than eleven millions were daily London newspapers. It was a great contrast to India where the circulation of newspapers and periodicals was confined to the major presidency-towns. The British statistics present "an extraordinary picture of the activity and wide dissemination of the periodical press" in England. These look fantastic when compared with the Indian circulation.

The Annual Register 1824 published a detailed account of James Silk Buckingham, the editor of the controversial '*Calcutta Journal*', who criticized "the violent and arbitrary conduct" of the Government of Bengal, for the suppression of his journal. The case was being debated in the British House of Commons. On May 25, 1824 a petition to the House of Commons had already been presen-

12. *The Annual Register* for 1822 : *Gentleman Magazine*, Oct. 1822, p. 35.

ted by Mr. Lambton on behalf of the editor. *The Annnal* was to a great extent balanced in the presentation of the case and wrote about the Indian press with the same amount of objectivity with which it wrote about the suppression of journals in Spain and attacks on the Liberty of the Press in France, during those years.

In 1826 another petition was presented before the House of Commons by Lord John Russell on behalf of the James Silk Buckingham. The debate was highly interesting. There were members, such as Wynn and Dr. Phillimore who not only held Buckingham guilty of 'virulent attacks upon individual's' through the *Calcutta Journal* but also disfavoured the liberty of Press in India. "No sensible men" they felt "could think of a free Press in India, where the empire of a handful over so immense a population was the empire of opinion."

There cannot be two opinions about the contribution of *the Annual Register* and many other British contemporaries which were influencing the British mind for liberal reforms in India. They wrote about Indian Politics and socio-religious institutions with amazing frankness. They pointed out the flaws that obtained in the Company's administrative structure and other policy-matters. In 1826, *the Annual* wrote about 'the Burning of Hindoo Widows'—a theme which attracted the attention of almost every British journal which delighted in writing about India's social institutions and practices during the nineteenth century.

The purpose of *the Annual*, however, was not to downgrade the Indian culture or under-estimate its social institutions but to draw the attention of the people towards customs and practices which could hardly stand the test of reason. It would be unjust to criticize this London periodical for finding loopholes with Indian socio-religious institutions, which, many a time, were anachronistic and barbarous. Its objectivity could be judged in the following description, which it published in 1826 :

"The late Calcutta papers contain accounts of numerous suttees or sacrifices, where widows burn themselves with the bodies of their deceased husbands. Of these one instance occurred at Cuttack. The widow of a Brahmin aged 34, burned herself in spite of argument and entreaty as well as the offer of a pension of four rupees a month for life.

Another instance took place at Pooree, where the victim was also a Brahmin widow, about the same age ; and her son, aged 16 set fire to the pile. Arguments and offers of money were in this case equally unsuccessful.

A third instance was one at Unoomitra, where the widow does not burn herself with the body of her deceased husband, but with the wooden shoes and stick belonging to him. The husband had been attached to the Court of Jeypore. The public officers endeavoured to prevent the act, but the deluded woman petitioned the Court and was at length suffered to burn herself : she was about 17.

A fourth instance occurred at Santipore, where a Brahmin's three wives, one of the age of 27, another 21 and a third 15, were suffered to throw themselves, before the permission of the magistrate had arrived.

A fifth took place near Chitlapore : the widow was 69.

A sixth occurred at Serampore ; the widow was 70 ; and possessed property. Her son appeared in high spirits at the pile !"[13]

There cannot be a more detached description of such an institution which looked awfully obnoxious not only to the Westerners but also to those Indians who could look through these practices without the spectacles of sentimentality and conservatism.

The Annual mirrored the terrible discontent excited by the financial regulations of the East India Company in 1827. This was perhaps the first occasion in the history of Company's administration in India, when the whole Calcutta stood like a single man to oppose the unjust 'Stamp Duties Regulations' and consequently submitted a petition "signed by every man in Calcutta" to the British Parliament. *The Annual* wrote :

"Great discontent was excited at Calcutta by a financial regulation of the Company. To relieve the pressure, which the expenses of the Burmese War had brought upon their funds, they imposed a stamp duty.

All Calcutta was unanimous against the justice and expediency of the measure ; they even questioned its legality, and counsels were heard for three days against the registration of the Act."

The Annual did not hesitate to point out in 1826 the difference of opinion that existed in India between the Calcutta and Bombay presidencies with regard to the Freedom of the Press. The Bombay Government was not prepared to tamely toe the Calcutta line :

13. *The Annual* for 1826, Chronicle, p. 22.

"The Government of Calcutta had found it necessary or prudent to lay certain restrictions on the periodical press of that presidency. They passed a regulation prohibiting the publication of any newspaper or other periodical work, by any person, not licensed by the Governor and Council, and making such licence revocable at the pleasure of Governor and Council ; and the regulation had been registered by the Supreme Court. When it was transmitted, however, to Bombay, to be made law there, the Supreme Court of that presidency took a different view of the matter ; two out of three judges refused to register it, as being contrary to law."

During these years India had become much more important to *the Annual* than ever before. Apart from subject of general or common interest both to Indians and Westerners such as Steam Navigation in India ; re-establishment of censorship in France, the Dublin Trails for Liberals etc. *the Annual* comprised information on the minute details about the British administration in India. What most other newspapers, both Indian and European, could not dare, *the Annual* accomplished brilliantly. In 1827 it almost attacked the Governor General Lord Amherst and found him devoid of the essential requisites for the post which he had held in India. It wrote :

"The appearance of Lord Amherst on this scene did not exactly correspond with what might have been expected from the Governor General of India, though it accorded with his unassuming character.

He rode in plain clothes, on a white horse, not remarkable for its beauty, attended by a single aide-de-camp, and couple of troopers of the bodyguard......

Lady Amherst appeared in a better style, accompanied by her daughter and an aide-de-camp, in a smart carriage and four : an escort of the bodyguard in front and rear."

It had a high admiration for the magnificent Calcutta :

"The first appearance of Calcutta to a stranger is very grand and imposing; the public buildings mostly of the Grecian order, are extremely handsome; porticoes, colonnades and piazzas abound everywhere.

The ruler was crowded with shipping, chiefly European, with budgerows, bolios and other Indian crafts, the whole indicating

the commercial prosperity of this flourishing capital of our Eastern empire...[14]"

Distinguished public men and officials of the East India Company often found a mention in the columns of the journal. It is commonplace to come across biographical accounts of men of learning and high reputation. In 1835 a comparatively good length article was published on 'William Carey', the eminent Christian missionary and oriental scholar. This was necessitated by his death on June 9, 1834 at Serampore.

The Annual was not without its lighter aspect. It was not completely devoid of humour and wit, which was a rare characteristic in those days. For attracting the popular notice, it published from time to time material for the consumption of the man of the street and the specialist alike. As an illustration, the following account of an 'Inquest', which appeared in 1829 number can be of some value in understanding real nature of the Annual :

"An inquest was held on the body of a person named James Allen, aged 42, who had been killed by a log of wood falling upon him. He had expired on the way to the hospital and on the examination of the body by the medical gentlemen, it was found to be of a female sex.

One of the witnesses stated that he had worked with the deceased almost constantly......"

Thus, it may be concluded that despite British conservatism and non-chalance, there were newspapers and periodicals in England, which demonstrated a genuine appreciation for Indian matters. Fundamentally western oriented, they many times took delight in writing about developments in India. Through the Press, the Parliament and the people, gradually extended the frontiers of their critical inquiry and rational investigation to this sub-continent.

The Annual Register, as many of its contemporaries, drew the attention of the western elite towards East India Company's administration of India. Its trade monopoly was condemned. Its administrative policies and measures and many other vulnerable aspects were vehemently attacked. Even the highest public functionaries could not escape the popular scrutiny. This was indeed a great contribution of *the Annual*.

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14. *The Annual Register* for 1827 ; 'Manners & Customs,' pp. 496-497.

The Annual created a stir in England. People became increasingly aware of their responsibilities towards India. Sati, infanticide, Hindu tortures, superstitions etc. were exposed to the British eye, without an attempt to derive sadist pleasure. Unlike many others, *the Annual* was not critical of India and the Indian people. It, on the contrary, exhibited tremendous balance and sympathy in dealing with their socio-religious institutions, which had become a target for the European criticism. It admired the large magnificent temples of India; its bewitching 'beauties' and princely princes.

Further, *the Annual* admired the Sikhs, the Jats, and the Marathas for their bravery, heroism and courage. It was so balanced that even while writing about Sati, it was not critical of the Indian social practices and traditions. On the contrary it tried to discover the religious or scriptural sanction behind it and laid emphasis on its voluntary nature.

Thus, *the Annual,* through its writings on India almost compelled the western elite, during the first half of the 19th century, as also latter, to make a rational evaluation of the Indian problems—beyond the facade of its dull mercantile interests.

Historical Genesis of the trouble on the Northern Borders of India

S. C. BAJPAI

INDIAN border question has deep roots in the imperial rivalry between England and Russia and the decay of China in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The incidents in accidental politics had greater impact on the Orient than the native clamour. Thus the Peace of Paris in March 1856 after the Crimean War 1853-56 had not only placed a positive check on the Russian expansion in Europe but it also brought Louis Napoleon of France who had recently changed his republican toga for the imperial robes into a closer alliance with the British, only to play a game in China. Russia under Nicholas the II began to expand in Central Asia rapidly. In 1864 Russia took possession of Khokand, Bokhara and Khiva. Tashkent was taken in 1865, and so the Samarkand in 1868. In this way Russia became a greatest menace to the British Empire in India.

Although the forcible intrusion of the West upon the East began from 1800, the decay of China was in sight from the treaty of Nanking which was signed on 29 August 1842. It became reality when beautiful summer palace of the Chinese Emperor was burnt by infamous Sir Hope Grant in 1860. The eleven clause treaty of Tientsin of June 1858 was ratified on 24 October 1860. Among other things the treaty legalised the opium trade and sanction the right of travel of the British subjects in any part of China under the passport. This collapse of Chinese imperial power affected Sinkiang and Tibet vitally. The fiction of Chinese Imperial power was removed. Amir Beg Khusbegi became all powerful independent ruler of Sinkiang. Tibet faced a crushing defeat from the hands of Jang Bahadur of Nepal and agreed to pay a tribute of Rs. 10,000 annually in 1856. Thus a power vacuum

emerged in Central Asia, and it became easy for British to probe deeper into Himalaya.

The British Government made an active interference in the affairs of Sikkim and Bhutan, and got signed the treaties at Tumlong on 28 March 1861[1] with former and at Sinchulla on 11 November 1865[2] with latter, which brought them under British active influence. Similarly Dr. Cailey was appointed Trade Agent at Leh in 1867[3] prior to the conclusion of a commercial treaty with Kashmir in 1870. Along with these activities, the British officials tried to enter Tibet to ascertain whether 'a proclamation of opening Tibet to all foreigners has actually been issued at Lhasa or not.'[4]

The British Policy Change and Tibetan Hostility :

The British Government in India felt the need of the revision of the Tibetan policy and wrote to this effect to the Home Government. The Secretary of State for India in his reply observed that "I entirely concur with your excellency's Government that benefit may reasonably be expected from the proposed measure of abandoning our recent policy of isolation towards Tibet and resuming the former friendly communication with its ruler, which was originally opened by Mr. Warren Hastings, which have unfortunately been too long in abeyance."[5] This change of policy, only created suspicion in the minds of Tibetans about the intentions of the British Government. Every effort towards opening of Tibet by the British was met with a tough resistance by the hostile Tibetans.

At this time there occurred a change in Tibet. Dalai Lama XII died in 1876, and the Regency which came to power believed in the aggressive policy. A series of aggressions began on all along the frontiers, in Garhwal at Barahoti ; in Kumaon, in Nepal, (Tibetans murdered several Nepalese merchants at Lhasa and

1. Aitchison, C.U., A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and Neighbouring Countries (Calcutta and Delhi, 1929-31) Vol. XII, 51.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-4.
3. Foreign Political A, March 1868, No. 144, From Secretary of State to Government of India (All documents referred are from National Archives of India in Foreign Department, thence marked F.)
4. F. Political, October 1961, No. 173. From Captain E. Smyth, Pithoragarh to Secretary Foreign Department, dated 17 July 1861.
5. F. Political A, June 1870, No. 102. From Secretary of State to Government of India, dated 5 May 1870.

encroached in Nepal territory. Jang Bahadur the Prime Minister was ill), in Sikkim and Bhutan, and perhaps with wild tribe in NEFA also.

Barahoti, Garhwal :

Barahoti, or Wu-je, as Chinese call it, is a place situated south-east of Niti Pass and south of the major watershed in the area, in the central sector of India-Tibet border in the Uttar Pradesh. It is situated at the height varying about 12,000 to 18,000 ft. above the sea level and was in the old state of Garhwal. King Ajại Pal (1358-1370) consolidated Garhwal and established his capital at Dewalgarh. Simultaneously Chand consolidated Kumaon. The territories of these two kingdoms wrote Ferista "......stretches to the north as far as Tibet and on the south reached to Sambhal. ......The sources of the Jamuna and of the Ganga are both to be found within this territory."[6]

The rivalry between Kumaon and Garhwal led to the attack of the area by the Gorkha King of Nepal who occupied Kumaon in 1790 and Garhwal in 1791, but perhaps due to war with Tibet in 1792, Nepalese were compelled to leave these areas. Finally in 1803-4 Garhwal was occupied by Nepalese and King Pradhaman Shah retired to a place Dehra Dun in Uttar Pradesh. The tract between Sutlej and Jamuna came into the British protection by the treaty of 1809 between Ranjit Singh and the British Government.[7] It is only after the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1813-15 that the King of Garhwal was reinstated under the British protection. The administration of the state was carried by the British Agents since then.[8]

In about 1883 Tibetans established a custom post at Barahoti in Garhwal with ten or twelve men. It was reported to the Government of India by the famous explorer Kishan Singh and was confirmed by Col. G. E. Erskine, Commissioner of Kumaon. He was however of the opinion that the small guard house of Tibetans was of no harm to the people in the area[9]. Mr. G. R. Irwin, Under Secretary of the Government informed the Commissioner that...

6. Briggs, Ed., *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, IV, 547-49.
7. Aitchison, No. 1, Vol. I, p. 34. V.P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States* (1956), p. 240.
8. Report of the officials of the Government of India and the People's Republic of China on the boundary question (Government of India, 1961) pp. 78-82.
9. F. External A, May 1889, Nos. 39-58.

'their action in establishing a custom house within the British frontier constitutes an encroachment which cannot be tolerated'.[10] Thus it was decided to communicate with Tibetan authorities and a letter was written, which was returned by Tibetans without opening it.

Lord Lansdowne the then Viceroy of India remarked that 'the less international importance we give to this occurrence the better', and concluded that, 'I should be sorry to resort to a little expedition, but it would not do to overlook a deliberate encroachment'[11] Lord Roberts, the Commander-in-Chief was asked to do the needful in getting the territory vacated. The first and third Gurkha Battalions under the command of Major C. Pulley were ordered to turn out the intruders. But no sooner Major Pulley reached Barahoti the Tibetans widhrew from the area. Soon after the expedition Deputy Collector of Kumaon Pt. Dharmanand Joshi was deputed to explain the Tibetan official SARJI with the help of the maps, the exact boundary line in that region. He however suggested that the direct negotiations with Lhasa should be taken up, but the idea was dismissed with a remark that 'the less importance we give to these petty frontier encroachments the better'.[12] The coming and going of Tibetans during summer months was continued for some time. In 1914 the Government of India again wrote the description of the Barahoti boundary to Tibetan official Lonchen Shatra. To these communications no objection was ever raised by the Tibetan authorities.[13] Therefore the issue was taken as settled.

Kumaon :

The area along the borders of Tibet and Nepal between the river Kali and Ganga was ruled by Chand dynasty from around fourteenth century. Towards the close of eighteenth and early nineteenth century it was in possession of Gurkha rulers of Nepal. Although it came under the British protection as early as 1801, the effective control began after Anglo-Gurkha war of 1814-15. Since then the area was under the administration of the Commissioner of Kumaon.

During the same time as that at Barahoti, in about 1888 Tibetans made encroachments in Kumaon. Major General G. L.

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10. F. External A, Nov. 1889, No. 21.
11. F. External A, July 1889, Nos. 359-67 and September 1889, Nos. 182-9 and K.W.
12. F. External A, May 1891, Nos. 22-31 and K.W.
13. Report of the officiais, No. 8, p. 97.

Channer, Commander Rohilkhand Division, who visited Mansarowar Lake in 1894, brought the matter to the notice of the Deputy Commissioner of Almora. Several Indian subjects were made prisoner by Tibetans whom Channer got released on his security. The Tibetan officer (Jongpen) was in the habit of stopping travellers and sending down his men in the British territory. People from Taklakot (Tibet) regularly used roads in the British territory whereas British subjects were subject to harsh treatment. The wood and fuel were freely taken out of the British territory. Rest houses and Dharmsalas were smashed by Tibetans. There was no British Agent at Garbyang to listen the disputes or to supervise the area.[14]

Major General Channer suggested that a native Mukhtar should be appointed at Garbyang for forwarding any complaints of destruction of property and disputes etc., he further suggested that the Jongpen should be informed that as his people freely use the roads in the British territory, Englishmen should also be allowed access for sport all about the lakes and Kailash, and that a party of Gurkha rifles under a British officer should be deputed to Dharchula.[15]

Mr. J. U. Stuart, Deputy Commissioner, Almora personally ascertained the facts and met Jongpen with great difficulty and impressed upon him his mistakes. Jongpen after reluctance accepted the proposals.[16] Lt. E. E. Bliss was made incharge of the detachment of first and third Gurkha rifles at Dharchula. Khadg Bahadur Pal and Parmanand were appointed Mukhtiyar and Peskar with certain powers at Garbyang and Pithoragarh (SOR). A Tehsildar was appointed at Champawat. Bageshwar road connecting Almora-Askote was repaired and arrangement was made for the assessment of the taxes at Bageshwar fair.[17]

Again in 1897 Tibetans levied taxes on the people of Dharma Pargana. This Pargana was constituted by four Patties namely, Talla Dharma, Malla Dharma,[18] Byans and Chaudas. Out of these, three are separated from the rest of the district of Almora now

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14. F. External A, Feb. 1895, No. 9. From Major General G.L. Channer to J.U. Stuart, Deputy Commissioner Almora dated 14 September 894.
15. *Ibid.*
16. F. External A, December 1895, Nos. 1-6. From J.U. Stuart to Lt. Col. E. E. Grigg, Commissioner Kumaon, dated 29 June 1895.
17. F. External A, April 1895, Nos. 93-100.
18. Talla means lower, Malla means upper.

Pithoragarh by a lofty range of mountains which rendered them inaccessible except during the summer months. The Government of India took exception to this and suggested to the local authorities that "if need be a military force should be sent. No land tax of any kind can be levied by Tibetans on Indian territory". However the issue was decided amicably by the officials of both the governments.[19]

Sikkim :

Anglo-Gurkha war of 1814-15 brought Sikkim in close relations with the British Government. The treaty of Titalya of 10 February 1817 marks the beginning of the relations with the then East India Company. It brought back the Raja (King) on the throne of the principality situated eastward of the Mechi River and to the westward of the Teesta river. The British Government had assumed the position of Lord Paramount of Sikkim.[20]

This Paramountcy was never challenged upto 1886. It was only in 1886 that hostile Tibetans tried to meddle in the affairs of Sikkim and built a fort at Lingtee. In spite of the British Government, Rājā, who was in Chumai Valley, refused to come back to Sikkim. Tibetans also refused to evacuate the fort.[21] Rājā of Sikkim made a secret treaty with Tibetans at Galing in Chumbi Valley, in which he petitioned the violation of religion by Europeans and asked for the protection. To this no positive response was made by Tibetans and in September 1888, Tibetans were turned out of Lingtee by the force of arms and a British political officer was stationed at Gangtok. Mr. J. C. White assumed the charge officially on 5 June 1889.[22]

Soon after the expulsion of Tibetans in December 1888, an effort was made to settle the Sikkim Tibet boundary and a convention was signed on 17 March 1890, providing for the opening of trade marks and the demarcation of Sikkim-Tibet boundary.[23] The convention remained unimplemented for a long time. In 1895 a boundary commission was appointed, but that resulted in a failure as the Tibetan authorities refused to recognise the line of demarca-

19. F. External A, Nov. 1897, Nos. 49-81. From Captain H. Daly, Deputy Secretary Foreign Department to Chief Secretary, Oudh dated 18 Sept. 1897.
20. Risley, H.H., Gazetteer of Sikkim (Calcutta, 1894), p. 11.
21. Aitchison, N. 1, p. 51.
22. F. Secret F., August 1890, Nos. 286-92.
23. F. Secret E, August 1895, Nos. 240-41. Youngusband F., *India and Tibet* (London, 1910), p. 53.

tion fixed in Anglo-Chinese convention of 1890. In 1902 Government of India asserted her treaty rights and expelled all Tibetan posts and officials at Giaogong. This was marked the active preparation for the Younghusband Mission to Tibet (1903-4).[24]

1890 Convention remained in force till India attained her freedom in 1947. The Indian Government concluded a fresh treaty on 5 December 1950 which provided for the continuation of Sikkim as a protectorate of India in view of her geographical and strategic border position.[25]

Bhutan :

Bhutan, whose relations with the British Government began from the time of Warren Hastings in 1774, could not be controlled, in spite of several missions to that country. It was only in 1865, after the armed action that a treaty was signed on 11 November at Sinchu La by which the relations between the British and Bhutan became friendly, and continued to be so since then.[26]

As in the case of Sikkim, Tibetans began to meddle in the affairs of Bhutan. In 1876-77 Tibetan officials were sent to Bhutan for asking the Government to refuse permission to the British Government for any road building operation in the territories of Bhutan. This suggestion was, however, turned down by both Deb and Dharm Rajas of Bhutan. Again in 1890 Tibetans suggested to Bhutan Government that Tongsa and Paro Penlops should be created two powerful chieftains of the country. But Tongsa Penlop Ugyen Wangchuk who was all powerful then, paid no attention to these intrigues, on the contrary he helped Mr. J. C. White in his mission in Sikkim and later Francis Younghusband in his mission to Tibet.[27]

In the event of Chinese occupation of Tibet in the year 1910, Bhutan entered into a fresh treaty relations with the British Government on 8 January 1910 at Punakha and placed all matters regarding its external relations in the hand of the British Government.[28] This position was in force when on 8 August 1949 the Government of India concluded a fresh treaty under which Bhutan has agreed to

24. *Ibid.*
25. Foreign Policy of India, Text of Documents 1947-59 (2nd edition, New Delhi, 1959).
26. Aitchison, N. 1, pp. 93-8.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

be guided by the advice of the Government of India with regard to its external relations.

Assam :

Treaty of Yandaboo in 1826 was the beginning of the active British intrigues and interference in Assam.[29] In the third quarter of the nineteenth century various active measures were taken for the organisation of the administration. In 1873 the Inner Line Regulation was enforced. This regulation prohibited the British subjects generally or those of specific classes for going beyond a certain line without pass or licence issued by deputy commissioner. This was only to avoid quarrels between the British subjects and the wild tribes of the frontier, who probably on the advice of Tibetans were very hostile. This Inner Line was, however, not indicative of territorial limits of Assam. Assam was made chief commissioner's province on 6 February 1874 and was placed under Lt. R. H. Keatings as first Chief Commissioner. Though Assam was once again united with Bengal to form a new province of East Bengal and Assam in 1905, it soon became separate on 1 April 1912 under Chief Commissioner. Under the provisions of Government of India Act of 1919, Assam was constituted a Governor's province with executive council and legislative council in 1921.[30]

The tribal disturbances in the beginning of the twentieth century during which a number of British officials were murdered slowed down the task of establishing better relations with the tribes. In 1912 the whole tribal area was divided into Balipara and Sadiya frontier tract. Though their other boundaries towards the north remained undefined. In an agreement signed between Government of India and Tibet on 25 March 1914, the Assam-Tibet boundary was regularly defined, now known as McMahon Line. In 1942 the Tirap Frontier tract was carved out of the Sadiya Frontier tract. The Balipara frontier tract was divided into the Se-La Sub-Agency and the Subansiri area in 1946. The Sadiya frontier tract was again divided into the Abor Hills and the Mishmi Hills in 1948. A reorganisation of the frontier tracts took place in 1954 and the whole area was divided into five divisions, Tirap, Lohit, Siang, Subansiri

29. Lahiri, R.M., *The Annexation of Assam* (Calcutta, 1959), p. 27.

30. Gait E., *A History of Assam* (Calcutta, 1926), pp. 335-37.

and Kemang, each named after the major river passing through the respective divisions.

The British change of policy towards Sinkiang and Tibet earned them the hostility of Tibetans, and Russians which in turn had created several complicated border issues. There was no border trouble with neighbouring countries prior to advent of the British Imperial power in India. The border issues created in the last quarter of the nineteenth century were settled amicably with Tibet.

Tibet Disappears

Mao's triumph over Chiang Kai-shek on the mainland of China turned the wheels of history in an altogether different direction. Tibet, an adjoining state, which was recognised as a sovereign state from 1912 onwards felt the heat of the communist liberation army quickly. Dalai Lama, the head of the Tibetan Government was compelled to sign out the liberty of his country in a seventeen point agreement for the peaceful liberation of Tibet on 23 May 1951. Among other things the agreement provided that "The Tibetan people shall unite and drive out imperialists aggressive forces from Tibet—the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the Motherland—The People's Republic of China."[31] This position of Tibet was recognised in an agreement signed between the Government of India and China on the basis of Panchseel principles namely, (1) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, (2) mutual non-aggression, (3) mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, (4) equality and mutual benefit and (5) peaceful co-existence, on 29 April 1954.[32] Oppression and suppression became the rule in Tibet ever since the Seventeen Point Agreement was signed. Tibet finally disappeared from the map of the world. Dalai Lama with a large number of refugees came down to India in 1959.

Hardly the ink of the pious agreement of 29 April 1954 was dried, China as the master of Tibet laid claims on Barahoti in a

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31. The International Position of Tibet : Government of His Holiness The Dalai Lama (1959), p. 47.

32. Notes, Memoranda and letters exchanged and agreements signed between the Government of India and China 1954-59. White Paper, pp. 98-101.

note to the Government of India dated 17 July 1954.[33] Cartographical aggression, air intrusions, and protest notes which were started since then laid claims on all sectors of our Northen boundary. These acts of China were backed by the physical occupation of territory. The situation which began to deteriorate rapidly was resulted into an armed clash on 20 October 1962, and an uneasy armed peace still continues to this day without any visible solution in sight.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Indian Numismatics Today

DR. K. D. BAJPAI

THE problem of origin and antiquity of coinage in India has been discussed for quite a long time. The recent scientific excavations conducted at various ancient sites in this country have revealed that a date prior to 5th century B.C. cannot be assigned to the known Indian punch-marked coins. Future digging may bring some new evidence, but limit of the introduction of coins in this country is not likely to be changed by any considerable degree.

The *Janapada*, *nigama* and republican coins of India offer a very wide range, both geographical and chronological. These are known from Gandhāra in the north-west to Tripurī in the south-east. Their circulation covered a period of about 550 years, from about c. 200 B.C. to 350 A.D. Years ago these coins were dubbed as 'Tribal coins' of northern India. No adequate significance was attached to them. It has now been proved, beyond doubt, that for the study of the history of north-western, northern and central India during a period of 550 years, the importance of these coins cannot be overestimated. Critical exhaustive studies on these coins can be undertaken under the following categories :

Two volumes on ancient coins of Punjab, Rajasthan and western U.P.; one volume each on the coins of Pañchāla-Mathurā, Kosala-Vatsa, western-Malwa and eastern-Malwa and one volume on the Nāga coinage. Recently one Ph. D. thesis on the coins of Kausāmbi has been prepared under my supervision. Similar works are being conducted at some other Universities. A concerted effort to bring out exhaustive, well illustrated volumes on these coins is necessary.

So far it has been generally assumed that most of the symbols occurring on these *Janapada* coins and also on the punch-marked coins are Buddhist. On a close examinations of these I have found

that these symbols are mostly Brahmanical, such as *Indradhvaja meru* (chaitya?) *swastika, nandipada, Kalpavrikṣa* (wrongly called Bodhitree), *Vajra* (wrongly designated as Ujjain symbol), etc.

The Sātavāhana coinage offers another fascinating study. Cataloguing of some hoards of the Sātavāhana coins has been done and some valuable papers on these have appeared. A comprehensive appraisal of these coins, spreading from Malwa and Tripurī (near Jabalpur) to the Telaṅgānā region is yet a *desideratum.* Recently excavations at Tripuri have yielded interesting evidence of the Sātavāhana dominance over the Tripurī region. From Vidiśā and its vicinity their early coins are known. A newly acquired square coin from Vidiśā bears the Brāhmī legend 'rajño Siri Sātakanisa'. This coin can be assigned to Satakarṇi of the Sātavāhana dynasty (no. 3 of the purāṇic list). I equate him with king Sātakarni of the Sāñchi inscription. He flourished in the middle of the second century B.C. I am inclined to believe that it was probably due to the Sātavāhana supremacy over eastern Malwa that the descendants of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga could not issue their independent currency at Vidiśā. The bearing of the Sātavāhana coins on the political and cultural history of India has to be properly worked out. Similar studies are needed on the coins of the dynastics of the far south.

Studies in the Gupta coinage have made by Allan, Altekar and several other scholars. The extant coins have corroborated to some extent the evidence of the *Prayāga-Praśasti* in regard to the great campaign of Samudragupta. Starting from Pāṭaliputra, the Gupta monarch first aimed at the victory over Kauśāmbī. After conquering Kausāmbī he seems to have defeated the kings of Vidiśā-Padmāvatī, Kāntipurī, Mathurā, Pañchāla and Ayodhyā one after the other and eventually returned to Pāṭaliputra. The coins of the kingdoms enumerated above have been discovered and they go to prove the correctness of the statement of Hariṣeṇa, the composer of the *Prayāga-Praśasti.*

The problem of Rāmgupta has been regarded as one of the most intriguing in ancient Indian history. I have myself examined more than five hundred coins of this ruler, mostly obtained from surface and a good number of them from excavations also. On the basis of fabric, type and paleography I have tried to show that Rāmagupta of these copper coins was no other than Rāmagupta, son of Samudragupta and brother of Chandragupta II. Several

scholars have agreed with this viewpoint. There are very few scholars now who feel that Rāmagupta of these coins was either a Mālavā king or a local ruler of the Vidiśa region.

The Early-Medieval coinage of India has not received its due attention so far. We feel grateful to scholars like Gunningham and Smith who wrote on these coins. Recently Dr. Lallanji Gopal has brought out a monograph on the coins of this period. This brief, but brilliant exposition on the coins of the period, is to be followed by bigger volumes by competent scholars. These volumes should deal with the coins issued by various dynasties after the Guptas up to the period of the Muslim occupation of India.

As regards the late Medieval coins, it has been gratifying to note that a band of devoted scholars has so far been writing on the coins of the Delhi Sultans, the Mughals, the Provincial Sultans and the coins of the native States. This should continue. With the present decreasing interest towards the study of Arabic and Persian, we shall not be able to do justice to an important branch of Indian numismatics.

The coins not only supply information about the political and economic history , they are useful for the knowledge of society, religion, fine arts and language also. More attention has to be paid by scholars in this direction.

The study of ancient Indian seals and sealings should go side by side with the coins. It is a matter of pleasure that attention of several scholors has recently been drawn towards this material. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra has been working on ancient Indian seals and sealings. Recently Dr. K.K. Thaplyal of the University of Lucknow has produced quite a useful and solid work on the subject.

A correct idea of the foreign influence on Indian coins has to be ascertained. Very recently at the University of Calcutta under the supervision of Prof. D. C. Sircar a dissertation entitled 'Foreign Influence on Indian coin-names' has been prepared. A few more dissertations covering other important facets of this subject are required. Similarly some scholars may take up the study of Indian influence on foreign coins.

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Punch-marked Silver Coins from Darora : an unpublished hoard

N. C. GHOSH

I. Introductory

The Darora hoard consisting of 583 punch-marked silver coins remained unknown to despite its discovery about twenty years back in January, 1947 by 'a native of a Dhir State' in the N. W. F. province of undivided India. Some preliminary studies to ascertain the importance of this hoard was made by late Śrī R. C. Kar before it was purchased by the Archaeological Survey of India. Since then it has been lying in the collection of antiquities of the Survey. Even the, *A Bibliography of the hoards of Punch-marked Coins of Ancient India*[1] does not mention the occurrence of this hoard, and in fact, its existence was practically forgotten. It was Sital Banerjee, Technical Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, in June, 1965, first drew the attention of the writer to this unpublished hoard in the Survey's collections. Thereafter it was sent to the Survey's Chemical Branch, Dehradun, for chemcial treatment and preservation. The present author, with the permission of the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, took up the detailed cataloguing of the hoard in 1966.

Circumstances leading to its discovery are not fully recorded in the documents available with the Archaeological Survey of India. It is, however, certain, that it was found at a place known as Darora (35° 05, Lat. 71° 55′ E long.), near Gandegar, a well-known village in the Dhir State of the N. W. F. Province of undivided India, and it seems to be one of the northernmost hoards of punch-marked silver coins, so far discovered.

1. P.L. Gupta, *A Bibliography of the hoards of Punch-marked Coins of ancient India*, (Bombay, 1955).

This paper is the result of a detailed study of 285 of 583 coins of the hoard : a preliminary study of the rest of the coins has shown that the conclusions derived from the study of 285 coins are applicable also to the entire hoard as a whole. However, a detailed catalogue of the entire hoard is being prepared.

An attempt is made here to present the statistical data as accurately as possible : for taking length, breadth and thickness of the coins the German vernier calipers has been used while the weights have been taken on a physical balance and recorded up to four decimal.

II. Classification of the Coins

The present classification is based primarily on size on thickness, shape and weight. The validity of this primary classification was duly tested by the secondary classification of symbols occurring on the obverse and the reverse of the coins. According to the above classification the coins of the hoard may easily be divided into three groups, viz., Class I, Class II and Class III. It is proposed to summarize the general characteristics of each class before taking up the classification according to symbols.

Class I. Coins belonging to this class vary in weight from 2.872 to 3.2396 a.m. the maximum concentration being in the weight-group of 3.251 to 3.006 g.m. They are either round or oblong in shape, the latter, however, forming the majority. The minimum, maximum and average weights of both round and oblong coins are given in Tables I and II, and it is evident therefrom that there is hardly any difference in weight between the coins belonging to the two shapes. In thickness, the round coins of this class vary from 0.11 to 0.17 cm. and the oblong ones from 0.12 to 0.18 cm. The round coins have an average diameter of 1.99 cm. and the smallest and the largest diameters being 1.88 and 2.66 cm. respectively. The minimum, maximum and the average areas of the round coins are 2.78, 5.56, 2.80 S. cm. respectively. The minimum maximum and average area of the oblong coins being 2.312, 3.839, 2.759 sq. cm. The round coins are bigger in size than the oblong ones.

A few points based on simple observation may be mentioned also. The coins of this class have true silvery colour with ringing metalic sound, generally smooth texture and uniform core. No clipping of the edges is to be found on the round coins of this class, but oblong coins are clipped and the edges of some of them are not straight.

TABLE—I

Table showing the Weight, Thickess and Size of each Class of Coins according to shapes

Class	Shape	Weight in Gm.			Thickness in Cm.			Size in Cm.		
		Mini.	Max.	Ave.	Mini.	Max.	Ave.	Mini.	Max.	Ave.
I	Round	2.872	3.3192	3.0308	0.11	0.17	0.15	1.8 dia. 2.78 Sq. Cm.	2.66 dia 5.56 Sq. Cm.	1.99 dia. 2.80 Sq.Cm
	Oblong	2.7952	3.2396	3.0754	0.12	0.18	0.15	2.312 Sq. Cm.	3.839 Sq. Cm.	2.759 Sq.Cm.
II	Round	2.9066	3.2518	3.0807	0.14	0.30	0.24	1.29 dia 1.31 Sq. Cm.	1.81 dia. 2.57 Sq. Cm.	1.53 dia 1.84 Sq. Cm.
	Oblong	2.870	3.3656	3.1487	0.17	0.20	0.19	2.000 Sq. Cm.	2.869 Sq. Cm.	2.47 Sq. Cm.
III	Round	2.978	3.3192	3.1618	0.19	0.29	0.23	1.05 dia. 0.87 Sq. Cm.	1.70 dia. 2.27 Sq. Cm.	1.51 dia. 1.79 Sq. Cm.
	Oblong	2.7952	3.4382	3.1889	0.17	0.34	0.22	1.22 Sq. Cm.	2.943 Sq. Cm.	1.96 Sq. Cm.

TABLE—II

Table showing the Weight, Thickness and Size of each Class of Coins irrespective of shapes.

Class	Weight in Gms.			Thickness in Cm.			Size in Sq. Cm.		
	Mini.	Max.	Ave.	Mini.	Max.	Ave.	Mini.	Max.	Ave.
I	2.872	3.2396	3.0677	0.11	0.18	0.15	2.78	5.56	2.80
							2.31	3.839	2.759
II	2.870	3.3656	3.1487	0.14	0.20	0.19	1.31	2.57	1.84
							2.00	2.869	2.471
III	2.7952	3.4382	3.1862	0.17	0.34	0.22	0.87	2.271	1.79
							1.22	2.943	1.96

Of the ninety-five obverse marks twenty-nine are exclusive to this class and not to be encountered in other series. There are sixty-four symbols on the reverse of which twenty-nine are exclusive to Class I. The coins excluding the double obverse bear five symbols on the obverse. In the primary classification (see *Supra*, p. 2) the double obverse coins are also included in the category of coins of Class I. Reverse marks comprised mostly of minute and non-descript ones and are usually more than three in number the maximum number being nine. There is a solitary case (Pl. II, 17) where reverse is absolutely blank. It may be mentioned here that of thirty-two specimens belonging to this class, majority are worn out, thereby indicating a long period of circulation.

Class II. Coins of this class range in weight from 2.870 to 3.3656 gm. the largest concentration being in the weight groups 3.058 to 3.3416 gm. Like those of Class I the coins of this class are round or oblong in shape, the latter forming the majority. It will be evident from table I wherein are given the minimum, maximum and the average weights of both round and oblong coins, that the latter are slightly heavier in weight than the former. Thickness of coins of this class ranges between 0.14 to 0.20 cm. The minimum and maximum thicknesses of round coins are 0.14 and 0.30 cm. respectively whereas oblong ones range in thickness from 1.17 to 0.20 cm. Thus, the round coins appear to be thicker than the oblong ones. The round coins have an average diameter 1.53 cm. the smallest and the largest diameters being 1.29 and 1.81 cm. respectively. The smallest, biggest and the average areas of the round coins are 1.31, 2.57, 1.84 Sq. cm. respectvively. Unlike Class I, the oblong coins of Class II are bigger in size their minimum, maximum and average areas being 2.00, 2.86, 2.47 sq. cm. respectively.

A few facts based on actual handling of the coins may also be recorded here. These coins have a greenish tinge on majority of them. Although a few of them also show true silvery colour. The sound of the most of the coins is heavy, if not thuddy. They have a coarse to medium texture and the silvery ones have a comparatively smooth surface and uniform core—the rest having a crackling core. In the oblong coins a number of thin sheets seems to have been welded, and the coins of this class more or less regular in shape despite the fact that edges of the oblong coins show clipping. Most of the coins of this class carry five symbols on the obverse and one

the reverse. Of the ninety-five obverse marks only one is exclusive to this class, the number of exclusive reverse marks, is however, only two. There are thirty-four specimens belonging to this class in a fairly good state of preservation.

Class III. Coins of this class have weights ranging between 2.7952 to 3.4382 gm. the maximum concentration being in the weight groups of 3.1206 to 3.3130 gm. The coins are either round or oblong in shape, the second variety forming the majority. The minimum, maximum and average weights of both round and oblong coins are given in Tables I and II and it may be seen, that there is only a marginal difference between the two shapes. The average thickness of this class is 0.22 cm. and the minimum, maximum thickness are 0.17 cm. and 0.34 cm. respectively. Thicker in cross-section than the round ones, the oblong coins have a minimum thickness of 0.17 cm. while the maximum is just its double i.e., 0.34 cm. With a minimum and maximum thickness of 0.19 and 0.29 respectively, the round coins have an average diameter of 1.51 cm. the smallest and largest diameters being 1.05 cm. and 1.70 cm. respectively. The minimum and maximum and the average areas of round coins are 0.87, 2.27, 1.79 sq. cm. respectively. The maximum minimum and the average areas of oblong coins are 1.22, 2.94 and 1.96 sq. cm ; the coins of this shape are bigger than the round ones.

All coin's of this class have a greenish colour a medium to coarse texture and crackling core : these coins produce a heavy thuddy sound. Corners are clipped but edges are mostly straight and well-shaped, their edges are mostly straight and well-shaped. On their edges are to be noticed chisel-marks, thus indicating an attempt on the part of the mint-masters to produce better finished specimens. Thirty-seven obverse symbols appear exclusively on these coins. Of the sixty-four symbols on the reverse only twenty-two are restricted to class III. Besides a few specimens with three and four observe marks, the entire group contains coins with usual five symbols. While on the reverse usually there is only one device, a solitary example shows a blank reverse. A few of them contain only meaningless scratches. There are one hundred and nineteen coins belonging to this class in varying state of preservation including a few in practically mint condition.

Obvious as it is from the foregoing the differences enumerated are not based on subjective considerations. Broadly speaking the

coins belonging to class I are bigger in size, thinner in section and lighter in weight than those of other two classes. It seems to have had a higher ratio of silver content as is evident from its colour, texture and sound. However, it is imperative that this presumption required to be verified by chemical analysis of the metal content at least of few specimens from each class. It is proposed to take up this study in a separate paper. Again, in the occurrence of symbols too, this class formed a distinct group. This aspect will be discussed in detail in the subsequent section.

Coins of Class III can easily be distinguished from the rest, particularly from Class I, due to comparatively smaller size, thicker section and heavier weight. Their greenish colour, medium to course texture and thuddy sound may tend to suggest a less silver content and correspondingly high percentage of alloy of other baser metal. An exclusive set of obverse and reverse devices are also to be found on this class.

Coins of Class II share traits of both class I and class III. For instance coins of class II may have a silvery lusture of class I yet in thickness and texture they come closer to Class III. Symbols occurring on class I have their continuity in this class; in fact, this group contains only a few distinct marks.

III. Classification of obverse symbols

Of the hundred and fifty-nine symbols identified on 285 coins, ninety-five are on the obverse. The classwise distribution of obverse marks is as follows : class I—29 ; class II—23 ; class III—63. There are certain symbols, which are exclusive to each class, the numbers of such marks on classes I, II and III are 29, 2 and 37 respectively. Some obverse symbols continue from class I to III, the number of such symbols being 7. Only one symbol is shared commonly by classes I and II ; 5 symbols of class I, being totally absent in class II reappear again in class III. 14 symbols commence from II and continue in class III as well. Evidently each class is associated with a group of new symbols, some of which continue even during the period of subsequent issues.

Needless to say, the commonest of all the symbols is the sun with sixteen rays. There are three variants of this symbol. In fact many of the devices have more than one variant. It is, therefore, proposed to classify the obverse symbols with a view to trace their gradual development and their incidence in different classes. Broadly

speaking, these obverse (fig 1 and 2) symbols may be divided into twenty-five different groups *viz*., (1) the sun symbol, (2) .he six-armed symbol, (3) the three-armed symbol, (4) the tree symbol (5) the hill symbol, (6) the elelphant (7) the bull, (8) the rhinoceros (9) the stag, (10) the hare, (11) the fish, (12) the frog, (13) the tortoise, (14) the snake (15) the scorpion, (16) the standard, (17) the caduceus (18) the taurine in combination with other symbols, (19) the steel-yard, (20) the human-figure, (21) the edifice, (22) the cresent, (23) the pellets (24) the multi-pronged objects, and (25) the flower. Except variants marked with asterisk all the symbols are illustrated in (figs. 1 and 2).

The Sun symbol. There are altogether three variants of this symbol. Of which variant 1 having sixteen rays seems to be constant in all classes. Variant 1A having 40 radiating lines (pl. VII, 80) is confined to class I. Variant 1B with twelve thick rays (pl. VII, 79) occur exclusively to class III. However, in some of the coins belonging to class III the symbol does not occur. Such coins can be divided into two series, one having three symbols and the other with usual five marks on the obverse. In first series the sun and the six-armed symbols are significantly absent, these universal marks are replaced by a set of triple human figures. The replacement of sun symbol by human figure may tend to show that originally the former stood for the latter symbolising the concept of *rājacakravatrī*[2]. There is also another coin without the Sun symbol and (class III) having only four symbols (pl. VI, 67), in place of the usual five. In all possibility it would show carelessness on the part of the mint-master for the grouping of the symbol does not reveal any similarity with the Kosalan issues with four obverse marks. Sun along with six-armed is found missing from another set of coins having five marks on the obverse (pl. VI, 71, 72). There are altogether thirteen coins where sun symbol is absent.

The six-armed symbol. In frequency, six-armed symbol comes next to the solar symbol. It will be evident from fig. I, that there are altogether eleven variants of six-armed symbols, of which seven variants, 2, 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d, 2e and 2k are confined to class I, only one, 2f, to class II and 2*g* and 2h to classes II-III and 2i, 2j,

2. For D.D. Kosambi's observation on the absence of sun symbol. See 1 on the study and metrology of silver punch-marked coins, *New Indian Antiquary No. IV* (1941-42) p. 11.

to class III only. Another variant occurs only on the reverse of class I. Variant 2g, with all the six-arms intact, is available only on three coins of this hoard[3]. It may be mentioned that variant 2 has a widespread occurrence on the early punch-marked silver coins.

The three-armed symbol. From class II onwards the device no. 3 having a pellet within circle and three arms makes its appearance. However, slightly modified version of the same mark 3a, is confined exclusively to class III. This device noticed on the reverse as well is considered as counter marks since they are to be frequently seen with another symbol.

The Tree symbol. No less than twelve variants of tree symbols are noticed on the obverse of the coins of this hoard. All of them are stylized representations, sometimes even without a railing. Variants 4, 4a, 4c are found on the coins of class I, though 4b, and 4c have their continuity in other classes also. However, 4 and 4a are exclusive to class I. It is interesting to note that three-barred rail around a leafless tree does not occur in any other class except class I. Likewise 4a, a tree with taurines on the either ends of the two of the four branches below bench and a fish within a rectangular tank is restricted to class I. Most popular variant is 4d, and its beginning can be traced on the coins of class II; in fact 4d reached its popularity during the subsequent periods. It appears that tree-symbols become a favourite motif only during the issue of coins belonging to class III. For, seven variants 4c† (pl. III, 4i) 4f, 4g, 4h, 4i, 4j and 4k—are noticed on the obverse of the coins. Variant 4h, however, starts from class II.

The hill-symbol. Nine variants of this symbol are found on the obverse of the coins. Variants 5, 5a, 5b and 5c start with the coins of class I though 5 and 5b reappear on class III while they are not to be seen on the coins of class II. Variant 5c hare to right on the five-arched hill is represented on the coins of all the classes. Variant 5d starts with class II and becomes popular in class III. While 5g and 5h—three-arched hill surmounted by crescent or without it (may be out of plan) begin from class II and continues in class III. Particularly 5g becomes very popular on the coins of class III. In contrast to the squat broad arches of 5g and 5h invariably found on the obverses of II and III, another variant,

3. For Parmeshwari Lal Gupta's remark on this symbol See, *Punch-marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Series No. 1*, (Hyderabad, 1961) pp. 45-46.

variant 7 of reverse symbol having an enlongated yet comparatively smaller arches, these too, always within an incuse, is the popular reverse marks on the coins of all classes. This important symbol not only changes its position but undergoes gradual transformation as well, at least so far its basic outline is concerned. Variant 5d, peacock on the hill, starts with class II and continues also in class III. This mark, in slightly reduced size, is used as reverse mark on classes II and III. Variants 5e and 5f are exclusive to class III.

Among the animals the elephant, the bull, the rhinoceros, the stag and the hare noticed on the coins of this hoard.

The elephant. Variants 6, 6a, 6b, 6c, represent elephants. Variant 6 is commonly shared by all the classes, while 6a and 6b are common to II and III, the remaining ones being exclusive to III. The variant 6 prominently displays its tusks and characteristics sloping back, typical of an Indian elephant, whereas the representation in 6a is shown without tusks, and lacks the movement and dynamism so characteristic of the variant 6a. It may also be pointed out that variant 6 gradually becomes less popular on the coins of classes II and III.

The bull. Five different modes of representation of bulls indicated by variants 7, 7a, 7b, 7c and 7d are found on the coins of this hoard. Amongst them only variant 7 starts with class I and continues up to II. It is a carefully executed from exhibiting a proportionate body with the hump, the head and the horns. Variant 7a—bull to right standing on a platform and taurine below the mouth—is a crudely modelled figure and presents a somewhat stylized form of the same animal. Though it starts with class II its maximum popularity reaches with the coins of class III. Variants 7c, and 7d are met with only on the coins of class III.

Rhinoceros. Variant 8 is executed on the coins of class I. Its faithful representation on the coins is significant, for it is now restricted to N.E.F.A., Assam and north Bengal.

The stag standing before a twig. Variant 9 is an exclusive mark of class III. It is interesting to note that stag though much modified and elaborated than the present one is found on *Kuṇinda* coins of Ist-2nd centuries B.C.[4]

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4. Allan John, *Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India in the British Museum*, p. ci, Pl. XXII, 1, 2 (London 1936).

The hare. The frequency of hare may tend to show that it was one of the most popular motif with the mint-masters of the Darora hoard. Variants 10, 10a are ascribed to the coins belonging to class I whereas variants 10d and 10c are exclusive to class III. It is interesting to note that variant 10d commencing as an obverse symbol in class II becomes a reverse symbol in class III.

The Fish-symbol. Five different forms of the representation of fishes are noticed on the coins of this hoard, the majority of which begin in class I. A pair of fishes within an oblong tank (Variant 11), fish on the either side of a spearhead within an oval tank (variant 11a), and four fishes around and oblong platform with a dot in the centre all of them being enclosed (variant 11b) are restricted to class I. Variant 11c—two pairs of fishes in a rectangular tank facing each other—starts in class I but reappears in class III but it is absent on the coins of class II. Variants 11d is confined to class III only.

The frog. On a few specimens belonging to classes I, II and III appear the figure of the frog (variant 12).

The tortoise. The symbol (variant 13) is confined to class III and taurine or taurines are invariably associated with this mark.

The snake. The snake (variant 14) figures on the obverse of the coins of class I and continues in class III both as the obverse as well reverse mark. The depiction of the mark is naturalistic with raised hood; the serpentine body is particularly prominent on the coins of class I.

The scorpion. On the coins of class III a very stylized form of scorpion (variant 15) is seen.

The standard. Four types of standard variants 16, 16a, 16b and 16o are noticed on the coins under discussion. However, the triangular-headed form seems to be more favourite with the authors of these early coins. Variants 16 and 16a are exclusively confined to class I: 16a, is a triangular-headed standard on a verticle pole and taurines on the either side of the pole, while 16b is its modification. Triangular-headed standard anologus to 16 is available on the reverse of the coins of classes II and III.

The caduceus. This significant mark has two clear variants. Variant 17—three orbs in a line arranged at a distance and bifurcated by a line—is found on the coins of all the three classes but the high frequency of this mark on the coins of class I shows its popularity during that time. Invariably it is found on the obverse of the

coins. Variant 17a—three closely-set orbs comparatively smaller in size bifurcated by a vertical line—makes its appearance only on the coins of class III. Another noteworthy feature is that unlike variant 17, the mark is often simultaneously found on the reverse of the same coin Walsh[5] considered the coins bearing the caduceus both on the obverse and reverse as belonging to the same locality i.e. N.W.F. But P.L. Gupta[6] thinks that they are from Madhyadesa. Likewise there is another set of coins having peacock on the hill which simultaneously occur on both the sides. It is likely that these two devices were introduced during the issues of two new series of punch-marked coins. In this hoard both the series gained popularity during the time of class III although the latter device is represented by a solitary example from class II.

The Taurines, in combination with other symbols. Taurine is an oft-repeated mark on the punch-marked, uninscribed and cast coins and are often seen with other symbols *e.g.*, hare, tortoise, hill, and standard. Under this particular group is included the taurines in combination with those marks other than the above mentioned ones. There are altogether six variants of this group, of which 18, 18a, 18b belong exclusively to class I, variant 18c, 18d and 18e are confined to class III only.

The steel-yard. Variants 19 and 19a are distinguished by the arrangements of the orb and rectangle with reference to the vertical hook on the yard. Both the variants are in class III, but the former is found in class II also.

The Human figures. Neither class I nor class II has any human figure. It is confined to only class III. There are three different variants, 20, 20a and 20b. The first mentioned one depicts a standing figure holding certain objects in both the hands. Variants 20a and 20b represent each a group of three human figures. Such arrangements of human figure is already recorded by others and does not show any peculiarity. The figures on 20b are punched by two different dies, the one on the extreme left being in a separate incuse. On the reverse of a coin of class III (variant 13 of the reverse) is noticed a dence analogues to 20b mentioned above. Coins having

5. Walsh, E.H.C., *Punch-marked coins from Taxila*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 59 (Delhi, 1939).

6. P. L. Gupta, '*Punch-marked coins from Taxila*, *J.N.S.I.* Vol. XV, part II (Dec. 1953) p. 172.

variants 20a and 20b do not show the Sun and six-armed symbols. Variant 20a carries only three obverse marks and a reverse device, the reverse mark simultaneously occurring on the obverse as well. Variant 20b has also three obverse marks and on the reverse, Taxila mark.

The edifice. Under this group are included those symbols which resemble some sort of an edifice. Variants 21d, and 21e are noticed on the coins belonging classes I, II and III. Variants 21, 21a, 21b, 21c and 21f are exclusively seen on the coins of class III.

The crescents around a pellet. It is restricted to the coins of class I. Its low frequency tends to suggest how sparingly the device was used by the mint-masters.

The pellets. Two variants 23 and 23a are confined to class I and are considered as counter-marks.

The multi-pronged symbol. In the group under discussion there are four variants 24, 24a, 24b and 24c. Variants 24 and 24c are confined to class I, the last mentioned symbol is noteworthy since it resembles a type of celt known as shouldered-celt. However, the similarity may be an accidental one. Variants 24a and 24b are exclusively seen on the coins of Class III. Variant 24b may represent arrows arranged in a stand in an armoury.

The flower. This is noticed only on a single coin of class I. But analogous reverse symbol, variant 9, is found on the coins of all the classes.

IV. Classification of reverse symbols

Altogether sixty-four symbols are noticed on the reverses of 285 coins. Following is the classwise distribution of the symbols : class I=37 ; class II=9 ; class III=34. Like the obverse marks there are certain groups of symbols exclusive to each class : the numbers of such marks in classes I, II and III are 29, 2 and 22 respectively. Some reverse marks are found to have continued from class I to III, the numbers of such symbols being 3. There are 4 symbols which begin in class I disappear in class II but reappear in class III. 4 symbols are shared commonly by classes II and III. Thus each class has an exclusive sets of symbol along with those common to different series.

It is apparent from figures 2 and 3 illustrating the reverse symbols that non-discript symbols are more common on the coins

of class I than those on the other classes. It may also be seen that the reverse symbols are comparatively smaller in size than those on the obverse. Again, haphazardly executed punches of various descriptions found on class I are gradually replaced by one or two marks forming regular sets as on the coins of class III. The practice of marking the obverse and the reverse of the same coin with one particular symbol *viz.*, caduceus, peacock to right on the five-arched hill also starts with this class. Reverse symbols may be divided into twenty broad groups *viz.*, (1) the sun symbol, (2) the six-armed symbol (3) the four-armed symbol, (4) the three-armed symbol, (5) the tree symbol, (6) the flower symbol, (7) the hill symbol, (8) the hare (9) the bird, (10) the fish, (11) the scorpion, (12) the snake, (13) the triple human figures, (14) the caduceus, (15) the standard (16) the Texila-mark, (17) the taurine or taurines in combination with other symbol, (18) the eye-symbol, (19) the damaru, (20) the circle, the square, the pellets and pronged objects.

The sun symbol. There are altogether two variants of this symbol, variant I and Ia, both being confined to class I coins. As it is well known the sun device is rarely used as a reverse mark.

The six-armed symbol. Only one, variant 2, is noticed on a solitary specimen of class I. This variety is, however, absent on the obverse and is rarely seen on the reverse.

The four-armed symbol. Exclusively confined to class I, this group has three variants, 3 and 3a and 3b. Variant 3 has four arms with a disc-shaped object on each end and a solid disc in the centre. It seems to be a precursor of the well-known Ujjain symbol found on the later coins. Variant 3b—a hollow cross—is also met with on the reverse of uninscribed-cast coins.

The three-armed symbol. Under this category are included both three-armed or three-pronged symbol. Variant 4 possibly a treskeleon is restricted to class I. Variant 4a is an elaborate type of triskeleon symbolise and is confined to class I only. On the other hand, 4b and 4c are noticed both on classes II and III. But it seems that treskeleon symbol becomes popular during the period of issue of class III. Except variant 4f which is found only on a coin of class I, the remaining variant 4c, 4d and 4g, are noticed only on class III.

The tree-symbol. This symbol has six variants and all of them have stylized forms, some even without a railing. Variant 5b is an exclusive mark for the class I. Variants 5 and 5c start with

class I, class II and class III too. The remaining three, 5a, 5d and 5e are confined to class III.

The flower symbol. Variants 6 and 6a start in class I; while the former continues in the subsequent classes the latter stops with class I. Mention may be made of the fact that such floral devices occur on the obverse of a coin of class I.

The hill symbol. The hill-symbol occurs both on the reverse as well as on the obverse. But there are differences between the two sets of device. The introduction of a triangular incuse enclosing a three-arched hill surmounted by a crescent and the elongation of the arches themselves in variant 7 of the reverse are elements not noticed in analogues obverse mark i.e. variant 5g. The latter begins in class II and continues in class III, although its corresponding mark on the reverse starts from class I itself. Variant 7a is confined only to class I but variant 7b of the reverse and analogus variant 5d of the obverse appear to have started from class II. Invariably the size of the reverse punches of this design is smaller than the obverse one.

The hare. No less than six animals, elephant, bull, rhinoceros, stag, hare are noticed on the obverse. But the only animal appearing on the reverse is the hare—variants 8 and 8a—and they start from class III. Variant 8a is analogous to variant 10d of the obverse. Indeed, the practice of punching animal motif on the reverse begins only from class III although on the obverse the animal device is seen right from the coins of class I.

The bird. A stylized representation of a bird—variant 9, possibly a kite, occurs on a single coin belonging to class I. The symbol seems to be a unique specimen as it is not yet reported from any other hoard published so far.

The fish. The fish is an oft-repeated reverse symbol and has four variants—10, 10a, 10b and 10c. Variant 10 portraying a solitary fish remains confined to class I. Significantly, it has no oblong or oval enclosure which appears to be a must with the obverse designs of fishes. Other examples of fishes on the reverse, are, however, associated with tank. A pair of fishes within an oval tank also occur side by side in class I : Variant 10a differs from 10b in having an extremely stylized representation curiously enough both of them are noticed on one and the same coin. Oblong tanks enclosing a fish start in class III, variant 10c occurring in this class has a naturalistic appearance,

The scorpion. Of the two variants-II, IIa—the first-mentioned one in the earliest as it is found on the coins of class I. IIa is confined to class III only.

The snake. Only one variety of this reverse mark variant-12 is observed in this hoard, and it is exclusive to class III. But on the obverse it starts from class I and bears a naturalistic look.

The triple human figures. There is a solitary example showing this reverse mark. This reverse symbol variant-13 appears in class III and is similar to the one noticed on the obverse.

The caduceus. As already stated two varieties of this mark are found on the obverse. In the case of reverse, only one variety, (variant 14) has been used. Variant 14 of reverse devices may, however, be equated with variant 17a of the obverse. As a reverse mark it is restricted to class III only. An interesting feature is its simultaneous occurrence on the obverse also; the reverse ones, however, are generally smaller in size. Sometimes this variety of caduceus on the reverse is accompanied by treskeleon symbol.

The standard. The variant 15 of the reverse is similar to variant 16c of the obverse. But it starts from class II while the same device on the obverse appears in class III. Under this group may be included another variety of standard, variant 15a of the reverse, which has, however, a peculiar double beaked head, other end being roundish.

The Taxila mark. Confined exclusively to the reverse, it is entirely absent in class I. With its beginning in class II it becomes a popular reverse device on the coins of class III. The popularity of this symbol is revealed not only by its number but also by the variety of types. No less than four variants are punched on the reverses of the coins of classes II-III. Of them variant 16 shows the highest frequency. The most significant feature of this symbol is its emergence in class III as a single reverse-design. Sometimes the device is accompanied by triskeleon mark.

The taurine and taurines in combination with other marks. Five variants of this symbol are noticed on the reverse. Variants 17a and 17b are exclusive to class I while 17 is available on the coins of classes I and III. Variant 17c, a pellet flanked by taurine and triskels within an incuse, is exclusive to class II. Like the obverse mark 18c, variant 17d of the reverse is also confined to class III.

The eve symbol. Variants 18, 18a, 18b and 18c resemble in shape the human eyes. All of them are confined to class I and do not occur on the obverse. Variant 18a has also a dot in the centre which may recall pupil of the eye. Variant 18b has got several pellets along the upper edge of the mark, whereas in the variant 18c an oblique line may be seen within the oval.

The damaru. Variant 19, the damaru shaped object, is found in class I. It is absent in class II but re-appears on the coins of class III.

The circles, squares pellets and pronged objects. Eight variants of this group are seen on the reverses of the coins. Variant 20, a simple device having a circle and a dot within, is observed on class I only. While variants 20a and 20b start from class I are also available in class III. But 20c is confined to class I only. Variant 20d is in 'U' shaped object within an incuse and is an exclusive to class I. Variant 20e is noted only on class I. While in variant 20e there is a dot a upright small bar (dash) may be seen in 20f enclosed within a square. The latter starts from class I and is about in class II but re-appears in class III. Variants 20g is included in this group and is noticed in class I only. The variant 20g seems to be a variety of the so-called counter-mark. Variant 20h appears on class III only and seems to be a rare mark. Variant 20i is a thick pellet flanked by four arcs and a dot or pellet within each arc. The mark is seen exclusively on the coins of class I. Variant 20i (pl v, 54) is a sickle like object noticed on a coin belonging to class I.

V. Popularity of the individual symbol.

The comparative frequency of the obverse and the reverse symbols is shown in the tables 3 and 4. It can also be noticed from the Tables that the majority of the marks have a numerical limitation. In terms of percentage the classwise frequency of the obverse symbols occurring on more than six specimens are as follows : I=11.42% ; II=2.5% ; III=18.46% and accordingly, the reverse percentages are I=5.5% ; II=6.25%; III=11.11%. Seven obverse symbols, variants—1, 5C, 6, 12, 17, 21d, and 21e are found on all the classes and it is obvious that the comparative popularity of a symbol among the various classes can be judged only from these common devices.

TABLE III

Frequency of the obverse symbols.

Symbol No.	Class I	Class II	Class III	Symbol No.	Class I	Class II	Class III	Symbol No.	Class I	Class II	Class III
1	31 96.81%	34 100%	205 94.00%	5c	11 34.75%	3 8.82%	2 0.91%	16	2 6.25%		
1a	1 3.12%			5d		1 2.94%	15 6.84%	16a	5 15.57%		
1b			1 0.45%	5e			1 0.45%	16b		3 8.82%	28 12.81%
2	25 14.12%			5f			1 0.45%	16c			1 0.45%
2a	3 9.37%			5g		20 58.82%	125 57.08%	17	4 12.45%	4 11.78%	3 1.38%
2b	2 6.25%			5h		3 8.82%	35 15.52%	17a			24 10.99%
2c	1 3.12%			6	12 37.5%	2 5.88%	3 1.38%	18	1 3.12%		
2d	1 3.12%			6a			2 0.45%	18a	2 6.25%		
2e	1 3.12%			6b		1 2.94%	3 1.38%	18b	1 3.12%		

TABLE III (*Continued*)

2f		1 2.94%		6c			1 0.45%	18c		3 1.38%
2g		27 72.41%	191 88.21%	7	15 46.88%	1 2.94%		18d		1 0.45%
2h		1 2,94%	1 0.45%	7a		16 47.06%	95 44.33%	18c		1 0 45%
2i			2 0.91%	7b		1 2.94%	5 2.28%	19	1 2.94%	18 11.89%
2j			5 2.28%	7c			2 0.91%	19a		1 0.45%
2k	1 3.12%			7d			1 0.45%	20		1 0.45%
3		2 4.88%	6 2.73%	8	5 15.63%			20a		6 2.75%
3a			1 4.5%	9		1	0.45%	20b		2 0.91%
4	1 3.12%							21		1 0.45%
4a	1 3.12%			10	1 3.12%			21a		1 0.45%
4b	1 3.12%		2 0.91%	10a	1 3.12%			21b		1 0.45%

TABLE III (*Continued*)

4c	1 3.12%		2 0.91%	10b			13 5.93%	21c			2 0.91%
4d		15 44.11%	124 56.62%	10c			3 1.38%	21d	2 6.25%	2 5.88%	4 1.88%
4e			1 0.45%	10d		1 2.94%	9 21.08%	21e	2 6.25%	1 2.94%	11 5.01%
4f			1 0.45%	11	4 12.45%			21f			2 0.91%
4g			1 0.45%	11a	1 3.12%			22		1 2.94%	
4h		2 5:88	3 1.38%	11b	2 6.25%			23	1 3.12%		
4i			1 0.45%	11c	1 3.12%		2 0.91%	23a	1 3.12%		
4j			1 0.45%	11d			1 0.45%	24	1 3.12%		
4k			3 1.38%	12	2 6.25%	2 5.88%	1 0.45%	24a			1 0.45%
5	2 6.25%		6 2.73%	13			3 1.38%	24b			4 1.83%
5a	2 6.25%			14	1 3.12%		1 0.45%	24c	1 3.12%		
5b	2 6.25%		1 0.45%	15			1 0.45%	25	1 3.12%		

On the reverse, there are only two marks, variants—5 and 6, found on all the classes. There are certain symbols, variants—1, 3, 3a, 5d, 10d, 14, 16, 17a, 18c, 20a and 25 of the obverse analogus to variants 1a,.4b, 4d, 7b, 8a, 12, 15, 14, 17d, 13 and 6 of the reverse.

Among the symbols found on the obverse of class I, the solar device with 98.87% is the most popular one but the symbol reaches its apex in class II with 100% frequency. In class III it slightly loses its popularity and the frequency is 94.00%. Compared to the obverse the frequency of this mark as reverse device is insignificant. Variant 5C of the obverse is to be found on all the classes but a gradual decline may also be noticed : in class I the frequency is 34.75% whereas in classes II and III it comes to 8.82% and 0.91% respectively. Variant 6—elephant with tusks—accounts for 37.5% in class I, 2.94% in class II, and 1.38% in class III. It is evident from the Table that variant 12 has a low frequency in the subsequent classes. Variant 17—caduceus with separated orbs—in class I records 12.75% frequency, in class II 11.78% and in class III only 0.91%. Variants 21d and 21e both record 6.25% in class I ; in class II their frequency is comparatively less than the previous class. But in class II, variant 21e records 5.01% indicates a slight improvement upon the preceding class.

On the reverse variant 5, leaf is noticed in all the classes. In class I the frequency is 15.63% whereas in classes II and III the percentages are 2.94 and 0.91%. Variant 6 records 28.12% in class I while in II it is merely 2.94%—and only 0.91% coins of class III carrying the mark. Of the twelve symbols found on the obverse and as well as reverse, the variants 3 and 3a of the obverse are analogus to variants 4b and 4d of the reverse, 3 and 4 starting from class II onwards. Among the symbols of this category variant 4d reaches the maximum circulatian during the issue of the coin of class III. Caduceus—(variant—17 of the obverse and 14 of the reverse) is noticed on the obverse as well as on the reverse of the same coin. Like-wise peacock on the five-arched hill (variant 5d of the obverse and 7b of the reverse) is also simultaneously found on both the sides of same coin. The practice of marking the obverse as well as the reverse of a coin by one and same symbol as far as the former device is concerned is confined to class III only, while the latter starts from class II onwards. The frequency percentages of

TABLE IV

Frequency of the reverse symbols.

Symbol No.	Class I	Class II	Class III	Symbol No.	Class I	Class II	Class III	Symbol No.	Class I	Class II	Class III
	3				1		1				
1	9.37%			10c	3.12%		0.45%				
1a	3										
	9.37%										
	1				1		1				
2	3.12%			11	3.12%		0.45%				
	1			11a			1				
3	3.12%						0.45%				
	1										
3a	3.12%										
	2						1				
3b	6.25×			12			0.45%				
	2						1				
4	6.25			13			0.45%				
	1						22				
4a	3.12%			14			10.04%				

TABLE IV (*Continued*)

	1						
4b		1 2.94%	12 5.98%	15		1 2.94%	1 2.45%
4c			2 0.90%	15a			1 0.45%
4d			9 4.10%	16		16 47.07%	119 54.33%
4e		1 2.94%	5 2.28%	16a			1 0.45%
4f	1 3.12%			16b			2 0.91%
4g			1 0.45%	16c		1 2.94%	
5	3 9.37%	1 2.94%	1 0.45%	17	1 3.12%		2 0.91%
5a			1 0.45%	17a	2 6.25%		
5b	1 3.12%			17b	4 12.25%		
5c	3 9.37%		1 0.45%	17c		1	2.94%
5d			1 0.45%	17d			2 0.91%
			1		3		

TABLE IV (*Continued*)

5c			0.45%	18	9.37%	
	9	1	2		1	
6	28.12%	2.94%	0.94%	18a	3.12%	
	2				1	
6a	6.25%			18b	3.12%	
				18c	1	
					3.12%	
	9		3		1	
7	28.12%		1.36%	19	3.12%	
	1				2	
7a	3.12%			20	6.25%	
	1	17			1	1
7b	2.94%		7.67%	20a	3.12%	0.45%
			1		3	1
8			0.45%	20b	9.37%	0.45%
			1		1	
8a			0.45%	20c	3.12%	
	1				1	
9	3.12%			20d	3.12%	
					1	
				20c	3.12%	
	1				1	1

TABLE IV—(*Contd.*)

10	3.12%	20f	3.12%	0.45%
	1		1	
10a	3.12%	20g	3.12%	
	1	20h	2	1
10b	3.12%	201	6.25%	0.45%
		20j	3.12%	

caduceus on the obverse are 10.50% (24 nos.) and 10.04% (22 nos.) respectively. The peacock on the hill in class II is noticed on a solitary coin, but those occurring on their obverse and reverse of class III show each a frequency of 6.89% (16 nos.) ; 8.67% (19 nos). In former case the difference in frequency between the obverse and the reverse in class II is in just two specimens. Incidentally, both coins referred to above bear on the obverse the caduceus (variants 17a) which usually should be repeated by the same symbol on the reverse (variant 14) but instead the reverses of two of these coins are marked with variant 5d.

It is evident from the above that the popularity of a symbol was never a static phenomenon ; it, too, has its rise, and fall. But it cannot be determined from a single hoard the factors governing the rise and fall in the popularity are regional or temporal in character, the latter appearing to be a great likelihood.

VI. Conclusion

It is evident that the Darora hoard of punch-marked silver coins consists of issues of three fabrics possibly following three different standards of weight, size and thickness. These differences are manifest also in the use and disuse of smbols in each class : the most significant factor is the occurrence of sets of exclusive devices on coins of each class.

The three classes enumerated above might have been issued in different periods of time and most likely class I coins, represented the earliest of the three. The punch-marked silver coins of the earlier Taxila hoard found at Bhir mound in 1924 compare very well in shape size, fabric and in the use of symbols with the issues of class I. But the higher frequency of the double obverse coins in the former may indicate that even the earlier Bhir mound hoard contained still earlier issues. In other words only certain portion of the earlier Bhir round hoard deposited some time in 317[7] B.C. is comparable to the class I issues of the Darora hoard.

Class II of Darora judged from the better state of preservation having several coins in mint-condition, one is tempted to ascribe it as the latest among the series. This class of coins, apart from many identical features have perfectly harmonious device on the reverse and is comparable with the later Bhir Mound hoard datable to the

7. Walsh, (1939) *Op. Cit.* p. 1.

middle of the third century B.C. on the basis of an associate gold coins of Diadotus[8] (248 B.C.).

Evidently the Darora hoard was buried near about the middle of the third century B.C. One may reasonably calculate the time-span covered by this hoard : perhaps it covered a period of about sixty years within which punch-marked coins had at least three different issues. Class II coins of the hoard represent a transitional phase, for it shared the characteristics not only of I but also of III.

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8. Walsh. *loc. cit.*

Appendix

Eighty selected specimens from the hoard are illustrated in plates I-VII. Nos. 1-20 and 80 represent the coins of class I variety and nos. 21-28 of class II variety while the remaining are from class III group.

Plate XXXVII

1. *Obv.* : 1, 2, 6, 8, 25.
   Rev. : 1, 5, 20h.
   Weight : 2.9244 gm. ; *size* 2.71 × 1.10 cm ; *Thickness* : 0.15 cms. *Condition* : very worn ; *fabric* : thin ; *texture* : smooth ; *Shape* : oblong elongated.

2. *Obv.* : 1, 2, 5C, 6, 7.
   Rev. : 7, 9.
   Weight : 3.251 gm ; *size* : 1.91 × 1.72 cm ; *Thickness* : 0.17 cm ; *condition* : worn ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : medium ; *shape* : oblong.

3. *Obv.* : 1, 2, 5C, 6, 7.
   Rev. : 1a 6, 7,
   Weight : 2,910 gm. ; *size* : 2.10 cm. *dia* ; *thickness* : 0.11 cm *Condition* : worn ; *fabric* : thin ; *texture* : medium ; *shape* : round.

4. *Obv.* : 1, 2, 5C, 7, 11.
   Rev. : 5, 17 a.
   Weight : 3.1504 gm ; *size* : 2.07 × 1.33 cm ; *Thickness* : 0.16 cm ; *condition* : worn ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : medium ; *shape* : oblong.

5. *Obv.* : 1, 2, 6, 7, 16a,
   Rev. : 1a, 6, 10a, 10b and ?
   Weight : 3.076 gm ; *size* : 2.01 × 1.91 cm ; *thickness* : 0.12 9m *condition* : very worn ; *fabric* : thin ; *textnre* : medium ; *shape* : oblong.

6. *Obv.* : 1, 2a, 5b, 6, 16a.
Rev. : 6, 7, 20, 20c and ?
Weight : 3.1076 gm ; *size* : 2.05 × 1.20 cm ; *thickness* 0.17 cm ; *condition* : worn ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

7. *Obv.* : 1, 2, 6, 8, 11b.
Rev. : 7, 20a and ?, ?, ?.
Weight : 3.2374 gm ; *size* : 2.35 × 1.73 ; *thickness* : 0.14. *Condition* : worn ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : coarse. *Shape* : oblong.

8. *Obv.* : 1, 2, 6, 8(?), 23 and ?
Rev. : 5, 6a 7, 18 and ?, ?
Weight : 2.884 gm ; *size* : 2.00 × 1.41 cm ; *thickness* : 0.15 cm. *Condition* : very worn ; *fabric* : thin ; *texture* : medium ; *shape* : oblong ; *Remark* : double obverse coin.

9. *Obv.* : 1, 2, 6, 10b, 16, 24 (possibly over-punched on an earlier symbol—tree) and ?, ?
Rev. : 1a, 2(?), 7, 10, 11, 17, 17b, 18b, 20 and ?, ?
Weight : 2.872 gm ; *size* : 2.26 *dia* ; cm. ; *thickness* : 0.14 cm ; *condition* : very worn ; *fabric* : thin ; *textvre* : medium ; *shape* : round ; *remark* : Double obverse and note the weight and thickness of the coin.

10. *Obv.* : 1, 2, 5c, 12, 17.
Rev. : 4a, (two specimens) 17b and ?
Weight : 2.953 gm ; *size* : 1.88 × 1.44 cm ; *thickness* : 0.16 cm ; *Condition* : very worn ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : medium ; *shape* : oblong.

11. *Obv.* : 1, 2, 5, 7, 18.
Rev. : 7, 20i, 18.
Weight : 3.2262 gm ; *size* : 1.82 cm *dia* ; *Thickness* : 0.17 cm ; *condition* : very worn ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : round.

12 *Obv.* : 1, 2, 4, 5a, 13a,
Rev. : 1, 20 (?) and ?,
Weight : 3.108 gm ; *size* : 1.93 x 1.40 cm ; *thickness*: 0.16 cm ; *Condition* : Worn ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* ; Smooth ; *Shape* : oblong.

Plate XXXVIII

13. *Obv.* : 1, 2, 4C, 5a, 18a,
    Rev. : 6 and ? ?.
    Weight : 3.2268 gm ; *size* : 1.73 x 1.56 cm ; *Thickness* : 0.17 cm ; *condition* : worn ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : smooth ; *shape* : oblong

14. *Obv.* : 1, 2c, 4, 7, (?), 11a,
    Rev. : 17 b(?)
    Weight : 3.0274 gm ; *size* : 1.96×1.18 cm ; *Thickness* : 0.17 cm ; *condition* : worn ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : smooth ; *shape* : oblong.

15. *Obv.* : 1, 2k, 10a, 21c, 21d.
    Rev. : 3b and ?, ?
    Weight : 3.265 gm ; *size* : 1.94×1.33 cm ; *thickness* : 0.17 cm.*Condition* : worn ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : smooth. *Shape* : oblong.

16. *Obv.* : 1, 2a, 5b, 7, 16a.
    Rev. : 5c, 18, 10c and ?
    Weight : 2.935 gm ; *size* : 2.05×1.45 cm ; *thickness* : 0.15 cm ; *condition* : very worn ; *fabric* : thin ; *texture* : smooth ; *shape* : oblong.

17. *Obv.* : 1, 2, ?, ? and 17.
    Rev. : blank.
    Weight : 2.9568 gm ; *size* : 1.76 cm. *dia* ; *thickness* : worn ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : smooth ; *shape* : round.

18. *Obv.* : 1, 2e, 14, 21d and ?
    Rev. : 20b, ?, ?
    Weight : 2.9904 gm ; *size* : 1.90×1.46 cm ; *thickness* : 0.15 *condition* : very worm ; *fabric* : thin ; *texture* : smooth ; *shape* : oblong.

19. *Obv.* : 1, 2b, 8, 10, 11b (?)
    Rev. : 4f, 6, 6a, 7a, 20b and ?, ?. (there are two specimens of var. 6)
    Weight : 3.1496 gm ; *size* : 1.69×1.62 cm ; *thickness* : 0.17 cm ; *condition* ; worn ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : smooth.

20. *Obv.* : 1, 2d, 4a (?) 18 and ?
Rev. : 1a, 3b, 6, 19 and ? ? ?
Weight : 3.2006 gm ; *size* : 2.20 × 1.30 cm ; *thickness*: 0.15 cm ; *condition* : very worn ; *fabric* : thin ; *texture* : smooth ; *shape* : oblong.

21. *Obv.* : 1, 5c, 7, 17.
Rev. : 10c, ?, ?.
Weight : 3.358 gm ; *size* : 1.56 × 1.54 cm ; *thickness* : 0.19 cm ; *condition* : worn ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : medium ; *shape* oblong.

22. *Obv.* : 1, 3, 5c, 12, 17 and ?
Rev. : 17c.
Weight : 3,1508 gm ; *size* : 1.60 × 1.25 cm ; *thickness* : 0.19 cm ; *condition* : worn ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

23. *Obv.* : 1, 2h. 5 C, 17, 21 C.
Rev. : 5.
Weight : 2.9776 gm ; *size* : 1.65 × 1.41 cm ; *thickness* : 0.18 cm ; *condition* : worn ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

24. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 6, 12, 21d.
Rev. : 7, ?, ?
Weight : 3.1004 cm ; *size* : 1.50 × 1.42 cm ; *thickness* : 0.18 cm ; *condition* : worn ; *fabric* : medium ;

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25. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4d, 5g, 6b.
Rev. : 16.
Weight : 3.2518 gm ; *size* : 1.40 cm *dia* ; *thickness* : 0.25 cm; *condition* : worn ; *fabric* : medium ; *shape* : round.

26. *Obv.* : 1, 2f, 10d, 21d, and ?
Rev. : ?
Weight : 3.1724 gm; *size* : 1.74 cm ; *dia* ; *thickness* : 0.19 cm.; *condition* : worn; *fabric* : medium; *texture* : medium; *shape* : round.

27. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 5g, 6a, 10e,
Rev. ?
Weight : 3.1252 gm; *size* : 1.34 cm *dia*; *thickness.* : 027 cm; *condition* : fairly worn; *fabric* : medium; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : round .

28. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4d, 5g, 7a,
Rev. : 16.
Weight : 3.4106 gm; *size* : 1.65 × 1.49 cm ; *thickness* : 0.20 cm; *condition* : fresh; *fabric* : medium; *texture* : coarse; *shape* : oblong.

29. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4d, 5g, 7a,
Rev. : 16
Weight : 3.291 gm; *size* ; 1.60 × 1.51 cm; *thickness* 0.18 cm; *condition* : fresh; *fabric* : medium; *texture* : coarse; *shape* : oblong.

30. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4d, 5g, 7a,
Rev. : 16.
Weight : 3.142 gm; *size* : 1.69 × 1.36 cm; *thickness* 0.20 cm; *condition* : fresh; *fabric* : medium; *texture* : coarse; *shape* : oblong

31. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4d, 5h, 7a
Rev. : 16.
Weight : 3.1556 gm; *size* : 1.67 × 1.32 cm; *thicknss* : 0.20 cm; *condition* : fresh; *fabric* : medium; *texture* : coarse; *shape* : oblong.

32. *Obv.* : 1, 2g (?), 4d, 5h, 7b (?),
Rev. : 16.
Weight : 3.065 gm; *size* : 1.76 × 1.10 cm; *thickness* : 0.23 cm; *condition* : fresh; *fabric* : medium; *texture* : coarse; *shape* : oblong.

33. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4d, 5g, 7b,
Rev. : 16 (F).
Weight : 2.7952 gm; *size* : 1.43 × 1.40 cm; *thickness* : 0.20 cm; *condition* : worn; *fabric* : medium; *texture* : medium ; *shape* ; oblong.

34. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4d, 5g, 7a,
Rev. : 16.
Weight : 3.1816 gm ; *size* : 1.52 × 1.40 cm ; *thickness* : 0.20 *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

35. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4j, 5ẹ, 7c,
Rev. : ?
Weight : 3.316 gm ; *size* : 1.37 × 1.36 cm ; *thickness* 0.24 cm ; *condition* : fairly worn ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

36. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4d, 5g, 15,
Rev. : 16.
Weight : 3.2652 gm ; *size* : 1.80 × 1.20 cm ; *thicknees* : 0.20 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : medium ; *shape* : oblong.

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37. *Obv.* : 1. 2g, 4d, 5g, 16b,
Rev. : 16
Weight : 3.096 gm ; *size* : 1.42 × 1.37 cm ; *thickness* : 0.20 cm ; *condition* : fresh ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : medium ; *shape* : oblong.

38. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4d, 5h, 16b,
Rev. : 16
Weight : 3.1766 gm ; *size* : 1.65 × 1.19 cm ; *thickness* : 0.24 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : *texture* : thick ; medium ; *shape* : oblong.

39. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4d, 5h, 16b,
Rev. : 16.
Weight : 3.330 gm ; *size* : 1.50 × 1.35 cm ; *thickness* : 0.25 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : medium ; *shape* : oblong.

40. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4g, 5g, 16b,
Rev. : 15
Weight : 3.1862 gm ; *size* : 1.51 × 1.23 cm ; *thickness* : 0.25 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

41. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4e, 5h, 16c,
Rev. : 16.
Weight : 2.8892 gm ; *size* : 1.55 × 1.38 cm ; *thickness* : 0.19 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : medium ; *shape* : oblong.

42. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 5g, 5d, 19,
Rev. : ?
Weight : 3.0452 gm ; *size* : 1.42 × 1.11 cm ; *thickness* : 0.28 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* . medium ; *shape* : oblong.

43. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 5g, 5C, 19a,
Rev. : 7b.
Weight : 3.020 gm ; *size* : 1.43×1.33 cm ; *thickness* : 0.20 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : medium ; *shape* : oblong.

44. *Obv.* : 1, 2j, 5d, 5g, 19,
Rev. : 7b.
Weight : 3.258 gm ; *size* : 1.35×1.31 cm ; *thickness* : 0.25 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick : *texture* : medium ; *shape* : oblong.

45. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 5g, 5d, 19,
Rev. : 7b.
Weight : 3.2214 gm ; *size* : 1.49×1.28 cm ; *thickness* : 0.24 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

46. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 5g, 7b, 19,
Rev. : ?
Weight : 2.895 gm ; *size* : 1.30×1.02 cm ; *thickness* : 0.28 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : coarse ; *shope* : oblong.

47. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4d, 5, 19,
Rev. : 4e and ?
Weight : 3.1116 gm; *size* : 1.29×1.20 cm; *thickness* : 0.25 cm; *condition* : fairly fresh; *fabric* : thick; *texture* : coarse; *shape* : oblong.

48. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 5g, 10c, 17 a,
Rev. : 4d, 14.
Weight : 3.3364 gm; *size* : 1.73 × 1.38 cm; *thickness* : 0.19 cm; *condition* : fairly fresh; *fabaic* : medium; *texture* : medium; *shape* : oblong.

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49. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 5h, 10c, 17a,
Rev. : 15, 15a ?.
Weight : 3.222 gm; *size* : 1.30 × 1.07 cm; *thickness* : 0.30 cm; *condition* : fairly fresh; *fabric* : thick; *texture* : coarse; *shape* : oblong.

50. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 5h, 13, 17a,
Rev. : 4c. 14 and ?.
Weight : 2.8924 gm; *size* : 1.55 x 1.30 cm; *thickness* : 0.19 cm; *condition* : fairly fresh; *fabric* : medium; *texture* : coarse; *shape* : oblong.

51. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 5g, 13, 17a,
Rev. : 14.
Weight : 3.1164 gm; *size* : 1.38 x 1.10 cm; *thickness* : 0.30 cm; *condition* : fairly fresh; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : coarse; *shape* : oblong.

52. *Obv.* : 1, 2 j, 4k, 9, 17,
Rev. : 7 b and ?
Weight : 3.0862 gm ; *size* : 1.51 cm ; *dia* ; *thickness* : 0.24 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : round.

53. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4d (?), 5g, 17a,
Rev. : 14.
Weight : 3.0766 gm ; *size* : 1.55 × 1.25 cm ; *thickness* : 0.22 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

54. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 5g, 10c, 21c,
Rev. : 20 j A sickle like object.
Weight : 3.3372 gm ; *size* : 2.00 × 0.74 cm ; *thickness* : 0.32 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

55. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 10e, 17, 21d,
Rev. : ?.
Weight : 2.9856 gm ; *size* : 1.52 × 1.31 cm ; *thickness* : 0.21 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* thick ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

56. *Obv.* : 1, 2h, 4 h, 11c, 21,
Rev. : 8a, 17 (?) and,
Weight : 3.1528 gm ; *size* : 1.45 × 1.25 cm ; *thickness* : 0.22 cm ; *condition* fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* oblong.

57. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 3a, 10e, 21d,
Rev. : ?
Weight : 3.254 gm ; *size* 1.47 cm ; *dia* : *thickness* : 0.25 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* thick; *texture* : medium *shape* : round.

58. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, (?) 5g, 10c. 21f,
Rev. : 16.
Weight :3.3148 gm ; *size* : 1.27 × 1.06 cm ; *thickness* 0.33 cm ; *condition* : fairly fress ; *fabric* : thick *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

59. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 5g, 7a, 21 c,
Rev. : 16.
Weight : 3.0206 gm; *size* : 1.20 × 1.10 cm ; *thickness* : 0.30 cm ; *condition* fairly fresh : *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : medium ; *shape* : oblong.

60. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 3, 4b, 6a,
Rev. : 5a, 6 and ?.
Weight : 3.1954 gm ; *size* : 1.50 × 1.04 cm ; *thickness* : 0.26 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh : *fabric* ; thick : *texture* : medium; *shape* : oblong.

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61. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 5g, 6a, 10e,
Rev. : 7.
Weight : 3.2572 gm ; *size* : 1.57 × 1.00 cm ; *thickness* : 0.30 cm : *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

62. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4i, 5g, 10d,
Rev. : 15a, 20b.
Weight :3. 2916 gm; *size* : 1.22 × 1.18 cm ; *thickness* : 0.30 cm ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* thick ; *texture* : medium; *shape* : oblong.

63. *Obv.* : 5d, 19, 20a,
Rev. : 7b.
Weight : 3.3226 gm ; *size* : 1.45 × 1.09 cm ; *thickness* : 0.28 cm ; *condition* : fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : coarse *shape* : oblong.

64. *Obv.* : 4d, 6b, 20 b,
Rev. : 16.
Weight : 3.1076 gm ; *size* : 1.44 × 1.32 cm ; *thickness* : 0.21 cm ; *condition* fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : medium *shape* : oblong.

65. *Obv.* : 10c, 17a, 20a,
Rev. : 4d, 14.
Weight : 2.9760 gm ; *size* : 1.44 × 1.39 cm ; *thickness* : 0.20 cm ; *condition* : fresh ; *fabric* : medium *texture* medium ; *shape* : oblong.

66. *Obv.* : 1, 5h, 21c,
Rev. : 4b, 5a,
Weight. : 3.1702 gm ; *size* 1.74 × 0.88 cm ; *thickness* : 0.30 cm ; *condition* fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

67. *Obv.* : 2g. 4d, 5h, 7a,
Rev. : 4b, 16.
Weight : 3.138 gm ; *size* : 1.54 × 1.47 cm ; *thickness* : 0.20 *eondition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* medium *shape* : oblong .

68. *Obv.* : 1, 5g, 6c, 17a,
Rev. : 14, 17
Weight : 3.006 gm ; *size* : 1.33 × 1.29 cm; *thickness* : 0.23 cm ; *condition* : fairly worn ; *fabric* thick ; *texture* : medium : *shape* : oblong.

69. *Obv.* : 1; 5g, 17a, 24a,
Rev. : 14, (?).
Weight : 2.971 gm; *size* 1.46 cm ; dia, ; *thickness* : *condition* : fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : coarse ; 0.72 cm ; *shape* : round.

70. *Obv.* : 1, 2i, 4i, 18c,
Rev. : 11a.
Weight : 3.064 gm ; *size* : 1.32 × 1.29 cm. ; *thickness* : 0.26 cm. ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

71. *Obv.* : 5, 5d, 10d, 19, 24b,
Rev. : 7b.
Weight : 3.2358 gm. ; *size* : 1.35 × 1.29 cm. ; *thickness* : 0.23 cm. ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

72. *Obv.* : 5, 10c, 10d, 17a, 24b,
Rev. : 4d, 14.
Weight : 3.2756 gm. ; *size* : 1.40×1.35 cm. ; *thickness* : 0.24 cm. ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : medium ; *shape* : oblong.

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73. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4d, 4f, 5g, 7a.
Rev. : 16.
Weight : 3.1864 gm. ; *size* : 1.69 cm. ; *dia* : *thickness* : 0.20 cm. ; *condition* fairly fresh ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture*: medium ; *shape* : round.

74. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 4d, 5g, 7b, 20,
Rev. : 4c, 16.
Weight : 3.2392 gm. ; *size* : 1.61×1.55 cm. ; *thickness* : 0.19 cm. ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

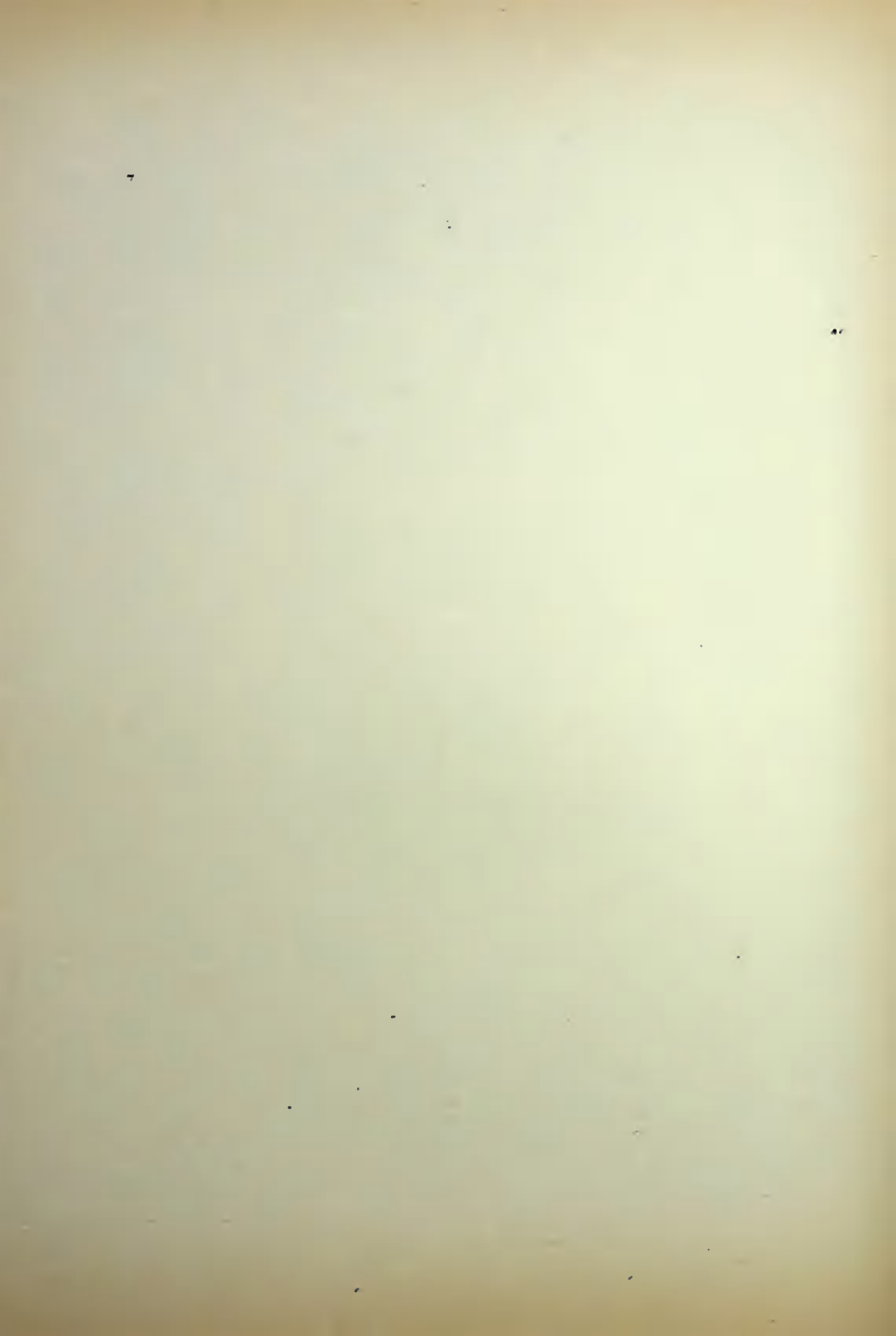
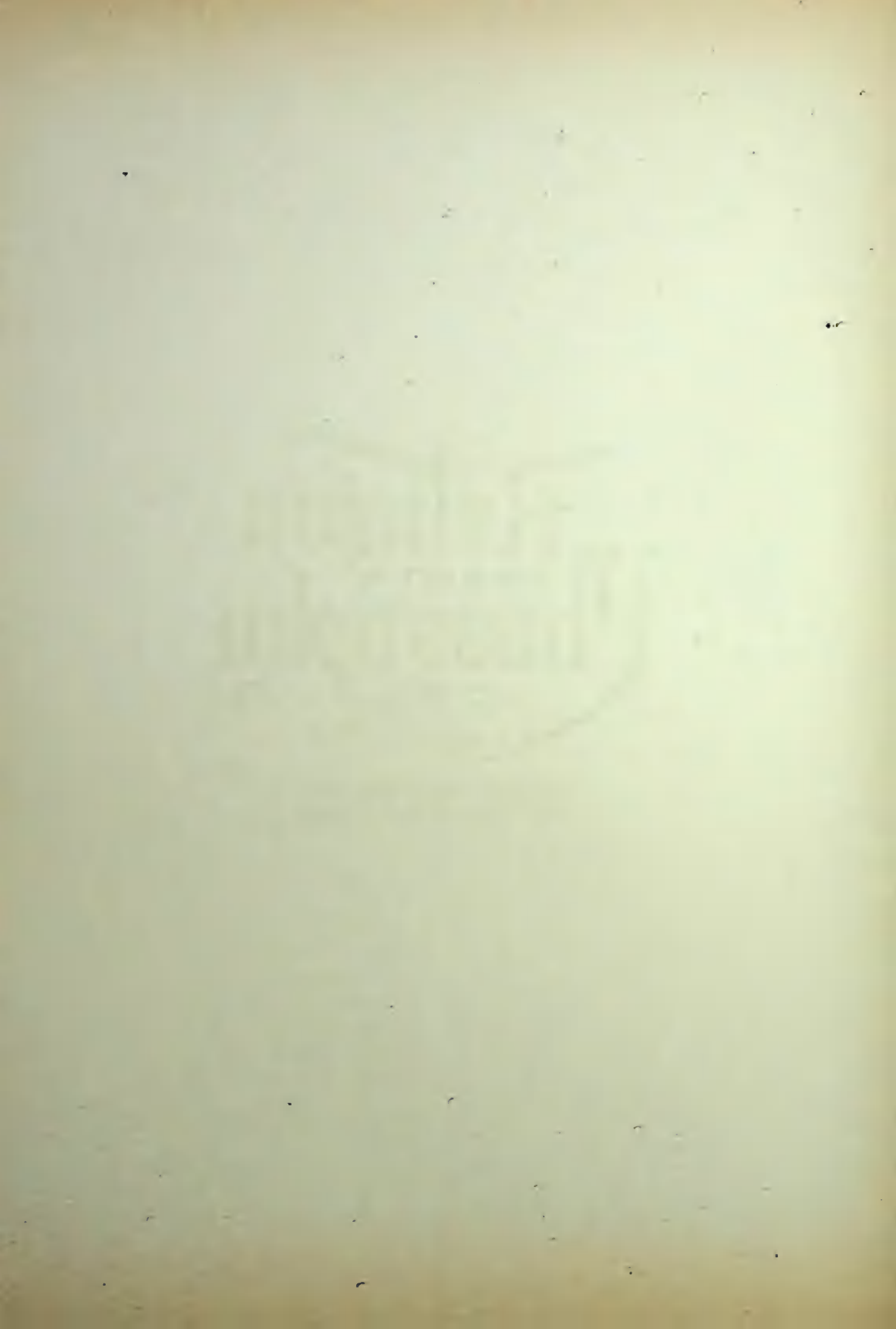
75. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 5g, 13 (?), 17a, 21b,
Rev. : 4d, 14.
Weight : 2.8124 gm. ; *size* : 1.51×1.25 cm. ; *thickness* : 0.20 cm. ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

76. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 3, 5g, 16b, 17a,
Rev. : 14.
Weight : 3.242 gm. ; *size* : 1.53×1.32 cm. ; *thickness* : 0.22 cm. ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : medium ; *shape* : oblong.

77. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 10e, 21c and ?,
Rev. : 13, 4b,
Weight : 3.247 gm. ; *size* : 1.50×1.06 cm. ; *thickness* : 0.27 cm. ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : medium ; *shape* : oblong.

78. *Obv.* : 1, 2g, 5g, 17a, ?,
Rev. : 7b.
Weight : 3.0716 gm. ; *size* : 1.24×1.15 cm. ; *thickness* : 0.27 cm. ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : thick ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

79. *Obv.* : 1, 2j, 5f (over punched on an another symbol),
Rev. : 5e (two specimens), 6a, ?, ?, ?.
Weight : 3.064 gm. ; *size* : 1.63 × 1.52 cm. ; *thickness* : 0.17 cm. ; *condition* : fairly fresh ; *fabric* : medium ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : oblong.

80. *Obv.* : 1a, 2a, 11, 16, 17, 23a, 24c,
Rev. : 4, 5, (two specimens) 17b, 20 and ?
Weight : 3.006 gm. ; *size* : 2.13 cm. *dia* ; *thickness* : 0.14 cm. ; *condition* : very worn ; *fabric* : thin ; *texture* : coarse ; *shape* : round.

DR. ADITYANATH JHA
FELICITATION VOLUME

Hinduism

PROF. K. ÇHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA

सनातनं परं ब्रह्म ध्यात्वाहं काश्यपो द्विजः ।
सनातनस्य धर्मस्य साररूपं ब्रुवे मुदा ॥

HINDUISM is the result of a long historical process. Its first beginnings go to an age earlier than the Vedas and the advent of the Āryans in India. Since the discovery in 1924 of a pre-historic civilization in Sind and the Punjab, we have learnt a lot about these first beginnings. Then came the Āryans with an altogether different civilization. In the sixth century before Christ there arose in eastern India two important religious movements, JAINISM and BUDHISM, which deeply influenced the general current of religious life throughout the land. Certain migrants from Iran introduced a special cult of Sun-worship which found many followers in the country. When Āryan civilization penetrated to the South, it was not a case of Āryanisation of the South only but also considerable influence on the culture of the North. Many of the great Āchāryas (Religious Leaders) were born in the South. Even Christianty and Islam that came later did not fail to influence Hindus.

2. It is natural that a religion which developed through such a length of time and over such a vast area should have an infinite variety of forms. We have no single dogma universally accepted and no single set of practices followed everywhere. An intelligent writer on this religion has, therefore, avoided defining Hinduism. He has instead defined a Hindu in purely formal manner : 'Every one is a Hindu (1) who does not repudiate that designation ; or better still, because more positive, who says he is a Hindu and (2) accepts *any* of the *many* beliefs and *follows* any of the many practices that are *anywhere* regarded as Hindu' (Govinda Das, *Hinduism*, Madras, 1924, p. 57). A name some learned men have given to this religion is *Sanātana Dharma* which means Eternal

Religion or, according to the usage of the Vedic language, Old Religion. *Dharma* has got a much wider connotation than the word *Religion.* In any way, the term *Sanātana Dharma,* though a convenient name, does not give a correct indication about the universal nature of Hinduism. It contains beliefs and practices at every stage of human development from the lowest to the highest. Any body is free to accept any belief and follow any practice that may satisfy his spiritual cravings. No one need go without religion because a particular type has no appeal for him.

3. Let us now see how Hinduism has acquired this peculiar position in human history. The archaeological excavations in the pre-historic sites at Mohanjodaro, Chanhundaro, Harappa and other areas have revealed the existence of a highly civilized people, who were not only advanced from the material point of view but also from that of spiritual endeavours. The most characteristic way of all Indian religions is the emphasis they lay on *Yogic* contemplation for the realisation of the Absolute. A German writer, Dr. J. W. Hauer, had traced the beginnings of *Yoga* to certain passages in the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* and the *Atharvaveda-saṁhitā* which allude to mystic powers acquired through yogic practices by long-haired, tawny-robed ascetics (*Die Anfaenge der Yygapraxis,* Stuttgart, (1222), pp. 169 ff.) But today we are in a position to see that the beginnings of *Yoga* are to be traced to Mohanjodaro and Harappa, long before the Āryans came to this sacred land and those Vedic texts were composed. Other elements of the religious life of those people that have survived upto the present day are (1) worship of a Mother Goddess, (2) worship of a Creator God (3) worship of sacred trees, (4) likely worship of the Bull, (5) the importance of bath before any worship and (6) iconic representation of gods and goddesses.

4. Then come the sturdy Āryans with great gifts of poetry, believing in a number of gods, a high regard for truth and *no trace of iconism in religious practice.* Though the gods were anthropomorphically conceived and described, their images were never made and used in worship. This has remained true of the Vedic ritual even today. The modern Vedic Paṇḍita, who follows the ordinary Hindu way of life and uses images of gods in his personal worship, never uses images of Vedic deities in the Vedic rituals that he performs. It is to those ancient Āryans that we have to trace the

vast literature of the Vedas. The Vedas show that the ancient Aryans worshipped a number of Gods, Dyaus, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Agni etc. and a few goddesses like Pṛithivī, Aditi. It was, however, tacitly assumed that behind these Gods and Goddesses, there was a Highest God, Prajāpati, 'The Lord of the Creatures.' Mitra, Varuṇa and the other Ādityas, who were solar deities, were very high moral powers. Mitra and Varuṇa kept unwinking watch over human actions through day and night. All moral transgressions were severely punished.

5. The Vedic ritual was originally a very simple affair. Offerings of food and drink were placed on spread out *kuśa* grass. The names of the deities for whom they were meant were invoked by a priest and the offerings were then dedicated to them. This completed the sacrifice. After the dedication of the offerings, the latter were partaken by the worshippers *haviḥ-śeṣa* (Remnants of the Sacrifice). This corresponds to modern *prasāda*. In course of time, however, the rituals grow more and more complex and their numbers multiplied. The daily Agnihotra ceremony continued as a simple affair : offering of milk or some other substance direct to Agni (Fire), morning and evening. Agnihotra was a duty enjoined on a householder. It was a *nitya karma* (compulsory duty) and, therefore, led to result beyond the purification of the self. All other rituals led to material happiness, here or hereafter.

6. As the centuries rolled on, these rituals could not satisfy the more reflective persons among the Āryans. Some of them took to speculations about the ultimate nature of things. Many Āryans had by now crossed the Beas and the Sutlej and settled in the Kurukṣetra country. It was mostly in the Kurukṣetra country, on the banks of the holy river Sarasvatī, that the Vedic ritual order developed. As the Āryans penetrated further east, they came into real contact with pre-Āryan civilization. Yogic contemplation was learnt and practised. The law of *Karma* and the transmigration of the soul were accepted without question. There are reasons for believing that all this came from the pre-Āryans. When under these circumstances, philosophical speculations about the ultimate nature of things started, people began to understand that there was an ultimate reality *Sat* (Existence), which is the source of the world, in which the world subsists and in which it finally merges. An old ritualistic term, *brahma*, which originally meant prayer or *mantra*, was now used for this Ultimate Reality. Not only was the world

considered identical with Brahma but the Soul was considered fully identical with that *Sat*, in the *Upaniṣads* a series of Vedic texts of this period. *Tat tvaṁ asi* (Thou art That) is one of the most famous *mahāvākyas* (great texts) of the *Upaniṣads*. That Brahman is of the nature of Sat (Existence—already mentioned), Cit (Consciousness) and Ānanda (Bliss). It is the realisation of identification with this Saccidānanda Brahma that releases man from the bondage of the *Karma* and establishes him in Salvation. Rituals cannot take man to this goal.

7. Shortly after the beginnings of the Upanishadic age two princes of Eastern India, Vardhamāna and Gautama left their homes, afflicted by realisation of misery in life and sought, each in his own way, the means conquering misery. The results are the two great religions of Jainism and Buddhism. Their treatment is outside the scope of the present essay. Their influence on Hinduism has, however, to be mentioned. Both the religions and specially Jainism laid great emphasis on *Ahiṁsā*, (non-killing). This profoundly influenced Hinduism. Before the rise of Jainism and Buddhism, there were ascetics in the land, probably from the hoariest antiquity. But both these religions established orders of monks. Hinduism also fell in line.

8. According to the law of *Karma*, as you do, so you suffer. All our experiences in life are due to our past actions. Actions are endless and their results have to be experienced not in one life alone but in endless series of births and deaths. Some ascetics, who did not follow the path of knowledge of the Upaniṣads, tried to practise utter *inaction* to escape the baneful effects of *action*. Some of them also killed their bodies as the body was an instrument of action. A passage in the Īśa Upaniṣad strongly repudiates this attitude. It recommends the performance of actions, asserting that no taint adheres to the Soul on account of action and condemns suicide. How one can escape the taint of *Karma* even when performing actions was shown by Kṛiṣṇa in the *Niṣkāma-Karma-Yoga*, the method of performing actions without a desire for their results, in the *Bhagavadgītā*. This was a revolutionary doctrine taught by this great teacher. The *Bhagavdgītā* which is a part of the *Mahābhārata* is an epitome of the Upaniṣads. Its ultimate purpose seems to the writer of this essay to have been teaching of single-minded devotion towards God with complete self-surrender.

9. Under the influence of the Monism of the Upanishads, the old polytheism changed into a peculiar type of monotheism. Of the various Gods and Goddesses that one who appealed most to the devotee became his *iṣṭa-devatā* (desired deity), the chief deity, God in a theistic sense, and the other Gods and Goddesses become His subordinates. This was probably helped by the ideas of the Sātvatas or Aikāntikas or Bhāgavatas for whom Kriṣṇa was God Absolute. A Greek Heliodoros by name, adopted this creed in the second century before Christ and he set up a votive pillar at *Vidiśā* (Bhilsa—Besnagar) in Madhya Pradesh.

10. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, which now begin to dominate the Scene, popularise the Vedic doctrines on the one hand and give a scriptural sanction to the worship of many local deities on the other. Of the many Gods and Goddesses, three emerge as the chief ones, Viṣṇu (worshipped under many names, one of them being Rāma), Śiva and Pārvatī. Around them arose three principal sects, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Śāktism. These had several forms in different parts of the country. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* teach taking baths in the holy rivers, seven in number, Sindhu (Indus), Saravatī, Yamunā and Gaṅgā in the North, Narmadā in the Deccan and Godāvari and Kāverī in the South. They also recommend visiting places of pilgrimage which are spread throughout the country, from Kashmir to Cape Comorin. There was the temple of the Mother Goddess at Hinglaj in Baluchistan, now outside the Indian Union. It was this visit to places of pilgrimage througout the country that unified the whole of India culturally and made possible the quick transmission of knowledge from one part of the country to the others.

11. These new scriptures, among several additions were made, *e.g.*, Āgama (Tantras), gave the final shape to the Hindu religion. Temples were constructed in which images of Gods or Goddesses were installed with places for circumambulation. Worship now took the form of *pūjā* with water, flowers and offerings of grains, fruits and sweets. The image was there to pinpoint the attention of the devotee and was not to limit the limitless. Giving of gifts and construction of places of public utility like tanks were considered meritorious. An important element of the worship now was *japa* or continuous repetition of the sacred names or mantras. Though most religious ceremonies led to heaven and such like transitory goals, worship was now believed to be capable of taking

man to salvation, endless bliss also. Both the ends of *pravṛitti* and *nivṛitti,* the forward path and the return path made the Hindu view of life a fuller one now. The great saints of mediaeval India laid great emphasis on the return to God.

12. We have come to the end of our narrative. Incidentally the variety and nature of the Hindu religion has become clear. All our previous scriptures and teachers have combined in laying down before Hindus the duty of choosing an *Iṣṭa-devatā* and worshipping him with devotion and serving brother creatures including animals and birds and giving of individual charity and doing works of public benefaction.

Sufis and Sufism

PROF. DR. M. MUJEEB

IN the two aspects of the religious life of the Indian Muslims, orthodoxy and religious thought, the aim was to achieve system, definiteness, harmonisation of details with the whole. It was assumed that the individual Muslim and the organisation of his life have to be subject to the system of the shar'ah, that definiteness in beliefs and practices, and the logical integration of the details of life so that they form a consistent whole, will make the truth of Islam more evident and ensure success in this world and salvation in the next. Correct practice was deduced from true belief. Both orthodoxy and religious thought regarded personal experience of value if it confirmed dogma ; if it did not, then they supposed that, like doubt, it could lead to error, and must be rejected. Their strength lay in their ability to clarify the obligations to be fulfilled and to assure the Muslim of the 'liberties' he possessed and the rewards he would obtain in return for fulfilling the obligations which the shari'ah imposed upon him. But there has been among Muslims, as among the followers of other religions, the mystical type of mind which, because of its peculiar constitution, seeks confirmation of belief through its own individual experience. This experience may lead it towards a more complete and fruitful acceptance of current and established belief, or towards attempts to adjust it to persons and circumstances. The first Muslim mystics were known as 'zuhhad' and 'bakka'un', as men who were so terrified by the sinfulness of the flesh that they practised the severest austerities, or men to whom physical existence itself was such an obstacle to the full realisation of God that they wept continuously for release from earthly bonds. As Islam spread from Arabia into other lands, it was inevitable that its expression should take diverse forms. Muslim mysticism imbibed Gnostic and Neo-Platonic ideas, adapted the system of monasticism

and created an ideal of 'futuwwah'[1] as the basis of community life. But any kind of organisation was a matter of choice and convenience. Muslim mysticism never became confined within any particular framework, and though they were Khanqahs (monasteries) with a routine of devotions and some kind of community living, the Muslim mystic never lost his freedom to live as he liked. By the ninth century, probably because of their ideal of brotherhood and futuwwah, the mystics began to distinguish themselves in appearance also by wearing an overgarment of coarse wool (suf), and thus came to be called sufis[2].

Just as the jurists and religious thinkers evolved a system of dogma and law on the basis of the Qur'an and the sunnah, of qiyas and ijma, the Muslim mystic sought guidance and light from the Qur'an and the sunnah in his exploration of the spiritual world. In the course of his adventures he endeavoured to indicate, through his acts and his sayings, the path he had followed and the conditions or states he had passed through. These were signs for those who had the same thirst for spiritual adventure, and the many individual paths that met and crossed and parted from each other came to be known as 'the Path', or 'Tariqah', to distinguish it in principle from the shari'ah. The tariqah, or sufism, is a generic term. Sufism is difficult to define because it had no dogma, and differed in some measure with each sufi both in principle and in practice. As an illustration, we give below a few definitions of sufi and sufism taken by Nicholson[3] from the *Tadhkirah al-Awliya* and the *Risalah of Qushairi* :

'Tasawwuf (sufism) is this, that actions (or conditions) should be passing over a person which are known to God only and that

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1. The term 'futuwwah' is derived from 'fata', which in pre-Islamic Arabia meant 'a young man', and was associated with 'muruwwah', the ideal of 'manliness'. In the pre-Islamic Near East there were to be found associations for specific purposes with limited membership and a particular way of living. The Muslim mystics combined the idea of cultivating virtue with the system of forming associations whose members undertook to distinguish themselves for purity, generosity, service of neighbour or stranger, etc. See Art. by Franz Taeschner, '*Die islamisthen Futuwwahbande*', in *Z. D. M. G.*, Band 12 (Neue Folge).
2. This is the generally accepted but not the only explanation of the term sufi. The etymology of term is uncertain. According to some, it is derived from 'sophia', wisdom.
3. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1906, p. 330 ff.

he should always be with God in a way that is known to God only' (Abu Sulayman al-Darani, d. 830 A.D.).

'They (the sufis) are a people who have preferred God to everything, so that God has preferred them to everything' (Dhu'l Nun Misri, d. 859).

'The sufi is not defiled by anything and everything is purified by him' (Abu Turab al-Nakhshabi, d. 859).

'He (the sufi) is one the divine light of whose knowledge does not extinguish the light of his piety : he does not utter esoteric doctrine which is contradicted by the exterior light of the Qur'an and the sunnah ; and the miracles (karamah) vouchsafed to him do not cause him to violate the holy ordinances of God' (Sari al-Saqati, d. 870).

'Tasawwuf is wholly discipline' (Abu Hafs al-Haddad, d. 878).

'The sufi is he who has nothing bound to himself and who is not bound to anything' (Abul Husain al-Nuri, d. 907).

'Tasawwuf is freedom and manliness and abandonment of constraint and generosity' (Ibid).

'The sufi is like the earth, on which every foul thing is thrown and from which only fair things come forth' (Junaid al-Baghdadi, d. 909).

'The sufi is he who regards his devotion as a crime for which it behoves him to ask forgiveness of God' (Abu Bakr al-Qattani).

'The sufi is only then a (true) sufi when he regards all mankind as his dependents' (Abu Bakr al-Shibli. d. 945).

'Tasawwuf is patience under commandments and prohibition' (Abu Amr bin al-Najid, d. 976 A.D.).

'The sufi is he whose ecstasy is his real existence and whose attributes are his veil' (Abul Hasan al-Husri, d. 981 A.D.).

'The sufi does not become a sufi because of his tattered clothing or his prayer-carpet ; he does not become a sufi because of his routine or his habits ; the sufi is he who has ceased to exist' (Abul Hasan al-Khurqani, d. 1033 A.D.).

These definitions are no more than random samples. They should be taken only as an indication of the wide range of thought and feeling comprehended in the term tariqah. From some of the definitions quoted above is apparent a tendency towards metaphysical

speculation, which in others we see that sufism had a pronounced social and philanthropic character. Mansur Hallaj (858-922) paid for his metaphysical doctrines with his life, but his 'ana'l-Haq' (I am the Truth) became symbolic of sufi metaphysics. Scholars of renown and admirers of sufism like al-Qushairi (986-1074) and Imam Ghazali (1058-1111) cleared sufism of the imputation of heresy, and by the time of Muhiyuddin ibn 'Arabi (1165-1240) the metaphysical doctrines of the sufis were no longer regarded by the orthodox as subversive enough to require extreme measures for their suppression. The sufis were at first very strict in accepting people as disciples (murids) ; Shaikh Abu Sa'id abu'l Khair (967-1049) was probably the first to accept indiscriminately anyone who desired to become his murid. With Shaikh Muhiyuddin 'Abdul Qadir of Gilan (1077-1166), the founder of the Qadiri Order[4], the enrolment of murids became a means of propagating religiousness, and Shaikh Shihabuddin 'Umar Suhrawardi (1145-1234), the founder of the Suhrawardi Order, followed the same practice[5]. The Chishti Order, whose first eminent representative was Khwaja Abu Ishaq of Chisht, (d.940) was perhaps the oldest. The fourth of these Orders, which are all regarded as orthodox, was first known as the Silsilah-i-Khawajgan and later as the Naqshbandi, after Shaikh Bahauddin Naqshband (1317-1389). But the thirteenth century, sufism had become a movement, and it would not be an exaggeration to say that it brought Islam to the masses and the masses towards Islam. Shaikh Abu Sa'id abu'l Khair was also a poet, and the quartrains he composed mark the beginning of that union with literature which enabled sufism to exercise a profound influence on ideas, social life and culture.

The expansive force of sufism brought it into India. There is some evidence, but very meagre, of Muslim missionary activity in South India, where it seems to have created a general spiritual

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4. The sufi orders or Silsilahs, of which the total number has been reckoned as 161, represent different forms of the tariqah. Most silsilahs traced their origin to 'Ali, some to the prophet, the silsilah-i-Khwajgan to Abu Bakr. Each silsilah had its own concept of community life and its own routine of supererogatory prayers and fasts, litanies, etc. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam.* Art. Tarika.

5. *Siyar al-Awliya,* p. 347.

ferment among the masses[6]. But little is known about the personalities of these missionaries and their ideas and methods of work. The Main stream of sufi influence flowed into India from the north. Shaikh 'Ali Hujwairi, the author of the well-known work of sufism and the sufis, '*Kashf al-Mahjub*' settled at Lahore and died there some time between 1072 and 1079. Shaikh Mu'inuddin Chishti established himself at Ajmer, probably a little after the decisive battle between Shihabuddin Ghori and Prithvi Raj. Shaikh Baha'uddin Zakariya and Shaikh Jalal Tabrizi were asked by their master, Shaikh Shihabuddin 'Umar Suhrawardi, to extend the work of the Suhrawardi Order in India. These and many other outstanding personalities formed the links between the sufis of Iran, Khurasan, Turkestan and India, but the whole sufi tradition was also brought over and continued here without any break.

We have seen that sufism had developed its own character by the twelfth century. Its constituent element the metaphysical doctrines, the ethics and precepts, the routine of supererogatory prayers and fasts, the system of *dhikr*, the institution of Shaikh (master) and disciple (murid), the community life of the Khanqah, together formed a consistent, integrated, almost indivisible whole. But because sufism was essentially spontaneous, and the normative factor was not authority or system but personality, any of the constituent elements could by itself be considered the whole of sufism. Sufis in India, to begin with, avoided metaphysics, and most of them devoted themselves to personal instruction of their murids within the framework of the Shari'ah. But sufism was also the first to respond to the influence of the new environment, and along with the orthodox there were also unorthodox sufis. Later, the tendency towards metaphysics became stronger, and the doctrine of Immanence-wahdah al-wujud, based on the teachings of Muhiyuddin ibn 'Arabi, became so popular among sufis as to be identified with sufism. Orthodox sufism did not venture beyond the limits fixed for it by its original, non-Indian tradition, and orthodox sufis in India did not make any original contribution to the ideas and methods of sufism. But, unlike orthodoxy, sufism did not, even in the beginning, suffer from being an extraneous element. It took root immediately in the life of the people, and was more Indian in its character and expression than orthodoxy could ever become.

6. Tara Chand, ***Influence of Islam on Indian Culture***, p. 40, Indian Press, Allahabad, 1936.

It is not within the scope of this study to discuss metaphysical speculations in detail or to give complete accounts of the various orthodox or unorthodox sufis or orders. We shall concern ourselves only with sufism as an aspect of Indian Muslim life and history, and we shall consider mainly representative concepts, types of sufis and the influence of sufism. For this purpose it seems most appropriate to take the Shaikh, and the relationship between the Shaikh and his murids as the basic feature of sufism, remembering, however, that there were also Shaikhs who did not care to have murids, because they were not interested in creating systems of thought or conduct or establishing any form of institutions and sufis who did not have any Shaikhs and did not undergo any systematic discipline.

The Siyar al-Awlia[7] gives a list of the qualities which a shaikh ought to possess :

(a) He must have attained the spiritual eminence which he desires, so that he is fit to instruct others;

(b) He must have travelled the road along which he has to guide others;

(c) He must know the rules of conduct, so that he may teach the murid ;

(d) He must be generous and sincere ;

(e) He must not desire anything which the murid possesses ;

(f) He must instruct the murid gently and firmly ;

(g) As far as possible, his instruction should be indirect ;

(h) He must command positively what has been commanded by the shari'ah ;

(i) He must abstain from doing what is not permitted and make his murid do the same.

These qualities should be considered the basic, the 'academic' qualifications. It was presumed that the shaikh would be a wali[8].

7. P. 349. The *'Awarif al-Ma'arif* of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi was the basic text-book of sufism. The *Siyar al-Awliya* has been quoted because it is an Indian Muslim work and not because of its authenticity as an exposition of sufism.

8. 'Wali' means 'protector', 'benefactor', 'companion', 'friend'. It has been regarded as a term equivalent to 'arif bi'llah, 'he who possesses mystic knowledge', 'he who knows God'. The 'Walis' have been classed in a hierarchy, with a Qutb or Ghauth at the head, and 'nuqaba', 'awtad', 'abrar', 'abdal' and 'akhyar' below him. The number of walis, known or concealed, was believed to be constant, those who died being replaced by those below them. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Art. *Wali.*

The quality or state of being a wali (wilayah) could be such that neither the wali himself nor other people should be aware of it, or such that others should be aware of it but not he himself, or such that both he and other people should be aware of it[9]. The question whether a particular sufi was also a 'wali' would not, therefore, arise. It was an aim of the sufi movement to raise the status of the shaikh as high as possible, and though the general belief that on the Day of Judgment the Prophet would intercede for his people was not disturbed, the shaikh's intercession for every individual murid was held out as the strongest hope for God's forgiveness and the reward of heaven. This made the shaikh and institution of discipleship all-important in the eyes of the religious-minded who were filled with fears of what would happen after death and on the Day of Judgement, and of worldly men who were stricken with a consciousness of sin.

The shaikh or pir was a spiritual guide to whom the murid entrusted himself completely and without reservation ; it was, therefore, Shaikh Nizamuddin's opinion that a murid should not have more than one pir[10]. 'The murid must obey the pir, but the pir must be one who knows the commandments of the shari'ah, so that he does not command what is forbidden. If he commands something about the legality of which there is a difference of opinion, he should be obeyed'[11]. But Shaikh Nizamuddin is also reported to have said, 'A command of the pir is like a cammand of the Prophet'[12]. There were, indeed, extreme cases in which the pir claimed equality with the Prophet in the eyes of the murid. 'A person came to Shaikh Shibli and said that he wanted to become his murid. Shibli said, 'I shall accept your declaration on the condition that you do whatever I command you to do. The (prospective) murid promised to do so. Shibli asked, 'How do you recite the Kalimah of the Faith ?' The man said, 'I recite it in this way : 'There is no god but Allah; Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah'.

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9. *Siyar al-Awliya*, p. 350.

10. This was not, however, a rule and a person could become the murid of one pir after another until he found the one his soul was looking for. A person could also seek to derive benefit from the spiritual discipline of more than one Silsilah or Order, and therefore have more than one pir.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 333.

12. *Fawa'id al-Fuwad*, p. 231.

Shibli said, 'How do you recite the Kalimah? Recite it in this way: 'There is no god but Allah; Shibli is the prophet of Allah'. The murid recited it in the same way without any hesitation. Thereupon Shibli said, 'Shibli is one of the meanest of the servants of the Prophet. It is he (indeed) who is God's Messenger. I was (only) testing your faith'[13]. There were, however, sufis whose explanations of their actions were even more extravagant than the actions themselves. In the *Siyar al-Awliya*, the anecdote just related is followed by another about Shaikh Abu'l Hasan Khurqani. Some intending travellers came to him and asked him to pray for their safety on the journey. He said, 'Set out (on your journey) in the name of God—Honoured be His Name—but if any danger or risk threatens you on the way, call out my name, Abul's Hasan Khurqani, so that you are freed from the danger and the risk'. Some of the travellers had faith in him, others had not. On the way, they were attacked by robbers. Those who called to Shaikh Abu'l Hasan Khurqani for help escaped with their lives and property; those who asked God for help lost their property, and some their lives as well. One of those who had called on God for help later went to the Shaikh and asked him to explain how this had happened. The Shaikh said that those who appealed to God used the name of someone whom they did not know, and that was as good as appealing to no one at all, while those who called out to him for help used the name of someone who knew God, and therefore in reality they appealed to God. 'But this explanation', Shaikh Nizamuddin, who relates the anecdote, adds, 'will be accepted only by one who has tasted the joy of reality and beheld the secret of the business'[14]. Shaikh Nizamuddin himself was willing to eat a piece of melon because his Shaikh offered it to him, although he was fasting and it is a grave sin to break a fast deliberately before the proper time[15]. Shaikh Badruddin Ishaq, another disciple of Shaikh Fariduddin, was praying when his Shaikh called him, and he interrupted his prayer to answer the call[16]. The hajj is one of the fundamental obligations of Islam for those who are at all in a position to fulfil it. Shaikh Fariduddin once set

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13. *Siyar al-Awliya*, p. 338.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 338.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 338.
16. *Ibid.*. p. 337.

out for the hajj, but he had gone only as far as Uchch when it occurred to him that his Shaikh had never gone for the hajj, and rather than do something which his Shaikh had not done, he abandoned his plan [17]. Even among sufis who insisted on the observance of the shari'ah, the spiritual status and authority of the shaikh had, for the genuine murid, an overriding character, though it was not proclaimed as a doctrine and was not too openly expressed in practice. Even a sufi so careful of his words and acts as Shaikh Nizamuddin declared that the murid who just said his prayers five times a day and repeated some 'wazifah' (litany) for a while, but had absolute faith in his pir and was intensely devoted to him, was better than the murid who spent his time in prayer, fasting, and the repetition of litanies and who performed hajj, but was wanting in faith and devotion to his pir[18]. 'He (Shaikh Nizamuddin) said, 'after the death of Shaikhul Islam Fariduddin, I had a strong desire to go for the Great Hajj. I said to myself, Let me go to Ajodhan for a pilgrimage to the Shaikh. When I had accomplished the pilgrimage to (the tomb of the) Shaikhul Islam, my desire was fulfilled, with something added on. Again I had the same desire, and again I went on pilgrimage to (the tomb of) the Shaikh, and my need was fulfilled'[19]

We now come to the murid. It is quite intelligible that the pir, who undertook to give spiritual guidance and at the same time put himself and all that he said and did under the constant scrutiny of the murid should, in return, demand steadfast and unquestioning loyalty. But murid of whom this was expected were few. The vast majority of the people who came to the sufi desired to exploit his spiritual powers to cure and ailment or to fulfil a wish. We cannot blame them, specially those stricken with some illness, for whom the prayers of the sufi were the only hope of relief or cure.

The sufis could not, in practice, turn their backs on any who came to them for blessings and guidance. Shaikh Fariduddin intensively desired isolation, but could not keep people away. An old farrash[20] told him that he would be evading his duty if he

17. *Ibid.*, p. 407. The question why Shaikh Nizamuddin did not perform the hajj was also raised. P. 143.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 339.

19. *Fawo'id al-Fuwad*, p. 155.

20. A person whose business it was to spread out carpets and also dust them.

avoided people. 'Shaikh Farid', he said, 'you are getting sick of people. Learn to show gratitude to God in a better way'[21]. Shaikh Nizammuddin put no restrictions on visitors, and it is reported that when once it happened that a beggar was turned away while he was taking his mid-day rest, Shaikh Fariduddin appeared to him in a dream and admonished him, 'If there is nothing in the house, the visitors should be treated as courteously as possible. Where is it stated that a man so weary and worn (as the beggar) should be turned away?'[22]. Shaikh Nasiruddin desired to devote himself to God in complete seclusion from the world, but was commanded by his master, Shaikh Nizammuddin, to stay in Delhi. 'You must remain among the people and beat the hardships they inflict on you, and repay them with generosity and self-sacrifice'[23].

We shall discuss later the social service which the sufis performed as a matter of principle or unintentionally. They were able to gauge, as a rule, the motives of the people who came to them not only for some favour or assistance but also to come their murids. According to Shaikh Nizammuddin, murids were of two kinds, the formal and the real. The formal murid was he whom the pir exhorted to consider as unseen whatever he had seen and as unheard whatever he had heard and follow (the practice of) the ahl-i-sunnah w'al-Jama'ah[24]. Typical of the guidance given to this type of murid is Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh Delhi's injunction to a Sayyid, who was superintendent of the jewellers' market and had become his murid, to follow the shari'ah to do what is commanded and abstain from what is forbidden, not to speak a falsehood and never to make a profit by exploiting the desires or the needs of the customers[25]. A degree more earnest, because he had learnt the Qur'an by heart, was another Sayyid, who also became a murid of Shaikh Nasiruddin. The Shaikh enjoined him to say his prayers with the congregation (ba jama'ah), specially the Friday prayers, to consider fasting on the bright days—ayyom-i-bid the 13th, 14th and 15th of the lunar month—obligatory, to do what is commanded

21. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 321.
25. *Khair al-Majalis*, p. 94-5.

and abstain from what is forbidden. 'If one is reciting the Qur'an all the time', the Shaikh added, 'whether at home or on the way, and is engaged in dhikr, his occupation is not a hindrance, he is a sufi[26]. It was particularly for the benefit of this type of murid that the sufis insisted that adherence to the shari'ah was a principle of the tariqah. Shaikh Nizammuddin said that he did not restrict the number of his murids, because even the least serious among them became conscious of religious and spiritual values and abstained from positively sinful living[27]. This consciousness of values was maintained through expressions of opinion and appropriate anecdotes. 'It has been held that missing a prayer is equal (in seriousness) to death'[28]. Shaikh Nasiruddin relates the story of a person who lost his gift of eloquence because he missed saying his prayer with the congregation just once[29]. The importance of maintaining an established routine of prayers of litanies was also emphasised. Shaikh Nizammuddin refers to the example of Maulana Azizuddin Zahid, who fell from his horse and broke his arm on a day when he missed reading the surah Yasin, which he had made into a daily practice[30]. But it was a distinctive feature of sufi methods that they did not attempt to terrify people into righteous living. Shaikh Nasiruddin one day began talking of the heat of the hell-fire. Then he went on to relate the story of Maulana Shihabuddin Ushi, who delivered sermons for years under the minar of the Jame' Masjid of Delhi. He was always talking of punishments and tortures and never spoke of mercy. People once got together and asked him why he never spoke of mercy, but only of punishment. 'Let us hear something about (God's) mercy also'. The Maulana replied, 'I have talked of punishment for years and you have not turned towards God. What would have happened if I had talked of mercy ?'[31] The difference between the attitude of the sufis and the orthodox could not have been more delicately conveyed. But the sufis also gave a more drastic reply to men of the type of Maulana Shihabuddin Ushi by suggesting

26. *Ibid.*, p. 242.
27. *Siyar al-Awliya*, p. 346-7.
28. *Fawa'd al-Fuwad*, p. 224,
29. *Khair al-Majalis*, p. 32-3.
30. *Siyar al-Awliya*, p. 441.
31. *Rhair al-Majalis*, p. 180.

that the favour of the repentant sinner carried him further towards God than the plodding piety of a life-time[32].

Between the formal and the real murid of Shaikh Nizamuddin we must postulate murids of an intermediate type. These were persons who possessed a moral and spiritual sensitivity which placed them far above the formal murid, but who could not, for various reasons, become real murids in the sense of attaching themselves completely to a pir and giving up the world. To such persons the sufis offered ideas and practical suggestions that would refine and enrich their life. It is not necessary, they said, to become a sufi in order to attain spiritual fulfilment. 'Giving up the world does not mean that a person should divest himself of all clothing except a loin-cloth, and sit down at some place ; giving up the world means that a man should wear clothes and eat food, but should be satisfied with what he gets and not have an inclination to amass it'[33]. Shaikh Nasiruddin said, 'Earning one's livelihood does not mean that one does not put one's trust in God. If a person with a family earns something and his heart is turned towards God, not set on his earnings, he is one who trusts in God ; but if he earns and his heart is in his earnings, (we would say) this relationship is based on foolishness and ignorance'[34]. Shaikh Nizamuddin mentions a butcher in Delhi who was recognised as one of the saints[35]. Shaikh Nasiruddin tells of one 'Abdullah, a door-keeper of the palace who, in spite of being a Government servant, was found to be a saint of eminence. It was sincerity of purpose that made all the difference. 'In all matters sincerity of motive is essential...If one says prayers with the intention of being seen by people and called pious, his prayers, according to some, will be irregular, and according to others he will have become a kafir, because in his worship he has associated others with God'[36].

Murids of this kind were assured that prayer, fasting and the repetition of litanies was only one aspect of the sufi conception of the spiritual life. Shaikh Ajall Sarzi is reported to have asked a person who became his murid and expected to be told something

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32. *Fawa'id al-Fuwad*, p. 211.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
34. *Khair al-Majalis*, p. 56.
35. *Fawa'id al-Fuwad*, p. 242.
36. *Khair al-Majalis*, p. 157.

for his guidance, not to tolerate for others what he would not tolerate for himself, and to desire for others what he desired for himself. The murid went away. After some time he returned and reminded the Shaikh that he had become his murid and waited to be told what litanies to recite, but had not been told anything. The Shaikh in his turn reminded the murid that he had been given a lesson to learn and had not learnt it. He could not be taught the next lesson till he had learnt the first[37]. Another Shaikh asked a murid not to do two things, one, claim to be God, and two, claim to be a prophet. The murid was at his wit's end, not understanding at all what the Shaikh meant. He requested the Shaikh to explain. The Shaikh said, 'Claiming to be God means that you demand that everything should happen according to your wish, and claiming to be a prophet means that you expect everyone to desire your interest and attention and look upon you as his friend'[38]. Among Shaikh Fariduddin's precepts, meant for the educated and morally sensitive murids are the following : 'Invent excuses for doing good', 'Acquire vision through your faults' and 'Do not consider anything a substitute for faith'. But perhaps the most typical expression was given to the sufi values by Shaikh Nizamuddin.

'There is a form of obedience of the law (ta' at) which is intransitive and a form that is transitive. The intransitive form is that the benefit of which remains limited to the one person who performs the acts of obedience, which are prayer, fasting, hajj and repetition of litanies. The transititve form, on the other hand, consists in providing benefit or solace to another. The merits of this are beyond limit and conjecture. Acts of intransitive obedience have to be performed with sincerity in order to be acceptable (to God), but acts of transitive obedience are acceptable, of whatever kind they may be...people asked Shaikh Abu Sa'id abu'l Khair how many paths there were to God. He replied, 'There are as many paths to God as there are particles in the universe, but no path is shorter than that of bringing solace to hearts. Whatever I have attained, I have attained on this path'[39].

We come now to the murid whom Shaikh Nizamuddin called real, who himself desired dedication to the spiritual life. The pir

37. *Siyar al-Awliya*, p. 325.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 325.
39. *Ibid.*, 411.

considered him, generally at first sight and intuitively, as worthy of his trust and personal attention, as one whose personality he could adorn with vitues as the mashshatah[40] decks out the bride. To him the pir said, "Remain in my company or let me remain in your company" for "what the 'ulemas exhort people to do with their tongues, the sufis exhort them to do with their actions"[41]. The whole of sufism is comprehended within the relationship of the master and this type of disciple, based on their walking together in the flesh and in the spirit towards the goal.

The relationship was established formally through the bai'ah and the murid had his head shaved in earnest of his resolve to dedicate himself to the spiritual life. He took no vows. He was responsible to his pir and to his conscience, but this responsibility was not given any outward form. There was no systematic course of instruction. The murid followed a routine of gradually increasing supererogatory prayers, litanies and fasts. He also practised contemplation (muraqibah). The sufis of the orthodox orders were generally learned men, and sometimes, at the murid's request, the pir would take him through a particular book. But this was far from being a general rule[42]. If the murid felt that his devotions were not producing in him the exaltation he desired, he would consult the pir, at an appropriate time, and if he had shown himself worthy, the pir would make him a Khalifah, and give him a Khilafatnamah authorising him to make murids of his own. Shaikh Nizamuddin imposed on each of his Khalifahs the way of life for which he appeared most suitable. He told one, 'keep your mouth and your door shut' another, 'try and make as many murids as possible,' and a third, 'you must live among the people, bear all the hardship they inflict on you and deal courteously and generously with them'[43]. Only one among the Khalifahs of a pir would receive the

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40. *Ibid.*, p. 187. The mashshatah was a woman whose profession it was to adorn women, in particular, brides.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 321.

42. Some murids of Shaikh Nizamuddin were learned men, according to the standards of the day. Shaikh Husamuddin Multani knew both volumes of *Hidayah*, *Qut al-Qulub* and *Ahya al-ul'Ulum* by heart ; Shaikh Fakhruddin Zarradi was a master of the Law. There were others, equally eminent. *Ibid.*, p. 238 and p. 256 ff.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

khirqah and other insignia-prayer carpet, staff etc., as the spiritual successor.

That a murid had chosen to lead the spiritual life was symbolised by his 'taubah'. 'When a salik[44] sets his foot on the path', said Shaikh Nizamuddin, 'he pronounces the taubah. This has two forms, taubah of the common people and taubah of the elect. Taubah of the common people consists in repentance from sin ; taubah of the elect is turning (away) from everything except God. The salik should be steadfast in his taubah. He can reach the end of the way only if he possesses steadfastness, and is free from the desire for prestige and Karamah. His steadfastness must be like that of the Prophet, and he must not commit breach of any practice or rule'[45]. It is further stated that 'the fulfilment of the taubah is attained in three ways, one being related to the present, one to the past and one to the future. Taubah of the present consists in repentance, that is, in a feeling of shame for whatever (wrong) one has done ; taubah of the past consists in being reconciled with one's enemies. The third kind, which is related to the future, consists in forming the resolution never again to come near sinfulness'[46]. It is evident that turning away from everything except God was not just a step on the path it was an endeavour to which there could be no conceivable end. The 'sirr' or 'mystery' of the taubah embraced all other mysteries.

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44. Literally, 'traveller'.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 358. There were particular litanies which Shaikh Nizamuddin recommended for strengthening the resolve made in the taubah. These litanies were : 'O Allah, grant me the grace to pronounce a taubah that will establish love for Thee in my heart, O Thou Lover of those who repent', and 'O Allah, grant me out of Thy mercy place where I shall have friendship, sincerity and steadfastness, O Thou most Merciful'. They were to be recited three times in prostration (sijdah) after the bain al-'isha' ain prayers. This is followed immediately by a litany of a completely different kind : And he (Shaikh Nizamuddin) said, Shaikh Abu Sa'id abu'l Khair told a murid that if he wished to be near to God he should recite these verses till he had attained his end :

    I cannot rest except in thought of Thee,
    Thy favours to me are beyond all reckoning ;
    Even for one favour 'tis poor recompense,
    If every hair upon my body turned
    Into a tongue, and sang Thy praise.

    Ibid., p. 433.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 330.

A murid who, because of his taubah, detached himself from worldly pursuits, had to depend on God for his physical survival. He had to practise 'tawakkul'. The orthodox and correct Islamic concept of tawakkul is to do one's best to earn one's livelihood, to utilise all available means for sustaining life and to depend on God for success in one's efforts. The sufi doctrine of tawakkul is absolute and unconditional dependence on God for sustenance[47]. The accounts of three outstanding sufis of the early period, Shaikh Fariduddin, Shaikh Nizamuddin and Shaikh Nasiruddin show that fasting occupied a very important place in their self-discipline. The purpose of this fasting was not to subdue the flesh. Self-mortification being forbidden in Islam, the sufis did not practise austerities for the subjugattion of what, in religious slang, is called the lower self. Sex was not a problem at all, because the sufis could marry ; celibacy was the exception, not the rule. The devil was believed to exist, but it is remarkable how very seldom he is mentioned in the three most important books of the early period, the *Fawa'id ul-Fuwad*, the *Siyar al-Awliya* and the *Khair al-Majalis*. It would not be wrong to assume, therefore, that the fasting of the sufis of this period did not have the basically negative object of crushing the appetites of the body. It was not due to lack of means [48]. It seems to have had the positive object of intensifying enthusiasm, of liberating, not the spirit from the flesh, but the human personality from what the sufis regarded as the petty aims of worldly life. Fasting for the cultivation of tawakkul not only gave strength to the sufi but created an intense and pure feeling of love for God. Shaikh Nizamuddin recollected all his life the joy he felt when, in his youth, his mother told nim there was nothing to eat and they were 'the guests of God'[49]. Later, when Shaikh Fariduddin had made him his khalifah and successor and murids had begun to collect around him, he said on one occasion : 'There is still much good in what we are doing, for we are kept hungry'[50]. But the desire for spiritual joy through

47. There were, however, sufis who supported themselves by cultivating small pieces of land, or carrying on some business. But they reduced their wants to an absolute minimum and did not save for emergencies.

48. Shaikh Nasiruddin came of a well-to-do family.

49. *Ibid.*, 114.

50, *Ibid.*, p. 114.

fasting could transform itself into asceticism and had occasionally to be checked. Shaikh Fariduddin once asked his pir, Shaikh Qutubuddin, for permission to practise severer austerities. The pir did not approve. 'There is no need to do this', he said, 'one becomes notorious because of such things'[51]. Shaikh Nizamuddin was told that his successor-elect, Shaikh Nasiruddin, was fasting too much and eating too little. The Shaikh sent for him, asked for a breadcake and a large amount of halwa to be placed before him and ordered him to eat it[52]. The fasting—or starvation, as it was also called,—whether deliberate or due to actual lack of food, had to be performed in such a way that it was not noticed, otherwise it lost its value and exposed the person fasting to the accusation of trying to attract attention.

Those who dedicated themselves to the spiritual life inevitably had to face a great deal of criticism from relatives and friends. This criticism put their resolution to a severe test, because they could not show that they had gained anything in the spiritual world as compensation for what they had lost or deprived themselves of in the physical. There is an example of this in the *Siyar al-Awliya* which is noteworthy because it is also an example of sufi refinement. Shaikh Nasiruddin, who had recently become the murid of Shaikh Nizamuddin, was once standing under a tree in the Khanqah. The Shaikh saw him and sent for him. 'Tell me what is in your heart, and what is your aim in taking to this life. What is your father's occupation ?' Shaikh Nasiruddin replied that he had no other aim than praying for the long life of his master and performing humble acts of service of the dervishes. As regards his father, he was a wool merchant. Shaikh Nizamuddin talked to him affectionately and related an incident of his own life. 'When I had become a servant of Shaikh Fariduddin at Ajodhan, a scholar who had been a friend and a fellow-student with whom I discussed all sorts of questions, came there and saw me in my tattered clothes. He asked me, 'Maulana Nizamuddin, what has happened to bring you to this condition ? If you had taken to teaching in the town, you would have become a mujtahid[53] of your time, and been very well off'. I

51. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

52. Halwa is a well-known sweetmeat prepared in different ways. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

53. A scholar entitled to give his own opinion in matters of law and correct practice.

listened to these remarks of my friend and made some excuses and apologies. Then I went to my Shaikh. He said, 'Nizam, if any of your friends comes and asks you what misfortune has befallen you that you have given up teaching, which is a secure means of livelihood and of prosperity, and taken to this life, what answer will you give ?' I replied, 'I shall say what the master of the world desires me to say'. He said, 'You reply :

> We cannot walk together, you and I,
> You go your way, let me life's lesson learn.
> May God grant you the good that you desire,
> And me the lowliness for which I yearn'[54].

'Thereafter the Shaikh said, 'Go to the kitchen and ask for a tray filled with choice dishes to be brought'. When this tray had been brought, the Shaikh said. 'Nizam, carry this tray on your head to the place where your friend is putting up'. In accordance with the command of the Shaikh, I put the tray on my head and proceeded to the sarai where that friend was living. When his eye fell on me, he ran towards me crying, took that tray off my head and began to ask me what the matter was. I said, 'The fact of my meeting and talking to you was revealed to the Shaikh by means of his inner light. He asked me about it, and when I had told him everything, he was pleased to send this to you and to answer your question with a verse'. The scholar said, 'God be praised that you have such a great Shaikh and that he has so disciplined your mind. Now take me to him so that I may acquire the merit of kissing his feets. When he had finished the meal, the scholar asked his servant to carry the tray on his head and come along with us. But I said, 'No, I shall take this tray just as I have brought it', and the scholar and I walked together to the presence of the Shaikh'[55].

After criticism, the murid had to overcome temptation. If he was well regarded by the pir, he began to attract the attention of all kinds of people. If they were well-to-do, they wanted to acquire merit by inviting a Shaikh and his murids, or the prominent murids,

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54. Shaikh Fariduddin also advised the murid : 'Do not leave your ardent desires to the mercy of the cold conversation of the people'. *Siyar al-Awliya*, p. 75. Shaikh Nizamuddin later enunciated the principle, 'In Love there is no consultation'. *Fawa'id al-Fuwad*, p. 244.

55. *Siyar al-Awliya*, p. 239-240.

to meals and assemblies at their homes and to send gifts. Shaikh Nasiruddin once complained to Shaikh Nizamuddin that when he came from Oudh to Delhi, he hardly ever got the chance to meet him because of the number of invitations that were pressed upon him[56]. Normally, this would be the stage when the popularity and influence of the murid would be judged on the basis of his acceptance by the public, and the temptation to win social esteem and honour would have been far greater than any trick Satan could devise to make him do forbidden things. The murid who became a khalifah and a successor-apparent was in the greatest danger. It was believed that he would inherit all the spiritual powers of his particular pir and of all the pirs of his order or silsilah. People would send him gifts, pay him visits and do him honour or talk against him with all kinds of motives. This was the stage at which the sufi's spiritual character was formed ; when he selected, according to his disposition, the road along which he was to travel through life, and the moral and material equipment for his journey.

Sufis of the orthodox orders were all agreed that their primary and real function was to offer spiritual guidance. Some took a comprehensive view of this function, and concerned themselves with the values both of this world and the next ; some took a less comprehensive view. From indications given in the recorded sayings of Shaikh Nizamuddin and Shaikh Nasiruddin, it appears that they did not disguise their esteem for means of livelihood where a man subsisted on his own labour, or their lack of esteem for service under the government[57]. It is related in the *Fawa'id al-Fuwad* that a young man who had just completed his studies came to see Shaikh Nizamuddin. The Shaikh asked him what he proposed to do, and he replied that he was trying to get some post under the government. The Shaikh said nothing. When the young man had taken leave, he said, 'A verse is something fine, but when people compose odes of praise and take them to all sorts of people, it becomes quite disgusting. Similarly, knowledge in itself is something very noble, but when it is made a profession, and takes one from door to door, it loses all dignity'[58]. He was deeply annoyed

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56. *Khair al-Majalis*, p 186-187.
57. This was called 'Shughl'. Honest means of livelihood was termed 'Kasb'.
58. P. 182.

when one of his learned murids, Qadi Muhiyudin Kashani, was offered his hereditary post of Qadi of Oudh, and did not conceal his suspicion that the Qadi must have hankered after it. Shaikh Nasiruddin, in his conversations, propagated the same attitude towards means of livelihood. When an elderly soldier looking for service came to him for blessings, the Shaikh replied in a noncommital way that at the time people were being employed, and there was no harm in obtaining service, if one kept an eye on oneself[59]. On the other hand, he gave encouraging assurance to a farmer and a merchant that the morsel they earned was a good morsel, which meant that they were engaged in an honourable profession[60]. We do not have many accounts of highly-placed people meeting sufis. But the author of the *Khair al-Majalis* relates how an amir came to visit Shaikh Nasiruddin in all his pride, going into the Khanqah without saluting the author and his friends, who were sitting outside the gate, and coming out, humble and courteous, after his interview[61].

But the sufis, however painful the social injustices of the day may have been to them, could not take sides. Their function was the 'discovery' (daryaft), the 'stringing together' (talif) of hearts, by sharing the sorrows of those who came to them for solace. 'All my life my condition has been as yours is at the moment, only I have not told any one about it', Shaikh Fariduddin said to a man who had come to him because his brother's condition was critical and he was feeling deeply distressed[62]. The Shaikh was of an ascetic and retiring disposition, but also very sensitive to the needs and wishes of the people. He left Delhi for Hansi because one Sarhanga, a native of Hansi, where he had lived before, complained that it was very difficult to meet him at Delhi[63]. Ultimately, Shaikh Fariduddin's prestige rose so high that his dargah at Ajodhan became a sanctuary where people took refuge from injustice[64]. Shaikh Nizamuddin made the consolation of the people his life-long mission. 'In truth', he said, 'they gave me a book in which

59. *Khair al-Majalis*, p. 206.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 156 and p. 182.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 217-18.
62. *Siyar-al-Awliya*, p. 86.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

was written, 'As far as you can, bring comfort to hearts, for the heart of a believer is the seat (mahal) of the mysteries of Providence (asrar-i-rububiyah)'[65]. There was no limit to the people who came to him, no limit to his graciousness and his endeavour to heal the wounds inflicted by the political and economic system. 'No one in the world', he is reported to have said, 'has to bear as much sorrow as I have to, because so many people come to me and relate their tales of grief and suffering. These are like a burden on my mind, and I feel hurt and irritated. It must be a strange heart, indeed, that is not affected by the sorrows of a brother Muslim'[66] He found it difficult to take any food, though he was constantly fasting. 'So many miserable and poor men sit in the corners of mosques and shops, hungry and starving ; how can I get this food down my throat'?[67]. His successor, Shaikh Nasiruddin scrupulously followed his example. 'The person who comes to me', he is reported to have said, 'is either a man of the world or a man who has given up the world. If he is a man of the world, he is absorbed in worldly things. When he comes, I look at him and ask him about his affairs. He tells me something, but I discover what he has in his heart, because it is reflected in my own. For this reason I feel pained and restless'. 'Some people', he went on to say, 'are so unrestrained and crude that they begin blaming and quarrelling unless what they want is done at once. They do not know that a dervish has to be patient...Khwaja 'Ata, the grandson of Shaikh Najibuddin Mutawakkil, was a person of unruly disposition. Once he came to Shaikh Nizamuddin, took out his pen and ink-pot, and placing it before the Shaikh, asked him to write to a certain nobleman to give him something. The Shaikh excused himself, saying that this nobleman never visited him ; how was he to make such a request to a complete stranger ? But he asked Khwaja 'Ata to tell him what he expected, and he would provide it. Khwaja 'Ata replied, saying that the Shaikh could give him as much as he thought fit, but that he must also write the letter of recommendation. The Shaikh said, 'Peace be on you, it is not the way

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65. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

66. *Khair al-Majalis*. p. 105.

67. *Siyar al-Awliya*, p. 128.

of dervishes to write letters, specially to people whom they have not seen and who have not seen them or come to them'. At this tears came into the eyes of Shaikh Nasiruddin. He said, 'That good man began to abuse the Shaikh, saying, 'You are the murid of my grandfather, you are my slave, and I am the grandson of your master. I ask you to write a letter, and you do not write'. Thereupon he threw the ink-pot on the ground and got up to go, but the Shaikh stretched out his hand and caught the lapel of his cloak, saying, 'Do not go away displeased'[68]. Another example, showing the predicament in which the sufi could find himself, is the case of the 'danishmand' who was anxious to become a murid of Shaikh Nizamuddin. There was something about him which made the Shaikh suspicious, and in spite of the danishmand's entreaty, he was not satisfied. 'Tell me truthfully', he said, 'with what motive you have come'. The man ultimately confessed that he owned land at Nagor, and the officer to whom the village had been assigned was creating difficulties. 'Supposing that I write a letter and give it to you, will you give up the idea of becoming my murid?' The man said he would, and was given the letter, which was all he wanted[69].

Poverty, rejection of any political or social support, constant contact with the needs and the sorrows as well as the weaknesses and vices of the people were the anvil on which the sufi's personality was hammered out. From whatever aspect he is viewed, he stands out as an example. If dedication to prayer and fasting is regarded as the highest expression of the spiritual life, the sufi came nearest to it. If constant concern for those in need of solace and assistances is looked upon as a still higher value, he endeavoured to realise it with a single-mindedness not disturbed by personal or even ideological considerations. The traditional approach to the sufis and their function has already been indicated. They were believed to have acquired supernatural power because of their supernatural gifts. This is a simplification which obscures the reality, or at least the significant reality, quite as much as a judgement based on the consideration whether their acts or sayings were or were not in conformity with the shari'ah. One of their very important

68. *Khair-al-Majalis*, p. 106.

69. *Siyar al-Awliya*, p. 148.

functions, to which we shall be drawing attention later on also, was a direct or implicit revaluation of values. Their supererogatory prayers and fasts undermined the idea, with which those who aimed at following the law might have been content, that the ordained observances could provide all the spiritual sustenance that was needed. On the other hand, they created a healthy doubt as to whether all that could be done by way of prayer and fasting was really enough. 'Fasting is half the way, and other things such as prayer and hajj are but half the way', Shaikh Fariduddin told his favourite disciple[70]. He, in turn, told his murids, 'Anyone can say prayers, repeat litanies and keep fasts a large number of times, and read the Qur'an. Even an old woman can fast, pray at night and read a few chapters of the Qur'an, The vocation of the men of God is different. That comprehends three things. First, anxiety as to what they shall eat and what they shall wear does not enter their heart. A dervish into whose heart concern for what he shall eat and what he shall wear has entered is no good at all. Secondly, in private and in public they remain absorbed in God : that is the essence of all spiritual striving. Thirdly, they never utter anything with the idea of pleasing people and attracting them towards themselves'[71]. This is the essence of sufism. It is also a very significant definition of the morally free person, who imposes on himself duties and aspirations which raise him above all theological limitations. Shaikh Mu'inuddin said, 'Whoever wishes to be secure against the tribulations of that Day should perform the act of obedience (ta'at) than which no act is better in the eyes of God'. People asked, 'What act of obedience is this ?' He replied, 'To answer the call of those in distress, to fulfil the needs of the helpless, to feed the hungry'. He also said, 'If anyone has these three qualities, you may know that God holds him to be his friend : First, a generosity like the generosity of the river, secondly, a benevolence like the benevolence of the sun, and thirdly, a hospitality like the hospitality of the earth'... He also, said, 'The man whose sorrows and endeavours are derived from those of the people is the one who really puts his trust in

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70. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 450.

God'[72]. It should be noted that neither the shari'ah nor the tariqah is mentioned in this context.

All the sufis did not feel that they needed to settle down at a particular place in order to perform their functions, or agree about the form they should give to their public life if they did settle down. But the advantages of working over a long period in a particular community were obvious. The 'Khanqah' or 'dargah' thus became an institution among those sufis who belonged to an order. As an institution, it lasted longer than the lives of its founder and individual inmates, and was liable to develop characteristics that did not harmonise with the principles and ideals for the service of which it was founded. It must, therefore, be judged by itself.

An institution inevitably becomes a vested interest. The Suhrawardis of Multan, as we have seen, were quite frank about this. They even reserved the right of admission to their Khanqah, and on one occasion Shaikh Baha'uddin Zakariya closed the gates against a group of Jawaliqs, who tried to force an entry[73]. The inmates of their Khanqah no doubt followed a crowded routine of prayers and fasts, but they could be suspected also of living in ease and comfort, to the detriment of their souls. The Chishti Khanqahs developed gradually. Shaikh Fariduddin, apart from practising very severe austerities, also made experiments in community living. During phases of utter destitution at Ajodhan; he and his murids divided the work among themselves, some providing water, some collecting dry wood and wild fruits, some cooking. Ultimately, his Khanqah acquired a permanent character. It must have expended in course of time. We know that Shaikh Fariduddin was destitute to the end of his days, but we also know that gifts were received and distributed. It could be said generally of every Khanqah that even in the bad days a person who waited long enough was sure to get some sort of a meal and with luck, a share of money or goods distributed as charity that would tide him over the next crisis. It was the Shaikh and those dedicated to the spiritual life who starved; inmates of the Khanqah got what they wanted, sometimes less than was sufficient, sometimes in abundance. The small group that collected round Shaikh Nizamuddin at Delhi began with courses in

72. *Ibid.*, p., 46.

73. *Fawa'id al-Fuwad*, p. 48. The Jawaliqs were a sect of the Qalandars, generally disliked for their propensity to use coarse language and to behave insolently.

starvation, but gradually the physical conditions improved. The Shaikh continued his practice of 'concealed' starvation to the end of his days; his chief murid did the same. But food and charitable gifts became an attraction of his Khanqah, as of every other. We may sum up by saying that in every Khanqah, ideals of austerity fought against satisfaction of physical needs. The generals and commanders were victorious in their personal combats; they could not ensure the victory of their armies. In other words, a feature of Khanqah life which is by no means admirable is the opportunity it provided to large numbers of people to live on the generosity of well-to-do admirers of the Shaikh, and thus introduce into the Khanqah the odour of parasitism. We can explain and excuse this by pointing to the economic and social conditions, and prove that the provision of physical relief was needed even for those whose spiritual urge was not strong enough to draw them towards the religious life. In fact, it can hardly be imagined that the influence of a Shaikh would have extended beyond a small, select group if the institution of the Khanqah had not been created. The degeneration which came in course of time was not due to the character of the Khanqah as an institution but to the head not being spiritually dynamic enough.

The material condition of the Khanqah depended on the influence of the Shaikh and on his willingness to accept gifts and endowments of land. Its working had two aspects, the routine of the Shaikh and the routine of the inmates of the Khanqah. Food or some form of charity would not, as far as possible, be refused to anyone, but a person who came with the motive of becoming a murid and was, at first sight, acceptable to the Shaikh or was recommended to him by one of his leading murids would be allowed to put up at the Jama'atkhana along with other similarly chosen murids. All the inmates came together at the times of prayer; otherwise each one followed his own routine of study, litanies and contemplation. Each murid hoped that he would find favour in the eyes of the Shaikh and become an object of his personal attention. Brotherly feeling among the murids must, therefore, have been tinged at least occasionally with rivalry and together they must have constituted a community which looked for guidance to the Shaikh and to which the Shaikh looked for the signs of his own success as a spiritual instructor. If none or too few among the murids came up to his expectations, he would regard himself as a failure; if he found response among his murids, he would feel

satisfied. But collectively his murids were a body distinct from himself, and he had his own routine with which the murids were not concerned.

An interesting sidelight on the organisation of the Khanqah is provided by the position and functions of Iqbal, the personal attendant of Shaikh Nizamuddin. He served all the meals which the Shaikh had by himself, and remonstrated with him when he ate too little. He reported to the Shaikh matters which no one else would have ventured or possessed the opportunity to bring to his notice[74]. He collected and stocked the presents and gifts received, and gave the presents and gifts which the Shaikh desired to make. Other Khanqahs must also have had such managers, and for many purposes they must have served as the link between the Shaikh and the community of the murids.

The routine of the Shaikh was the central feature of the life of the Khanqah. It was his endeavour to remain constantly absorbed in God, but he had to perform the duty of meeting and talking to people as well. His prestige was estimated by the generality of the people according to the number and social standing of his visitors, and it was the ideal of the Shaikh himself as well as those who came to him that he should be always available. Shaikh Nizamuddin and Shaikh Nasiruddin lived up to this ideal as much as was physically possible, and they were quite exasperated by the individual demands made on them. Not many of the other sufis were willing to face such distraction. They appeared in public only at fixed times mostly from sunrise to midday, and attempted to combine this public appearance with attention to the needs of individuals.

It is possible that reverence and excessive faith in the supernatural powers of the sufis heightened the colours, but the picture one forms of the public appearance of a shaikh is very much like

74. Such as a murid, Shaikh Shihabuddin's earnest desire to lead the prayers. *Siyar al-Awliya*, p. 290.

Further light on Iqbal is thrown by the *Jawame' al-Kalim*, where it is related that Iqbal put in irons a man who owed the Khanqah 700 tankas. When Shaikh Nizamuddin discovered this, he was very angry, and had the man released at once. It appears also that Iqbal sometimes took for himself money and goods offered to the Shaikh and pretended it was lost or stolen. If he found him out, Shikh Nizamuddin would say, 'I thought of distributing the money among a few persons ; now I find God has given it to one man only. Why do you run about so much looking for it' ? p. 59.

that of a royal court. There are no trappings, no exhibition of worldly power and wealth, but the assembly is dominated by the same feeling of awe, the same compulsion to follow the set pattern of behaviour. The Shaikh comes and takes his seat. He looks around. There are some at whom, he smiles; they feel honoured. Some he passes over. If they are newcomers, they are sad that they have failed to attract his notice; if they are already known to the Shaikh, they are distressed, and wonder what they could have done to be considered unworthy of recognition in public. Some fortunate ones are invited by the Shaikh to come and sit near him; some are so overpowered by their need that they press forward towards the Shaikh. Most come only to listen to what he says and desire spiritual benefit; some are bold enough to ask questions and start a conversation. His spiritual power being as obvious to his murids as the physical power of the earthly ruler, the Shaikh gradually comes to be called 'shah', king, and apart from hoping to get from his bounty what courtiers expected of kings, people looked to him for a personal interest which no one else could take in them, and for a benevolence and a graciousness to which kings could not attain.

Relevance of Gandhiji's Teachings to the Modern time

U.N. DHEBAR

TO speak of relevance of Gandhiji's teachings to the modern times requires an understanding both of the message of Gandhiji as well as the trend of modern thinking and the direction in which the modern world is moving.

I

Traditionalism, Pedagogy, Religion and Relevance of Gandhiji's Message

Gandhiji was conscious of the limitations of human personality to peer through the veil of future. While he did believe that human being can always attain a state from where it can visualise the future, he looked with abhorence at the thought that this vision can be communicated in terms of an all time truth with a streamlined programme for perpetuity. Creeds and religions think in terms of their message being true for all times. The processes—both revolutionary and evolutionary—are constantly at work and they influence the individuals and the society alike on a short and long term basis. The backgrounds in which, therefore, creeds or religions grow, change continuously. Sometimes they change so completely that they are considered to be non-existent.

Gandhiji thought of truth as a slowly revealing experience as the individual progressed in the direction of self-purification. He himself cautioned the people against relying upon what he had previously said if it was in conflict with his later advice. The process of self-purification was a continuous process and so was the process of revelation of Truth. He was a growing personality least capable of clinging to any dogma. He was concerned with Truth in terms

of content and not of form. If he had to choose between form and content in relation to Truth, there was no doubt where his choice would lie. He would not bother about formal Truth or consistancy whatever may be the public reactions.

Had it not been so, he would not have digressed from the written word in the Hindu scriptures about the position of untouchables, the position of woman as well as the orthodox concept of caste from the point of view of high and low. While reposing full trust in the teachings of Bhagvad—Gītā, he read in it the message of human quality and human love to the extent that he considered Bhagvad—Gītā as the biggest rational exponont of the philosophy of non-violence. Form and consistency did not worry Gandhiji at all. He was concerned with the continuous process of self-purification with a set direction before himself and service of the world community through the medium of non-violence and love. Any effort, therefore, to try to establish the relevance of Gandhiji to those who are anxious to lay down a way of life in perpetuity for human society or individuals on the basis of religious scriptures or on the basis of the custom of the community or of social or political philosophies would not be a worthwhile exercise. I am saying this because in the Centenary Year there is need to be clear that Gandhiji was not all things to all men. The Centenary Celebrations should rather concern themselves with the central theme of his life which was to attain the highest truth through self-purification and service in the cause of human evolution.

II

Politics and Relevance of Gandhiji

World has operated so far and therefore the mind is conditioned to it to such an extent that whether it is in relation to business or personal conduct, it is acting upon the ends justifying means. Gandhiji was not a diplomat. It is true that Gandhiji would not allow diplomats to feel him and, therefore, men like Gunther have been led to believe that there was something like tammanyhall in Gandhiji. But in actual fact, it was on the contrary. Neither immediate advantage nor potential benefit could tempt him to compromise with pure means. It would be futile to evaluate his contribution with the yard-stick of immediate gains or potential benefit. He applied the strict possible test in examining his personal conduct and the conduct of those with whom he was identified

although he was charitable enough to overlook the human shortcomings and weaknesses of his opponent. To relate Gandhiji, therefore, to the modern art of politics which thinks in terms of immediate advantage would be ridiculous. It is least concerned with the assessment of personal conduct or the conduct of these with whom he was associated and much less concerned with making allowance for shortcomings and weaknesses of human beings on the opposite site.

III

Socio-economic Approach of the Modern world and Relevance of Gandhiji

Similarly, it would be futile to relate Gandhiji who believed in high thinking and plain living based upon the concept of common brotherhood of men to the concept of an afflunent society which the West has brought into being and which the East is greedily trying to emulate. This affluent society has as its units of service a national state with clear partiality for colour and race.

Any effort to relate Gandhiji's *carkhā* to the concept of Galbraith's Industrial State with three American firms earning as much as the national income of India or producing as much as the total of all the farms in America is sheer waste of time and energy.

IV

And yet Gandhiji is Relevant

And yet Gandhiji is relevant but in a different context. He is so very relevant at the emotional level. It is interesting to examine the deeper currents of human heart to see how they all coincide, whether in the West or in the East with Gandhiji's premises.

For instance the truth about man as being distinguishable from the lower animals cannot be disputed. It is so well entrenched in human heart, whether he belongs to the East or the West, none would want to be compared to a quadruped. Every human being realises perfectly the spheres in which he is distinguishable from a beast. He knows the distinctive features of a human being instinctively.

Human being can observe, analyse, synthesise, discriminate, memorise, store and use in future the treasures of knowledge left by his predecessors or ancestors,

Human being begins with love for self; but does not end there. The orbit of love in the case of human being is continuously widening. From a caveman's stage to the stage at which he is itself a significant factor identifying human desire to continuously widen the circle of his contacts, interests and affection. From individual to family, from family to caste and then to concept of nationhood is not something which has been imposed upon the human being from outside. It is reflection of something embodied in man and a result of his effort to fulfil that emotional urge in himself. He is conscious that with every effort on his part to extend his social horizon, he has been called upon to give something, which he till then considered to be dearer and important; but because of the urge and because of his experience that with every expansion of the orbit of love has grown his fund of knowledge, prosperity and happiness. Man is the only being in the creation that has evolved social laws and agreed to accept the regulation of affairs of man on the basis of ethics, normality, justice, law and collective responsibility.

The processes of evolution have undoubtedly been obstructed by so many anti-social factors like jealousy, rivalry, petty selfishness, egoism and a desire to take advantage of the weak and the backward. But they have not prevented him from widening the area of his social contacts, interests and affection. If anything these contacts have increased despite wilful obstructions based on tradition, group prejudice and concern for quick individual or group advantage.

Similarly, no human being needs to be educated on the fact that man is a creator. Iron, wood and stone by themselves have no value. There is only one specie that can chiesel the wood, sharpen the steel and carve the stone. With and through the man a shapeless common stone can become a piece of art.

Man has emotion. His attachment to man and things can result in immortal friendship.

Man has these special features which no other specie possesses. He can appreciate beauty through his eyes, music through his ears and above all good action with his mind and heart. Value of man lies not only in possessing goods but in enriching these special features which are a gift of nature or God, which distinguishes him from the lower animals.

Gandhiji has relevance in rehabilitating this faith that man is distinct from other animals and rehabilitating the value of values the humaneness of a human being. He should give adequate place in the venture of his life to those attributes which symbolise his special role in the creation.

Modern civilisation thinks of man differently. Science and technology are being exploited to their full to convert man into a mere consumer 'Increase your wants and the prosperity will follow you', says Keynes. There can be no limit to man's desires. Desires are limitless. They include not only satisfaction of elementary needs of life but those that are needed to satisfy group ego, colour ego, one's partiality for one's territory and most important of all one's property instinct. All this is something that ambitious men try to exploit. Fear and greed are the tools of ambitious men to stampede common men and women into lining up behind them under slogans of 'Country or religion in danger', or 'prosperity through mass production'.

One has to read Normans Cousins's 'In Place of Folly' or Erich Fromm 'Sane Society' to realise the heavy bill human family is paying every hour for its wrong thinking and behavior. Not only East European satellites of Soviet Russia are afraid of losing their restricted freedom but USA with its huge production apparatus is considered to be a threat to the economic independence of the Western European countries.

Gandhiji's relevance lay in casting out this fear of ambitious man on one side and raising man above false temptations on the other. He made the common man realise that if only he could lead a pure and simple life and ceased to be afraid, the ambitious will realise in course of time their own position. He found out a method of activising the dormant spirit in common man. He taught people that evil can thrive only so long as it is tolerated. Fear and temptation were the weapons of evil. Once they are cast out, evil will go with them.

The question is to realise man's special role as a man and discard the limited urges of colour, race, caste, community, narrow mindedness and greed for career and comfort.

Objective of scientific knowledge has to be twofold. The vision of Truth must be complete not forgetting the spiritual along with the material ends. Man should think of a domestic, social and

political organisation only in terms compatible with such integrated knowledge. This goal will bring up the question of reconstruction of human society. It will directly touch upon the subjects which were next to Gandhiji's heart. Gandhiji's relevance will then be not a matter of theoretical discussion. His teachings will govern human relationship at all levels.

The Path of Love—the Gītāway of Personality Integration

A. D. SINGH

Śrīmad-Bhagvad-Gītā is a unique work recorded by the great Śrī Vyāsa in which the essence of the different systems of philosophy which prevailed in the ancient land of *Āryāvarta* has been beautifully presented. It comprises of eighteen chapters of the great epic *Mahābhārata* (Chapters 25th to 42nd of the Bhīṣma Parva) and has been traditionally accepted as the most authoritative presentation of the essence of knowledge and wisdom possessed and practised by the Great Ṛishis in the ancient India. In accordance with the orthodox approach of the Puranic Era each *Veda* was divided into three sections—the *Karma Kāṇḍa* (the ritualistic section), the *Upāsanā Kāṇḍa* (the section dealing with methods of worship and concentration) and the *Jñāna Kāṇḍa* (the section dealing with pure philosophy). Such a scheme for self-development did not provide a sufficient insight into the problems of every day life which confronted an ordinary man. These *Vedic* principles, therefore, needed a re-interpretation and a restatement. The author of the *Mahābhārata* Veda Vyāsa, who was the most daring religious revolutionary of his age, evidently, realised the need to undertake this historical task. Vyāsa depicted the story of divine incarnation Kṛiṣṇa, also called the Vāsudeva, who was the first God-man to descend to the form of a mortal with a view to give the ancient *Vedic* wisdom a new reorientation. It was Lord Kṛiṣṇa, who through the Divine song (*Gītā*) taught Arjuna, his best friend and devotee, the technique of applying the subtle philosophical principles of *Vedānta* in the actual work-a-day world. The significance of the *Gītā* can very well be realised by the fact that though the immediate object of the Lord was achieved by

the end of chapter eleven (śloka 51) when Arjuna admitted that his mind had become completely steady. Lord Kṛiṣṇa did not hesitate to clear up the intellectual doubts posed by Arjuna in the rest of the seven chapters. It is thus clear that the Gītā is not only the Kṛiṣṇa-cure for the Arjuna-grief; it is also the universal cure for the common ailment of an average man which in the words of modern psychologists may be called 'anxiety-neurosis'. At the end of chapter eighteen (śloka 73) Arjuna admitted that (1) his delusion had been destroyed (2) he had gained knowledge (3) his doubts were cleared and (4) he was firm. He added that he had reached this state of mind by the grace of the Lord.

It is thus obvious that one of the basic significance of the *Gītā* is that it gives us not only *a view of life* or the ideal which we must constantly keep in view, but also *a way of life* that is, the technique and the path to get at and live these ideals.

Those who have made a genuine effort to understand and assimilate the teachings of *Gītā* agree that the *Gītā-way-of-personality integration* is to perform one's duty in whatever walk of life one may be working, without ego and ego-centric desires and thus purge the mind of its deep seated thought impressions (*Vāsanās*) so that all agitations are quietened. Arjuna being a Kṣatriya prince, his mind was coloured by the impression of *Rajo-guṇa* (activity) and so he needed a righteous battle (*Dharmayuddha*) to exhaust his *vāsanās*. Thus the immediate task before the Lord was to cure hesitating Arjuna with the help of *Vedantic truths*. It was the first attempt of a religious revolutionary to demonstrate through practical application, the basic value of the *Vedic* truths in the active fields of political life. Simultaneously, many misconceptions about the Vedic rituals and ideologies like Heaven (*Svarga*) are also removed.

The universal applications and appeal of the 'Kṛiṣṇa-treatment' to the 'Arjuna-disease' lies in the fact that in varying degree each one of us suffers from the agitations and conflicts which have their roots in the ignorance of one's own ego and ego-centric desires which blind our vision. Like Arjuna, we all must fight our battle of life according to our own *Vāsanās* (*Svadharma*) so that we may exhaust them and succeed in pacifying our mind.

The technique of self-development, however, must be in harmony with the individual personality. It is generally accepted that individual character and personality are moulded by the qualities of one's 'head and heart'. These are classified as emotional and rational traits by modern psychologists. On the basis of these two factors, the entire humanity may be divided into four types,

(1) Those in whom the 'head' predominates over the 'heart', i. e. intellectual type ;
(2) Those in whom the 'heart' predominates over the 'head'—emotional type ;
(3) Those in whom neither the 'head' nor the 'heart' has a balanced influence.
(4) Those in whom neither the 'head' nor the 'heart' has developed adequately.

For those who may be classified as intellectuals, the Gītā-cure is the 'Path of Knowledge' (*Jñāna*) which enables them to discriminate between the real and unreal, between the permanent and ephemeral, between the false and the true in ourselves and in others. For those who are predominantly emotional, and a good percentage of mankind falls within this group, the 'Path of Devotion' (*Bhakti*) has been found to be most effective in imparting to them the same understanding and vision which the intellectuals get through the 'Path of Knowledge'. For those who are constantly tossed between the callings of their head and heart, the 'Path of Action' (*Karma*) provides the best remedy in exhausting their *vāsanās*. Such action should, however, must always be selfless. Those who belong to the last group must make a modest beginning through physical (*Āsana*) and exercises (*Prāṇāyāmas*) prescribed in *Haṭha Yoga* in order to make themselves able to walk on the Path of Devotion or Action.

We have taken for our study the exposition of *Bhakti-Yoga* or Path of Love as given in the Gītā for two reasons. First, it is a royal and universal path for self-development. It is also the best means to destroy the mind-intellect-ego which prevent them from clearing up their doubts which arise due to their ignorance and clouded vision. As we shall see later, *Bhakti* does not demand blind faith or even a foolish surrender to a supernatural power. It is only an extension of the principle of 'Reciprocity of love' built upon the concept of 'As you think, so you become'. Secondly, Gītā's

'*Bhakti-Yoga*' is so encompassing that it includes all other methods of self-development. It has been argued by some that the 'Path of Action' and the 'Path of Knowledge' are really not parallel to the 'Path of Devotion' but are mere additional aids and important supplements for those who are real devotees. If devotion is absent, neither true action (selfless action), nor true knowledge (Knowledge of the Self) could be achieved. Just as soap or any other form of cleaning material can be effective only when it is mixed with some liquid material, whatever path of self-development we may follow can only bear fruit if one can succeed in identifying oneself completely with some ideal which may or may not be symbolically represented. In every religion we find that one such ideal is presented to the mankind. In Hinduism infinite number of doors are open to provide ingress into the shrine of Divinity. One must, however, choose only one ideal according to his own temperament and then strive to achieve that ideal through supreme devotion. Whether such devotion should be bestowed on an ideal which is manifest or unmanifest is an intellectual doubt discussed in Chapter XII of the *Gītā* which has been described as '*Bhakti-Yoga*', It opens with a query by Arjuna to the Lord Kṛiṣṇa in the following words :

> 'Those devotees who, ever steadfast, worship you, and those who worship the imperishable and unmanifest—which of them are better versed in Yoga ?'

By this query the great poet-philosopher Vyāsa has raised a basic enquiry into the *Upāsanā* of manifest versus that of unmanifest. This is a question which every *sādhaka* faces at an advanced stage of his *sādhanā*. It is to be noted that by the end of Chapter XI (Sloka 51) Arjuna had already reached a stage of composure. He had himsel realised this and admitted to the Lord :

> 'Having seen this Thy gentle human form, O Janārdana, now I am composed, and am restored to my own nature.'

So after becoming his own self Arjuna wanted to know whether it was superior to be a *sādhaka* of manifest or that of unmanifest ? While Chapter XII deals with the problem of spiritual search, it is also as we shall see, a complete exposition of our *dharma* in all its aspects. The *Gītā* proceeds to lay down three basic conditions for the best *sādhaka*. Firstly, the *sādhaka* should make a complete intellectual identification with the Lord or self (*Mayyāveśyamanaḥ*).

Secondly, he should be *Nityayuktaḥ,* that is ever steadfast. As the mind is by its very nature unsteady, it is essential to control and fix it at a steady point of concentration. The Lord says that fixation should be in the Lord or the Self. Thirdly, a true *sādhaka* should be *Śraddhayāparayopetaḥ*, that is he must be endowed with supreme faith. According to Shankara *Śraddhā* is not the blind faith but an intelligent understanding of the scriptures and the advice of the Guru. He says in his masterpiece, *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi :*

> 'Acceptance by firm judgment as true of what the scripture and the Guru instruct is called by sages *Śraddhā* or faith by means of which the reality is percieved' (Śloka-25)

Thus through *Śraddhā* the Reality of things becomes manifestly clear.

It is significant that the Lord had answered the query of Arjuna without directly answering who is the best *Yogi* in terms of the *Upāsanā* of manifest or unmanifest. The best *Yogi* is to be judged, according to the Lord, by the qualities of the being (*dharma*) practised by the *upāsaka.* He therefore proceeds to clear the lurking doubt in the mind of Arjuna as to the comparative position of *nirguṇa* and *saguṇa upāsanā.* The Lord adds that 'those worship the Imperishable, the Indefinable, the Unmanifest, the Omnipresent, the Immovable and the Eternal, having restrained all the senses, even everywhere, rejoicing ever the welfare of all beings—verily they also come unto ME'. Thus the three basic conditions for *nirguṇa upāsaka* which have been laid down are (i) *Sanniyamyendriyagrāmaṁ,* that is, restraining the sense organs (ii) *Sarvatra Sambuddhaya,* that is, even everywhere and (iii) *Sarvabhūtahiteratāḥ, i.e.* rejoicing in the welfare of all beings. It is significant that these three conditions are fundamentally the same as indicated earlier by the Lord. Corresponding to *Mayyāveśyamanaḥ* that is identifying one's mind with the Lord there is the condition *Sarvabhūtahiteratāḥ,* that is, rejoicing in the welfare of all beings. For a *nirguṇa upāsaka* since the Lord has no form, he must be taken as Omnipresent and hence the *sādhaka* must serve all beings with equal devotion. Corresponding to *Nityayūktaḥ i.e.* eversteadfast the condition here given is *Sanniyamyendriyagrān.am i.e.* restraining the sense organs. In the ultimate analysis we can only be eversteadfast if we are able to have complete control over our sense organs and do not allow these to wander about. A condition in which one has control over the senses is therefore the same as the condition of *Nityayuktaḥ.* Thirdly, the *nirguṇa upāsaka* should be *sarvatra sambuddhayah* that is

even everywhere. This is necessary because one who does not give any special divinity to any one form, must offer divinely devotion to all beings in equal measure. *Śradhayāparyopetaḥ* is the corresponding quality for the *Saguṇa Upāsaka.*

Thus the Lord said in effect that the essentiality of the best *yoga* is the existence of threefold qualities in the *upāsaka* and not the manifest or unmanifest nature of the *upāsya.* In other words, the query of Arjuna was intelligent but misconceived. What is important is the existence of certain qualities in the *bhakta* and not the idea which he had formed of the Lord.

Obviously this was a bit puzzling to Arjuna. He must have thought 'Does the Lord mean to say that for a devotee it matters not as to whether he worships the manifest or unmanifest'. Like supreme Guru, the Lord therefore proceeds to remove this doubt from Arjuna's mind. He says that it is comparatively more difficult to set one's mind on Unmanifest and hence for a common man (*dehavadvih* or embodied) the Goal (the Unmanifest) becomes difficult to reach. In contrast to this, the Lord says that one who worships, ME (the self) fulfilling three conditions namely, (i) Renouncing (surrendering) all action in Me (*Ye tu sarvāṇi karmāṇi mayi sanyasya*) that is regarding Me as the supreme Goal; (ii) Meditating on Me with single-minded *yoga, Ananyēnaiva yogena Maddhāyanta upāsatē* and (iii) Having set their mind on Me (*Matpara,* for them I ere long (*achirāt*) become the saviour from the ocean of everchanging finite experiences. It is significant that these three condition also correspond to the three qualifications mentioned by the Lord in sloka 2. No. (i) corresponds to highest devotion to the Lord *śraddhayāparyopetaḥ.* No. (ii) corresponds to the quality of steadfastness (*Nityayuktaḥ*) and No. (iii) is the same as identification with the self (*Mayyāveśyamanaḥ.*) Thus the Lord assures Arjuna that the real distinction between contemplation of Manifast and that of Unmanifest is that the former is comparatively easier and hence it gives quicker result (*Achirāt*) whereas the latter is more difficult for an ordinary man.

Thus after having settled the confusion which had arisen because of the improper framing of the question by Arjuna, the Lord explains the basic condition which a devotee must fulfil for his success. It is significant that the technique discussed is in terms of 'self' (*Māṁ*) which is both manifest as well as unmanifest.

What is then the technique by which the Lord has shown to us to identify ourselves with him following the path of devotion.

(1) We must fix our mind on him (*Mayyeva man ādhatsva*)

(2) We must place our intellect in Him (*Mayi buddhi niveśaya*). If we succeed in these two, the Lord assures that we shall no doubt live in him alone *(nivasiṣyasi mayyaiva.)* Thus the direct path has been indicated for those who are already well advanced in their search for the self, have cut asunder their mind-intellect-ego and are thus able to make their inner self steady.

But if we fail to steady our mind on Him ?

Then the way out is to practise meditation or *Abhyāsayoga.* It is through practice of meditation that the faculty of discrimination is developed and one succeeds in correcting one's mistake in his understanding of the world. It is through constant practice of meditation that one understands the real nature of the world, its transitoriness and its potentialities to cause pain and agitation of mind. Thus the mind must be trained to understand its own superimposition and recognise the perceived as unreal. It is only through regular practice that the mind soars to 'a new dynamic power of alertness' which brings forth true knowledge. Thus the Lord says that strive to reach Me through practice of meditation.

What if this is also found difficult ?

Then the way to spiritual development, according to the Lord is to do all actions for the sake of the Lord. 'Even this, it is assured will lead to siddhi' i. e. perfection. Here the principle of identification is indicated. Just as an ambassador who identifies himself with his country does everything for the sake of the country, similarly, by identifying ourselves with the Lord we will be doing all actions for his sake.

But if we fail to reach even this level ?

The way out is to surrender to the Lord, be self-controlled and renounce the fruits of all actions or profit-motive. This also is a technique of identification. Just as the judge who does everything for the sake of justice remains unaffected by the punishment or acquittals of the parties, the devotee who surrenders to the Lord and keeps control over himself should not in the least be agitated and feel anxious for getting the fruits of his own actions. He should act in the spirit of dedication to his duties for the sake of the Lord.

After having described the steps through which a devotee may strive to progress on the path of his *dharma*, the *Gītā* tries to grade these steps into a sequence as follows :

Knowledge is better than practice.
Meditation is better than knowledge.
Renunciation of the fruits of action
is better than Meditation.
From renunciation peace immediately follows.

It is generelly found that even an uneducated person can learn to drive a car by mere practice, but he will not be able to know how the different parts of the car are functioning. This is possible only when we have knowledge of the different parts of the automobile, their functions and interrelations. It is thus obvious that a driver who has the knowledge of the car will be a more intelligent driver than the one who has merely learnt driving a car through practice.

Merely to have the knowledge of a subject is not enough. More important than mere knowledge is the intellectual assimilation of the knowledge gained. If a knowledgeable driver thinks deeply about the movement of the car he will soon realise that it is not he who is the cause of the movement but the petrol and ignition converted into the energy by its engine. The driver only controls the speed and changes the direction of the car through the steering wheel. Thus meditation leads the realisation of the real cause of all activities.

Better than meditation is renunciation of the fruits of all actions. Here the *Gītā* has indicated this as the final step in the development of our personality. As all fruits-of-actions belong to the future we must not be a victim to the anxieties which are caused by worrying about the results. Hence the spirit of renunciation of the fruits of action has been given the place of pride by the Lord. Once this stage is reached, the piece of mind follows immediately.

After having explained to Arjuna the various stages through which one must strive to rise from lower to the higher rung of the ladder in the fulfilment of his goal, the Lord enumerates certain positive intellectual discipline as the direct means to perfection for a seeker. While describing these the Lord has used the expression 'He is dear to Me' *(sa ca me priyaḥ)* five times and in the end He adds that those who follow this imortal Dharma

(Dharmāmṛita), endowed with faith (*Śraddhadhāna*) regarding Me as their supreme Goal *(Matparaṁ)*, such devotees are exceedingly dear to Me (*Te'tīva me priyāḥ)*. By the use of this phrase the Lord has underlined the universal law of reciprocity of love—one who is devoted to the Lord is extremely dear to Him. This was also explained earlier by the Lord when He told Arjuna : 'Of them, the wise, eversteadfast, and devoted to the one, excels ; for I am exceedingly dear to the wise and he is dear to Me'. (Ch. VII-17). The immortal *dharma* described by the Lord consists of 86 qualities described in seven ślokas.

The first group of qualities enumerated by the Lord is that he should not hate any creature, but be friendly and compassionate to all, be free from attachment and egoism, balanced in pleasure and pain and forgiving. These qualities are specifically pertinent in social context because social relationships, if built on these principles, are likely to be most harmonious and conducive to place and prosperity.

Further the Lord says that a devotee who is ever content, steady in meditation, self-controlled possessed of firm conviction and with mind and intellect dedicated to me, he is also dear to Me. These qualities are also significant for and individual's development of personality and self-perfection.

Besides the above qualities, a seeker must not be either an agitator or a victim of external agitations ; and should be free from joy, anger, fear and desires. These are in the nature of passionate forces which create agitations of mind and thus eat away one's energy. The Lord says that a devotee with these qualities is also dear to Me.

The additional qualities which the Lord lays dawn as a part of the immortal *Dharma* are freedom from want, purity, promptitude absence of concern, freedom from trouble and renunciation of all undertakings or commencements (on an egoistic basis).

Further a devotee, the Lord says, who neither rejoices, nor hates, nor grieves, nor desires ; renounces both good and evil and is full of devotion to Me is dear to Me. One who is free from attachment, and to whom friend and foe, honour and dishonour, cold and heat, pleasure and pain, censure and praise are alike is dear to Me. He should remain silent (i.e. quiet), contended with whatever comes to him as a matter of course, homeless (not attached even to his

home which is one of the most dear objects) and steady-minded. In short, he should develop a perfectly steady and balanced mind.

These qualities according to the Lord are the essence of the Immortal *Dharma*. These include physical, intellectual, moral as well as the spiritual values which we must practise for the attainment of the Self and the fullest development of our personality. Thus in chapter VII of the Gītā the Lord has dwelt on the qualities which constitute the essence of religion. Hence this has been described as *dharmāmrita* or immortal religion.

The Nature of Bhakti or Divine Love.

The initial question of Arjuna concerning meditation over the manifest and unmanifest has been beautifully resolved through the exposition of the basic qualities which a devotee must have for his success. The meaning of *bhakta* should, therefore, be understood in its proper sense. As Shankara says in *Vivekacūdāmaṇi*.

> 'Among things conducive to Liberation, devotion (*bhakti*) alone holds the supreme place. The seeking after one's real nature is designated as devotion'. (Śloka 31)

A constant attempt to live up to one's own Real Self 'Mām' of Gītā is called (*Bhakti*) or Divine Love.

In order to understand the significance of Bhakti as a means for personality integration, it is necessary to understand its true nature and characteristics. In the *Nārada Bhakti Sūtra* it has been pointed out that various sages have described the characteristics of Bhakti in their own way. For example Vyasa is of the view that Bhakti expresses itself in devotion to acts of worship and the like, Garga felt that 'Sacred Tale' and the like are the true medium of *Bhakti* and Shāṇdilya is of the view that *Bhakti* must not be in conflict with the inner delight of the Self. Nārada did not consider these characteristics of *Bhakti* as appropriate. He, therefore, defined *Bhakti* as consecration of all activities by complete self-surrender to the Lord and extreme anguish if he were to be forgotten. It is thus obvious that one's own natural affection for one's chosen Ideal will mature into extreme love. *Bhakti-Yoga* emphasises the importance of dedication of the individual to the Divine Reality by complete self-surrender and absolute identity. It is really the love of the human spirit for the cosmic spirit that is at the root of all true evolutionary activity which leads to the realisation of the ultimate reality.

'It is the same Reality that we are to recognise in God of the

theists, the Bara Pure One of Plotinus, the Perfect Beauty of St. Augustine, the Divine Wilderness of Eckhart, the Father of Spirit of Berkeley, the Love that gives all things, described by Jacopone Da Todi, the Wayless Abyss of Fathomless Beatitude of Ruysbroeck, the Heart of the Universe of Jacob Boehme, the Heavenly Bridegroom of Mechthild, the Matchless Chalice and Sovereign Wine of the Sufis, the Jehova of the Jews, the Zeus of the Greeks, the Providence of the Stoics, the Jupiter of the Romans, the Ineffable One of the Neoplatonists, the Father in Heaven of the Christians, the Dharmakāya or the Sunya of the Buddhists. the Allah of the Moslems, the Ahura Mazda of the Parsees, and the Brahman, Paramātman, Īśvara, Puruṣottama, Bhagavan and Ekam Sat of the Hindus.' (*Nārada Bhakti Sūtra*, Ramakrishna Math, Madras, p. 101).

Once we have chosen our right ideal, we have crossed the first hurdle in the path of self-perfection. It is at this stage that the ego and the ego-centre desires are automatically curbed, the attitude of self-surrender naturally develops and the triangle of love is completed—the three angles being absence of bargaining or profit motive, absence of fear, and absence of rivalry or single-pointedness of the mind towards its chosen ideal.

Though it is not possible to express the nature of this Supreme Soul to the Lord of one's own heart, the followers of the Path of Love have attempted to define and describe the various manifestations of the ideal of love. Just as the whole universe is to us a writing of the Infinite in the language of the Finite, true lovers of God make use of all the common forms of love in relation to Him. According to the greatest exponent of *Bhakti-Yoga*, Nārada, following are the eleven modes of expressing true devotion to the Lord :

(1) Love for gloryfying His qualities
(2) Love for His Divine Form
(3) Love for worshipping Him
(4) Love for remembering Him
(5) Love for doing service for Him
(6) Love for friendship in Him
(7) Love for the Lord as one's own child
(8) Love for the Lord as one loves his beloved
(9) Love for a total self-offering at His feet
(10) Love for complete absorption in Him.
(11) Love as expressed in the pangs of separation from Him.

Though love making takes as many forms as there are lovers the above eleven modes of love-making have been commonly practised by those who have reached the highest pinnacle of spiritual experience. Though we may begin as a dualist, imagining ourselves as separate from God, it is only with the help of the Highest Art of making love to the Lord who really resides in our Heart that we shall succeed in integrating our personality and attaining peace of mind which makes the man perfect.

Ahimsā view of the origins of Human Society

DR. BOOL CHAND

THE problem of the origin of human race is one that has been awaiting solution for thousands of years. The subject is of the highest importance for political and social thinkers, for on a correct view of the origins of human society alone can a correct view be formulated about human nature and about the inborn proclivities of man.

The Traditional View

The traditional view, which was accepted by all the great religions of the world, was based upon the principle of casualty. In all civilisations, namely the Egyptian, the Indian, the Persian, the Chinese and the Christian, thinkers were agreed that our universe as well as the human race had been created by a Creator God, who was the supreme embodiment of divine creative energy. There were differences between the different expositions of this traditional view. For instance, some held that God had created both matter as well as the universe including human society. Others held that the universe could exist without a beginning or an end, but that it is the order within the cosmos which was the handiwork of an omniscient and omnipotent creative will.

The Scientific Conception

This traditional view was subjected to sustained examination and repudiated by the scientists in the light of the latest development of astronomy, geology, biology and palaeontology. The scientists discarded the view that there was primeval chaos in which the universe was created by a divine force at any specific period or time. They held that the universe was formed slowly and progressively over a long period of time by the action of physical forces, and that even today new worlds are being formed

just as the one in which we live was formed as a satellite of the Sun hundreds of millions of years ago. But the scientists did not repudiate the working of a divine will. They substituted the action of an immanent creator for the action of a transcendental creator; they made God greater but brought him nearer to man. They refused to conceive of God as a master-builder who put forth his power once and then stayed his hand. In their conception God's creative action is spread all along the line of the gradual development of human society, revealing itself in ever higher potencies. The scientific idea of creation as involution and evolution naturally regarded the process of evolution as 'the gradual unfolding of the divine thought throughout the universe by the action of spirit upon matter.

Appearance of Materialism

From this position the situation was rudely disturbed by the publication in the year 1859 of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*. Darwin gave to the theory of evolution a wholly new orientation. He helped to create on the general mind an impression that the idea of the universe and the race of man having been the handiwork of any divine creator was utterly fictitious and basically unfounded. The whole scheme of order and progress in the world is the result of a purely mechanical process, in which the interposition of mind or of divine agency was quite unnecessary. The traditional view, which had been the view of religion, was therefore completely discarded. Darwin's conclusions, in themselves somewhat imperfect, were accepted by Marx and Engels as the starting point of their materialist view that 'from the simple cell onwards the theory of evolution demonstrates how each advance up to the most complicated plant on the one side and up to man on the other is effected by the continual conflict between heredity and adaptation'. Darwin had formulated his ideas on the theory of natural selection; the materialists stressed the importance of the influence of environment, mutation and heredity. Darwin had made no systematic study of the growth of human society; where he approached the subject in his *Origin of Species*, indeed, it was just to disclose the bewilderment produced on his mind in attempting to apply the principles of individual struggle for existence to social evolution. The Soviet biologists, by the application of the method of dialectical materialism, developed an elaborate conception of the innerspecies struggle of

organisms, and as developed by these biologists the materialist view became a veritable enemy of religion. 'Science and religion'; they said, 'are incompatible. Religion is based on belief in God, the creator of the universe. The scientific method is based on knowledge of nature and society, on the study of their laws and development'. These scientists tended to forget that the scientific method remains scientific only so long as it is not hide-bound by stereotyped notions and pre-conceptions and that what is happening at present between Soviet Russia and Communist China is a fair indication that dialectical materialism itself is becoming a new religion.

Ahiṁsā Thinkers' Objection to Materialism

The view of Ahiṁsā ideology has been expressed by humanist philosophers all over the world. They find it increasingly difficult to accept materialist philosophy, because materialism has persisted in its desire to minimise the disparity between man and animal in their analysis, the great superiority of man's manifestations over all other animals too patent to be called in question by any serious student of anthropology. But the doctrine of organic evolution completely fails to explain it. That there is an amount of *cortex cerebri* in the human subject corresponding to his greater powers, cannot seriously be controverted, as the size of the human brain relatively to the rest of the body is enormously greater than in any other animal. The theory of evolution as interpreted by materialists does not give any satisfactory explanation of this.

The use of articulate speech was undoubtedly the most potent factor in the evolution of man, especially when it became conjoined with its later off-shoot, the art of writing. At what stage in the evolution of man articulate speech developed, is a subject on which there is little agreement among anthropologists, although the first word uttered expressive of an external object must have marked a new era in the history of evolution. But none of the apes of the present day have even the rudiments of articulate speech.

Man's social evolution

It is quite clear that from whatever standpoint we contemplate the drama of human life it stands forth as a unique development in the organic world. Even if, as the anthropogenesists say, man started with a progenitor whose physical and intellectual attainments were at par with those of existing anthropid apes, *homo sapiens* has

gradually forged his way into what is virtually a new world, a world of ethics and moral responsibility. For the materialists to ignore these basic facts of the actual situation is quite unscientific and futile.

Man acquired manipulative methods, with latent capabilities, which were tantamount to a new force in the organic world, viz, the art of manufacturing tools and using them for the advancement of their own welfare. Unlike other helpless creatures around him, who were largely at the mercy of fickle environment, the implement-using man soon learnt to accommodate himself to all its vicissitudes. He came to have knowledge of the use of fire, skill to manufacture garments and ultimately art to construct houses. As he became more and more conversant with the laws and forces of nature and his own power over them, he laid an usurping hand on the reins of cosmic evolution itself, by the cultivation of selected plants and animals and the destruction of others that were found unsuitable for his own purpose.

The far-reaching consequence of man's securing food by means of agriculture and the domestication of animals produced social habits. The appearance of large communities concurrent with the development of various trades and professions was thereafter but a matter of time.

Concurrently with his ever-increasing inroads into the secret arena of nature, man became religionist as well as legislator. He founded social institution and laws for the guidance of a rapidly increasing population. He established the great landmarks of civilisation as they now present themselves to us, not only in the works of art, architecture, engineering, electricity, etc. but also in the construction of philosophy, religion, ethics, altruism, sense of honour, all of which are constantly in the process of development, although their sources reach far back into pre-historic times. It is probable that religion came first to the front as a modifying influence to the stern decree of the survival of the fittest. The early races of mankind readily identified the obscure forces of nature with supernatural spirits who were believed to have control over human destinies and were, therefore, worshipped as gods or demons. Religion functioned as a weighty influence, nevertheless, in mitigating the harsh effects of the cosmic law that might is right, which is implied in the doctrine of the survival of the fittest.

Next in point of importance came the moral faculty, which regulates judicial and ethical actions The positions of this moral faculty in psychology may be aptly compared to that of instinct in the organic world, the point of analogy being that man's sudden actions appear to be the outcome of an impulse rather than a deliberate act of ratiocination. From the laboratory of ethics, perhaps the most important formula which has emanated is altruism which may be described as a product of conscience and the acquired sense of equity. Altruism believes in the relief of suffering humanity, and its ready acceptance by civilised humanity is, indeed, a case of its having been instilled into the cosmic mind by a revelation of heaven. Altruism believes in helping the deaf, the blind, the lame, the poor, the friendless and all those who are ushered into the world without the means of successfully entering on the struggle of life. A conflict is thus occasioned between the cosmic laws and the laws of the ethical code of humanity. The influence of the one is directed to the survival of the fittest, that of the other to the fitting of as many to survive as possible.

Conclusion

It is the considered view of Ahṁsā ideology that from the standpoint of evolution the whole organic world, not excluding man, reveals a unity, a harmony and a grandeur which it should be the purpose of all systems of speculative philosophy to develop and push forward.

Knowledge and Validity

DR. RAMCHANDRA PANDEYA

THE question of validity of knowledge is raised in order to distinguish knowledge from doubt, belief, illusion and such other states of the mind. It is held that a cognition, if in conformity with a fact, is valid, whereas in the event of discrepancy between the two cognition is said to be invalid. Validity is conceived to be a peculiarity of that cognition which does not go against what is cognised. Negatively speaking, therefore, validity consists in non-variation, the positive aspect of which obviously would be a cognition's conformity with fact. I am using a neutral word 'conformity' or 'non-variation' to avoid any impression of siding with correspondence or coherence theory of truth. Whatever view of truth one may hold, it will be easy to translate the notion of validity in terms of these words. My aim is to consider this notion of validity without entering into the controversy with regard to the nature of truth.

I shall reserve the use of 'truth' for the value of a proposition and 'validity' for knowledge. I assume, to begin with, that knowledge cannot be invalid. This means that the notion of validity, for me, is contained in the meaning of 'knowledge'. But cognition can be either valid or invalid. Knowledge in my sense is the same thing as valid cognition. In order to distinguish knowledge from belief it is also necessary that in addition to the validity of cognition we must also regard awareness of validity as another important characteristic of knowledge. In other words, cognition must be valid and also must be known to be valid. In belief one or both these characteristics are found lacking. What I believed may not be a valid cognition or it may though be valid in itself but its validity may not be known. Once validity of the cognition I believe to be valid is known it no longer remains mere belief : it becomes knowledge.

In knowledge, apart from validity, some other notions are also involved. There can be no knowledge in the absence of an object. The word 'object' is a vague term and I take it in a broad sense to mean anything that can be known, believed, cognised and sensed. It can be real or unreal. Thus I agree with the view that in illusion there is an object but it is unreal. It is also possible to say that one can know an unreal object *as unreal* meaning thereby that in knowledge it is not the reality or unreality of an object that matters so much as consciousness of a real object as real or that of an unreal object as unreal. We must in knowledge be aware of the real nature of an object. Unreality of an object in itself is no bar for knowledge to arise. In illusion an unreal object is cognised as real but this cognition does not merit the status of knowledge. In valid cognition, therefore, there must be a real or unreal object, it must be cognised respectively as real or unreal. Cognition of the true nature of an object imparts validity to that cognition. Therefore, the problem of validity is closely linked up with objects. An object is what it is but cognition of it can vary and take that object to be what it is not. So there is a necessity in the object but no such necessity is available in cognition.

If we can without reference to the real nature of an object know that we know an object, then by definition we can say that what we know of that object is the real nature of it. If I know, for example, that I know a flower on this table, the flower on the table is a real flower having a real table as its locus. In this case we have to say that the reality or unreality of an object is known, therefore the object is real or unreal as the case may be. But is this possible ? We must first ascertain whether an object is real or unreal, then alone we can designate our cognition as valid or invalid. Is it not the case then that an object determines validity or invalidity of cognition ? The famous controversy regarding the *prameya* determining the *pramāṇa* or the *pramāṇa* determining the nature of the *prameya* in classical Indian philosophy stems from the view one accepts regarding validity. If validity is considered to be a *priori* it would be easy to say that since I have *knowledge*, the object must be such as I know it. But if, on the other hand, validity is taken to be rooted in experience, we are obliged to think that since the *object* I experienced is such, my cognition of it accordingly is valid.

The notion of validity as an *a priori* or *a posteriori* characteristic of cognition must take for granted the fact that knowledge must invariably be valid. Difference between the two views is not about the necessary validity of knowledge nor about the awareness of this validity. It is regarding the source or basis of the awareness of validity.

According to the view of *a' priori* validity, validity is known along with the knowledge of an object ; it is not known apart from my knowledge itself. We may be knowing an object and the mode in which an object is known is not the same as the mode in which the validity of our cognition of that object is known. This difference is necessary because, for example, when I see a patch of red colour I do not also see in the same way that that patch of red colour is real. Thus the way in which an object is known is different from the way in which reality of that object is known although it must be conceded that a real object and its reality are not two things. The *a priori* theory could be held only when we could maintain that in case of the cognition of a real object the cognition itself is valid ; validity is rooted in the cognition and not in the object. Thus the concept of 'valid cognition' is a unitary concept not admitting of analysis into 'valid' and 'cognition'. Awareness of validity in this view does not depend upon the object, but upon the cognition itself. Given the idea of knowledge, it follows that what is known is really the same as it is known. Therefore the object of knowledge known as real or unreal is actually real or unreal. Hence in a proposition like 'I know that this man is bald' the subsidiary proposition represented by the that-clause is bound to be true. In order to question the truth of the that-proposition we shall have to question the claim to know. If the claim is found having no support, truth of what follows automatically becomes questionable.

The *a priori* validity assumes that if something is known, it follows necessarily that the preposition about that thing must be true. But it cannot guarantee the truth of his reverse statement. We cannot say that if a proposition is true it must necessarily be known to be true. Only a true proposition can be known but all propositions need not necessarily be known as true. Thus the proposition 'There is a musician in this gathering' may be true but it is just possible that nobody knows it. Truth of a proposition and knowledge of its truth are independent of each other. There is only one exception to this, *viz.*, when known, a proposition must be true.

This eliminates the possibility of a false proposition becoming an object of knowledge. But to know a false proposition as false is to know a true proposition. Thus 'I know that it is false that there is no woman in this gathering' is a genuine case of knowledge. Similar is the case with knowing an unreal object as unreal. In error or illusion our claim to know is misplaced ; in fact we do not know at all.

The theory advocating *a priori* validity of knowledge cannot tell us what claim of knowledge is genuine and what is a pseudo-claim. It allows us to say that 'in knowledge, what is known is true' but does not provide any ground to say 'this is knowledge, therefore, this is true'. This difficulty can be removed by maintaining that there is no difference between knowledge and its claim. What I claim to know, I really know. If I can claim to know *p* where ordinarily I would have claimed to know *not-p*; my knowledge of *p* is placed on par with my knowledge of *not-p*. This rules out the possibility of error or illusion. I may be psychologically prepared to accept an object to be real, although it may be unreal. In that case holding the *a priori* view I can say that since the object is known it is real. In other words the level at which we talk of reality and unreality of an object does not coincide with the level at which we talk of validity of knowledge. Knowledge is valid but an object may be real or unreal and may be cognised as unreal or real respectively. Divesting the epistemic view of validity of its ontological relation with reality, this view obliterates distinctions between knowledge, belief, doubt and illusion, Moreover, according to this view a proposition may in itself be true or false but my knowledge of it sometimes as true and sometimes as false will not involve contradiction. If claim of knowledge is taken to mean that whatever is claimed to be knowledge is really knowledge, we cannot get rid of these difficulties.

One may claim to know without actually knowing, but one cannot know without at the same time claiming to know. Thus claiming to know is wider than knowing itself and on the basis of the claim alone we cannot declare that cognition claimed to be valid is really valid. But in the theory of *a priori* validity of knowledge nothing more than this claim is available to assure validity of cognition. If attempt is made to resolve this difficulty by accepting the possibility of what is initially claimed to be valid subsequently turning out to be invalid, we cannot hope to even go beyond the

state of probability. I claim to know that p is true. According to this view p will be *taken* to be true as long as evidence to contradict the truth of p is not available. In the event any evidence is available, either I must cease to know or withdraw the claim. The first alternative will not be acceptable, because in the present case by definition I was really not knowing. Therefore, subsequent evidence to the contrary can only be said to contradict the claim. This subsequent evidence cannot be predicted at the time of the claim which means that falsification of what I claim to know as true is probable in principle. In the absence of any positive evidence merely negative evidence cannot guarantee validity. All we know on this count will then only be probable ; it can never be certain or, better, can never be known to be certainly valid. In other words a proposition may in itself be true but it can never be known as definitely true ; one may always have a suspicion about its future falsification.

Philosophers have thought that there are objects that cannot be doubted. In that case the possibility of subsequent invalidation is ruled out. If I know a tautology, for example, I cannot conceive the possibility of its falsity. I think this position cannot be accepted in the theory of *a priori* validity because in the case of my knowing a proposition as tautologous my claim is based upon the nature of the object of knowledge. It is known in the same way as a red flower is known as a red flower.

Direct awareness of an object, what is called *svasaṁvedana* is held to be an indication of validity. First of all one cannot explain the meaning of the phrase 'direct awareness' in unambiguous terms. Am I or am I not directly aware of a man sitting before me ? Even if I am, this theory cannot offer any logical criterion to distinguish this from indirect awareness. Any awareness of an object can be said to be a direct awareness. If we have to solely rely upon knowledge as the source of awareness of validity, we cannot justify why one awareness is direct hence valid and another awareness is indirect and therefore invalid. This can, I think, be done only when we decide as to what kind of object is directly cognised. The a priori theory cannot, thus, take recourse to direct awareness as a distinguishing mark of valid cognition.

There is a sense of definiteness and certainly associated with knowledge. In the a priori theory no ground for certainty can be cited. It has to rely upon knowledge itself. We cannot say, in

this theory, that knowledge is certain because the object is such and such. But that would amount to the abandoning of the *a priori* view of validity, what is valid is certain, but certainty never guarantees validity. In the *a priori* theory although knowledge is taken to spring from our encounter with the object yet validity and all that is associated with the idea of validity must come from knowledge and not from the object. If this view is examined and analysed it will ultimately land us in a kind of solipsism.

The theory of *a posteriori* validity regards knowledge as an outcome of our encounter with objects and validity of knowledge as well as its awareness or claim rooted in the nature of subjects. This view can be held only when the possibility of ascertaining the nature of objects independent of knowledge is open. The nature of object would be a determining factor in our awareness of validity and validity itself. Before one can claim validity for knowledge one has to be sure that the cognition and the object cognised do not vary. If this is guaranteed, knowledge becomes valid ; otherwise it will remain mere cognition. At the stage of cognition knowledge is suspended ; it awaits its confirmation from the object. This means that when an object is first cognised, it is neither valid nor invalid ; only at subsequent operation validity is known. But it must be remembered that the source of validity and the ground for the claim of validity is that very object which has been first cognised. A distinction can be made between a cognition's being valid and our claim for it being valid. A cognition, as soon as it arises, is valid or invalid. just as a proposition in itself is either true or false. But in order to know its validity-value a further step becomes necessary. In the case of the *a priori* theory all cognitions are known to be valid. A subsequent operation may just denote our claim of validity. The *a priori* theory may concede that the cognition in itself may be valid or invalid. To this *a posteriai* theory will have no objection. The two will differ, however, on the question whether one is justified in claiming validity for all cognitions. The *a priori* theory would hold that as long as our claim is not contradicted it is genuine but the *a posteriori* theory will resent this on the ground that no claim should be made without a positive ground. Verification, for example, is the ground which can support our claim to validity. No claim for the validity of a cognition can be made unless the validity of that cognition is known.

It is obvious that this view demands the impossible. A cognition can be known to be valid only when another cognition for the verification of the first cognition is available. This subsequent cognition alone can provide a guarantee for our notion of validity of the first cognition but this subsequent cognition being a cognition stands in need of verification. This objection assumes that a cognition whose validity is not known cannot provide ground for claiming the validity of another cognition. This needs examination. I, for example, see a table here. In order to know whether this is really a table I touch it, bang it. Touching supports my visual perception of the table but the tactual cognition in its turn needs another support for claiming it to be valid. One may thus conclude that an unconfirmed cognition may confirm another cognition.

In order to claim validity of a cognition we need, according to the *a posteriori* theory, verification. But it may be asked, what is it that we want to verify ? If the verification of the cognition of an object is demanded then we have to demand verification of two things : the mode of cognition (e.g. visual, tactual and so on) and the object of cognition. When I doubt validity of my visual perception of a table, I may doubt whether I really see and then I may also doubt whether I really see a table. The verification theory can remove; if at all, my doubt regarding the reality of an object. If I can place a book on the table that I see before me, I can be assured of the reality of that table and that aspect of my cognition may be taken as confirmed. But cognition is not solely of an object ; it includes also the mode in which an object is given. Thus 'There is a table' is not a full statement of my cognition ; 'I see a table there' would be its expression. While talking of verification of an object we can assume, perhaps legitimately, that an object being related to or dependent upon many other things can be shown to be real if those other things are real. But this is not the case with my seeing or hearing or touching. It is possible to maintain that if the object of seeing, for example, is shown to be real my seeing *of* it is verified. It is true that seeing must have an object but it cannot be maintained that the existence of an object is a guarantee for my seeing it. In other words the question 'Is my awareness of my *seeing* an object valid ?' cannot be answered unless it is conceded that a cognition *qua* cognition does not need any verification. In error the difference between the mode of cognition and its object becomes obvious. My seeing of a bent stick in water does not cease; only I cease to think

of a bent stick in water. The *a priori* theory is wrong in so far as it treats cognition *of* an object on a par with the mode of cognition, whereas the *a posteriori* theory brings down the mode of cognition to the level of the object.

This brings us to the consideration of the content of knowledge. We have seen that both the awareness of the particular mode of cognition and the object must form the content of any cognition, valid or invalid. Of these awareness of the mode is present alike in valid and invalid cognitions but in the valid cognition the object must be in conformity with the real nature of things whereas in the invalid cognition this need not be so. According to the *a priori* theory the object should *ab initio* be taken to be in conformity with the real nature of things ; according to the other this is possible only on subsequent confirmation or verification. When the question of awareness of validity is raised it is demanded that the object should not only be known but also its conformity with reality be known. Thus an object and reality or thing to which this object refers, along with some kind of relation between the two, must necessarily find a place in the content of knowledge. I am assuming that what I call object is not the same thing as reality. I can say that a thing *as* given in a cognition is object; the thing in itself, not cognised by me, is not object and an object which does not point to something beyond itself cannot be regarded as an object. Thus in this wider sense in error and even in dreams we have objects. Thus I think that in all cognitions the mode of cognition, the object and through it a reality beyond are given as content. This is true whether we cognise validity directly or indirectly, simultaneous with the first cognition or subsequent to it.

In order to distinguish valid from invalid cognition attempts are made by philosophers to ensure that objectivity and reality do not vary. It is because of error that we are aware of this variation. If it is possible to devise some test which can eliminate such objects as do not conform to reality, we could, by applying that test, ensure the validity of cognition. According to one such text we must make a distinction between the given objective content and the interpretative objective content. The given objective content (for short, the given) actually presents bare reality, devoid of any relation to other reality; anything more than this is the objective content should be taken to be essentially a product of our creative mind, appearing as if externally given. In case a cognition is valid, a person acting in

accordance with it would get the desired result. This would ensure that the given along with its interpretative content is real, whereas in the case the desired result is not obtained, the given does not conform to the interpretative content. This view is a variation of the verification theory with one exception. It does not deny a part of the object whereas according to the verification theory the reality of the entire object is denied. The result of the application of this test would be that our cognition of relation or anything other than the thing in itself would be either invalid or incapable of substantiation. Knowledge would be valid only to the extent its given content warrants. In perceptual errors also, the given content cannot be denied. This would then mean that veridical and illusory perceptions are on the same level, so far as the given is involved. They would differ at the level where the given and the interpretative contents are identified.

Apart from those objections that can be raised against the *a posteriori* theory some additional objections can be raised against this view. It recommends us to act according to the cognition in order to test the validity. It is obvious that while acting we must cognise and this cognition obtained from acting would be cited as a proof for the validity of the initial cognition. Moreover, in case a cognition is validated, only the given, past of its content could be confirmed, because action would only ensure that there is a given. The interpretative content cannot be confirmed as real because there is nothing corresponding to it in reality. If we could show somehow that the given necessarily warrants a corresponding interpretative content we could say that the validity of the interpretative content is indirectly confirmed. But this is not possible. Either any interpretative content could be necessarily associated with any given content or some specific interpretative content is associated with a particular given content. In the first case cognition of a given which warrants any interpretative contents would be valid as the two are necessarily associated. Elimination of illusion, in that case would not be possible. The second alternative could be held only when necessary relation between the two is explained. Why is it that a particular kind of interpretative content is associated with a particular given ? If the two are said to be associated by nature then there would be no possibility for error, as the nature cannot vary. Causal relationship also cannot be held because keeping in view the possibility of illusion one could urge that a cause (the

given) can produce any effect (appropriate or inappropriate interpretative content). Hence not necessary. Thus the given and the interpretative contents are not bound up necessarily. If contingent, how are we to know that one interpretative content is appropriate or not appropriate to a given content ? If the interpretative content is altogether eliminated from the content of knowledge and the given is held to be the only object, no illusion would ever be possible. Similarly the elimination of the given would rule out the possibility of the validity of cognition because the interpretative content is available in both valid and invalid cognitions. Thus nothing is gained by splitting the object into the given and the interpretative contents in the context of knowledge.

Even if this splitting is granted, it will not be possible to explain the manner in which the validity of a cognition of the given can be known. A given forces our mind to cognise it, but you cannot say which particular given has forced your mind to cognise. Surety about the given can come only from its cognition; no non-cognitive method is available to decide this question. If you, on the other hand, start from the side of the cognition and say; since I cognise this given, therefore this given must be responsible for my congition—your argument becomes circular. If a given is already cognised, there is no point in investigating the given which is cognised. If some given is cognised but in the primary cognition the nature of the given is not clear but can be made clear by a further investigation, then the nature of the particular given can never be ascertained. It is possible that more than one satisfy the confused cognition. There is no binding that a cognition should be associated with only a particular given. Neither from the side of the given nor from the side of the cognition, we get any clue for claiming validity for a particular cognition.

It is possible to propound a theory where a cognition be said to be rooted in non-cognitive fnnctions of mind. Thus an attempt can be made to show that a cognition and awareness of its validity are based upon some kind of feeling or act. I feel pleasure, therefore there is a definite source of it or I am supporting myself against a stand, therefore, there is a stand. There is some kind of immediacy in feeling and the question of validity cannot be raised regarding it. There can be no illusion or doubt regarding a feeling. But if we try to go beyond feeling and say something

about the source of feeling we enter into the realm of cognition. Associating the feeling of pleasure, say with a flower, is not warranted by the feeling itself. Merely on the ground of feeling I cannot say anything about the source of this feeling. Those who would like to base awareness of validity of cognition on feeling will have to say, for example, that since one feels pleasure there must be a source of pleasure and that very source is cognised, therefore, the cognition of that source is valid. This makes two important assumptions *viz.*, a feeling must have a source and the source of feeling and the object cognised are identical. I do not see any ground in feeling for assuming either of these. I feel pleasure. But do I also necessarily *feel* the source from which the pleasure comes ? I think that the source is never felt ; it is known. Thus I know that the source of my pleasure is music that I hear. Since pleasure or pain and its source are not both given in feeling, I cannot be sure of the source. The assertion of identity of the source of feeling and the object of cognition could be possible either when both these are given in feeling or in cognition or in some other mode or act. Otherwise how could we say that they are identical ? Any attempt to explain validity in terms of feeling will lead one to hold that reality is not cognisable.

So far we have discussed two main views regarding our awareness or claim of validity along with their different versions. We have seen that *a priori* view of validity fails because it ignores the role of the object in the claim of validity. The *a posteriori* view of validity, on the other hand, tries to treat the object as completely dissociated from knowledge and explains validity in terms of that. This is an impossible task because an object only when given in knowledge can assure us of the validity ; an object remaining beyond knowledge cannot impart validity to it and a known object itself stands in need of determination. Seeing no way out of these difficulties some philosophers treat an object as a 'phenomenon'. They hold that the so-called object of cognition arises only in knowledge-situation. We are not justified in holding that an object leads us beyond the realm of unobjectified reality. To put it in an unphilosophical language, an object is conceived to be different from the knower but it is not linked with something external as there is nothing external. Validity according to this view would consist in our awareness of

an object and thus ultimate distinction between valid cognition and illusion would become impossible. Upholding such a distinction an attempt is made to conceive validity in a relative sense. There are only degrees of validity. I think that one is not justified in saying that in knowledge we have only degrees of validity unless there is some factor outside knowledge to decide differences in degree. Differenciation requires some standard which itself is absolute. On what ground can we say that, for example, my perception of an object now is more valid than my perception in a dream ?

In every knowledge-situation we require (i) a knower (ii) some object of knowledge and (iii) something else to which an object refers, i.e. a thing. All the three must be in perfect harmony. I take a thing *as known* to be an object and a thing having no connection with knowledge, to be a bare thing. If an object is taken to have no reference beyond, practical life would remain unexplained. If a thing is directly known without an intermediary object, the phenomenon of error and illusion would remain unexplained. Subjective idealism and direct realism are the outcome of the attempt to economise an explanation of knowledge. Economy is good but it should not be introduced at the cost of adequate explanation. But those philosophers who recognise all the three factors mentioned above have also failed to give an adequate account of validity of knowledge. It can therefore be suspected that there is something wrong somewhere.

Some persons have questioned what people ordinarily take to be knowledge. It is felt that since what we take to be knowledge defies all explanation with regard to its validity, it is not knowledge. Rejection of what we take to be knowledge as pseudo-knowledge may be possible in the light of some *a priori* notion of knowledge. It is not necessary to have knowledge beforehand to be able to demonstrate what is not knowledge. This *a priori* notion of knowledge can be stated in terms of contradiction. Whenever it is possible to conceive the contradictory of an object the cognition of that object may be said to be invalid. It is logically possible to conceive the contradictory of a perceived object but psychologically it may not be possible, for the time being. Wherever an object is quite familiar it is not at once possible to think of the possibility of its contradictory. Familiarity over-

powers, as it were, our logical faculty. I may use a general phrase 'psychological involvement' to describe all such cases where the logical possibility is forgotten. In dreams, for example, we are unable to recognise invalidity of our cognition, so also is the case when we are under emotional stress and have pre-conceived notions and bias. In all these cases we are psychologically involved and treat the object of cognition to be real and consequently the cognition of it as valid, once we are out of dominant psychological involvement we are able to exercise our logical faculty. There may be three possibilities : there may be only psychological involvement but no scope for exercising the logical faculty ; psychological involvement and possibility of conceiving the contradictory may exist together and there may be only logical possibility without any psychological involvement. In dreams and under the stress of emotions the logical faculty being completely suppressed we cognise purely as psychologically involved beings. Once we are able to extricate ourselves from that peculiar involvement we are no longer aware of any object that we seemed to cognise while involved. In illusions as well as in normal experiences we have the second possibility. In these states there is no disinterested cognition but our mind is alert enough to at least conceive logical possibility of our cognition being invalid. In spite of this common characteristic present in illusion and normal cognition the two may be differentiated. Illusion carries with it some additional amount of involvement which is lacking in normal cognition. This is realised when illusion is over and cognition is normalised. When illusion is over an object perceived in illusion is no more cognised ; it is replaced by another object. In the case of dream the object disappears and no other object necessarily takes its place. It may sound odd to some when I say that even in normal cognition there is some psychological involvement. But it may be pointed out that although we know well the possibility of an object in normal cognition being something else, we do not take the trouble of ascertaining the real nature of the object we cognise. Verification is only an half-hearted attempt in this direction. In normal cognition therefore psychological involvement is present in the form of conviction regarding the reality of object. Even if we know that the sun never moves we do not cease to talk in terms of sun-rise. This means that normal cognition is guided more by practical conveniences than by true nature of objects. It is not for a man

who is psychologically involved to say anything regarding the nature of the object. But it is possible to think of a person who is completely free from any kind of involvement. If such a person were to say something about the object, he would perhaps choose ; if at all, a negative language to describe the nature of the object. He may say : I cannot conceive of anything else being an object in the present case of cognition. But we psychologically involved people cannot be satisfied with this explanation.

From the account of various types of cognition given above I want to draw some conclusions. Any claim to validity of a cognition depends upon the psychological involvement. Claim is thus conceived here as a psychological phenomenon, having little to do with reality or unreality of objects. It is thus possible to have a claim for validity of an illusory as well as veridical cognition. The two will differ only when along with the claim the logical possibility of the object being contradictory of what one cognises is brought into the play. Thus inspite of the claim an additional factor in the form of some sort of verification is required. It is this verification that removes an additional amount of psychological involvement present in illusion and reduces it to the minimum. Even after verification one continues to claim validity but this claim is less charged with the psychological involvement and thus is psychologically different from the one before verification. In short, the need for verification is felt only when a person is inclined to think of the possibility of the object being different from what it looks to be.

This brings us to the second important implication of the view proposed here. In this view reference to anything external to objects is avoided. It is object alone that can change, be replaced by another object and at time, contradicted. Thing cannot by nature possibly be conceived to be other than what it is. Referring to the distinction between the given content and the interpretative content of knowledge mentioned earlier it can be said that the object is predominantly interpretative. If there is any given content that remains unobjectified and hence useless for the explanation of validity, as I have pointed out, it is not possible to satisfactorily explain the relation between the two contents and it is also impossible to deal with the given *qua* given without diluting it with the interpretative. This would then mean that while knowing we

are aware of the interpretative content alone. But this interpretative content purports to be the interpretation of a given. What that given is is never known but its presence cannot be denied. While making a claim for validity of a cognition we take the interpretative content to be given content. Our awareness of the logical possibility of the object being different from what it appears, however, does not go beyond the interpretative content. In normal cognitions refusing to go beyond a certain limit we take certain interpretative content to be the ultimate object and on this basis claim validity of knowledge. But from the point of view of logical possibility this can be questioned and psychologically we are not prepared to do it. They are not based on some obvious, self-evident, logically firm ground. The theories of *a priori* and *a posteriori* validity are incapable of giving adequate explanation of validity not because something is lacking in them but because they bring in the *thing* in their consideration. They demand that kind of hardness and certainty in knowledge which is the characteristic of the thing. In order to fulfil this demand knowledge must become the thing or the thing must bodily take the place of knowledge.

Lest the proposed theory be confused with subjective idealism it is necessary to say a few words in conclusion. First of all something external to be interpretative content or object is recognised here as the basis of knowledge but that is not brought in the explanation of knowledge. I do not know what that external thing is but I am sure that *it is* as also I am convinced about all those characteristics that cannot be ascribed to it. Thus I admit a public ground for knowledge. Limitation of our enquiry into the nature of the interpretative content due to psychological involvement may also be explained on the basis of common convention. The interpretative content itself may not be taken to be a purely subjective phenomenon. Language, which is trans-subjective, has a significant role to play in the determination of the nature of the interpretative content. While talking of the psychological involvement I am aware of the possibility of the influence of the group prejudices mythological convictions, history, racial prejudices and so on. Thus knowledge in the ordinary sense cannot be divested of all these influences although, as I have indicated, an attempt should be made to question the object and minimise the grip of psychological involvement over the critical faculty of mind. The less we are involved psychologically in the object, the nearer we are to things

real. This offers an unlimited possibility for the enhancement of rationality and wisdom. We have to march on the road leading to the state where we are no more involved. That will be the end ; that is the perfect wisdom.

Outlines of Hindu Dynamics

VIBHUTI BHOOSHAN BHATTACHARYA

NO doubt the use of the term 'Hindu dynamics' calls for a word of explanation. It is meant to convey the sense of a branch of mechanics depending mainly upon the basic concepts of Vaiśeṣika philosophy in regard to the physical world and on Hindu mathematics, as it is popularly understood for the calculative operations. From a comparative study of ancient Indian and modern Western dynamics it would be evident that the two, inspite of covering the same field, differ widely in respect of the first principles and philosophical outlook. Like Hindu mathematics possessing originality in its ways and means, the Hindu dynamics may also claim a similar status within its own sphere. The terminological peculiarities of Hindu dynamics as will be apparent in the following pages are mainly based upon the ontological section of Vaiśeṣika philosophy.

I hope, I am justified in my belief that Hindu mathematics has its own individual line of development which represents its unique character. It is, therefore, not possible to make any progress or original contribution in this field by merely rendering foreign works into Indian languages. What is really needed is to think out problems and try to find their solutions in terms of the traditional thought of India, and consistently with the view-point maintained in standard Indian works.

I have, therefore, made a preliminary attempt to sketch in outline the principles of Hindu dynamics. Firstly, I propose to define and give necessary explanation of the terms used in the following pages. They are matter, motion, position, path and force.

Terms Eplainded

1. Matter or मूर्त्तद्रव्य, is a class of substance (द्रव्य), having limited dimensions (मूर्त्ति) or materiality. They are five in number (viz—

पृथ्वी, जल, तेजः, वायु, and मनः). In the following pages the word 'matter' is used to denote पृथ्वी, जल, तेज and वायु only. For we have nothing to do with the मनः in the present discussion. In other words the word 'matter' denotes the अनधिष्ठित बाह्य चतुर्महाभूत mentioned in प्रशस्तपाद भाष्य. Simply we are going to calculate the motion produced in those four महाभूतs only.

2. Motion or गति is a transient property of a material body, which brings about its transfer from one position of rest to another (adjacent to the former). Every motion presupposes a certain direction in which it is said to act. There is no continuity of motion, what is usually described as continuous motion represents only an apparent continuity, consequent on the non-perception of the intervening states of rest between one motion and another. This non-perception follows from the weakness of the sense organs perceiving the object in motion.

In each case of apparent continuity of motion there is in reality a series of motions. As a matter of fact dynamical calculations are concerned with these series of motions, and their causes only. Every series of motions presupposes a momentum, the main regulating force of the time interval between the successive motion of a series and the direction of acting of them also.

It is necessary even in Kinematics, the Science which, it is said, treats of motion without reference to the forces producing it, to make some difference between two series of motions to distinguish them. For which we mention the peculiarities imposed upon by the momentums producing the series in question.

Peculiarities thus produced in a series of motions by the momentum lies in the time rate of displacement in a certain direction produced by the series of motions in its substratum (or the moving body). Most probably the authors like भास्कर or नृसिंह considering these things, have defined the motion from a practical as well as dynamical point of view, as 'अद्यतनश्वस्तन ग्रहयोरन्तरम् गतिः' (सिः शिरो, स्पष्टा श्लो० 36), 'गतिर्नाम प्रदेशान्तर संचरणम्' (वासनावार्तिक सि० शिरो० स्पष्टा 120), Otherwise they would have accepted the ontological definition of motion of Kaṇāda stated in Vaiśeṣika sūtra—एक द्रव्यमगुणं संयोग विभागयोरनपेक्ष कारणं कर्म (वै. सू. १, १) ।

I propose to use the term भुक्ति to denote the rate of displacement caused by the series of motions. Thus the definition of भुक्ति will be as follows :—भुक्ति is the rate of displacement produced in a

material body by its motion (serial). Displacement means a contact of a moving body with the adjacent limited space following a disjunction with the united space with which the moving body was connected. Thus it is evident that every displacement has a direction, whether we mention it or not. Describing the ontological characteristics of motion प्रशस्तपाद also says दिक् विशिष्ट कार्यारम्भकत्वम् that is, a motion creates its result (displacement) in a certain direction. To create result in a certain direction, being a characteristic of individual motion, cannot be transgressed by a series of motion also. वेग or momentum also creates its result in a certain direction. Result of momentum is series of motion. प्रशस्तपाद says that वेग also is नियत् दिक् क्रिया प्रबन्ध हेतुः.

3. देश or position is a limited space from which a body commences to move, or at which terminates the motion. The former is called पूर्वदेश in relation to the latter called उत्तर देश.

4. मार्ग or path is an imaginary line formed by the points indicating a series of पूर्व and उत्तर-देश (or positions) with reference to the motions of a body. That is to say that path is an imaginary line indicating the length and direction of the space through which a moving body passes during its movement.

5. गतिनिमित्ता समवायि कारणे or force is a cause of motion. acting or capable of acting upon a material body from within or without to move it.

In which :—

(a) गत्यसमवायिकारण is a force acting or capable of acting from within upon a body to produce motion in it. And,

(b) गतिनिमित्तकारण is a force acting or capable of acting from without upon a body to produce motion in it.

According to Vaiśeṣika system weight, fluidity, contact, elasticity, momentum and exertion (प्रयत्न) are the known forces capable of moving a material body. In addition to that there is a force called अदृष्ट or unknown which is also capable of moving a body in some cases.

Calculation of motion

गतिवित्ति is the word used by पृथूदकस्वामी in the opening verse of the Bhāṣya on ब्रह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्त (see सि. शिरो. मध्यमा कालमान-मरीचि of v. 2) to denote Kinematics and Kinetics. The words गतिगणित or गतिकलन are the equivalents of गतिवित्ति used in our astronomical treatises. (see मरीचि and वासनावार्त्तिक on सि. शिरो.). Before describing the

methods for calculating motions we must say something about the difficulties in calculating a motion.

According to our philosophical point of view motion (being a non-substance thing) has no number and number is the most essential thing in any mathematical calculation. कृत्स्नस्यापि गणितस्य संख्या मलत्वात्; नीलकण्ठ's com. on आर्यभटीय गणितपाद p. 3) Hence our sages instructed us to calculate the result of a motion with the help of the indirect number of limited space and time related with it. That is to say, they have asked to calculate motion with the help of the magnitude and direction of the displacement and the time taken for it. It is shown in a commentary अजिता on मीमांसावार्त्तिक and its gloss विजया that datum for a calculation of motion is देशकाल परिमाणम् (see नीलकण्ठी on आर्यभटीय गणितपाद p. 158). Displacement being the result of motion helps us to survey a motion with adequate accuracy. The smallest change in the efficiency of a motion, in any respect would be indicated by the numerical values of the displacement brought about by the motion whether it is an individual or a serial one. Thus we must depend upon the numerical values of the aspects of a displacement to measure a motion causing the displacement. The aspects of displacement are time, magnitude and direction. That is, the due time for a displacement and the given magnitude, and direction with reference to that displacement.

The ṛiṣis have also introduced the geometrical diagrams to represent motion, which helps us to assign a numerical value to a motion, the most essential thing in a mathematical calculation. Diagramatic representation of motion is useful in tracing out the actual position of a moving body or in finding out the resultant भुक्ति by composing the forces acting upon a body simultaneously. We may quote नीलकण्ठीय भाष्य on आर्यभटीय in which the author has shown the essentiality of the knowledge of mathematical calculation together with geometrical diagrams also. In नीलकण्ठ's opinion it is not possible to measure a motion without acquiring a fair knowledge of the said subjects. His lines are ज्ञायतेऽनेनेति ज्ञानं, ग्रहगति ज्ञानसाधनं-गणितच्छेद्यक गोलवन्धादि । नहि गोलज्ञानमन्तरेण ग्रहगतिर्ज्ञातुं शक्यते । गोलश्च क्षेत्रात्मकत्वात् गणितगम्यः । (See गणितपाद p. 3). He has also quoted a stanza in his support which is गणितज्ञो गोलज्ञो ग्रहगतिं विजानाति । यो गणित गोल बाह्यो जानाति ग्रहगतिम् स कथम् (Ibid). This may be compared with the 4th stanza of शिष्यधी वृद्धिद of लल्ल, in which लल्ल also opined in the same line. From these statements it is evident that they thought it essential to have

diagramatic representation of motion to calculate it. Geometrical diagrams are called छेद्यक in our astronomy.

Mahāvīrācārya in his Gaṇita Sāra Saṅgraha laid down 'a rule for arriving at the value of the number of days required for the meeting of two persons moving with unequal speed along a course representable by (the boundary of) a triangle consisting of (three) unequal sides.' (See page 251) (विषम त्रिकोण क्षेत्ररूपेण हीनाधिक गतिमतोर्नरयोः समागम दिनसंख्या—नयनसूत्रम् पृ० १३८)

We must say something, about the भुक्ति the only manifestation of a motion from mathematical point of view, before we proceed to describe the methods of calculation of भुक्ति. Change in भुक्ति in any respect (i.e. either in magnitude or in direction) presupposes a change in motion. There are two classes of भुक्ति called सम and विषम.

(a) समभुक्ति or uniform speed. A particle moving along its path passes over equal distance in successive equal times is called 'moving with समभुक्ति'. That is, the constant equal rate at which a particle changes its position (without referring to the direction of motion. It should be noted here that though in the concept of भुक्ति direction is included, yet, we ignore it (the direction) in any practical purpose, except in finding the actual position of a moving body. (Thus inspite of a mere directional change in the भुक्ति, we include the said भुक्ति in the class called सम, if there is no change of magnitude). As long there is an equality in the time rate of displacement we classify such भुक्ति as सम, inspite of their dissimilarity indicated by the directional change. Thus it will be evident that the directional change is to be considered only for finding the स्पष्ट दिग् देशान्तर or actual position of a moving body at any instance. The method applicable for finding the स्पष्ट दिग् देशान्तर will be described hereafter.

This short of भुक्ति (i. e. समभुक्ति) is measured by simple rule of three where गतदेश, (space passed over) is the फलराशि and गतकाल unit or (time taken for such displacement) is the प्रमाणराशि and units of time are the इच्छाराशि, the necessary data for application of rule of three. Suppose a particle passed over a space श in a time ल, then the समभुक्ति of that particle can be measured by the following rule of three. $\frac{\text{श} \times \text{इ}}{\text{ल}} = $ सममुक्ति, or the time rate at which the particle passed over the distance. That is to say the body passed over $\frac{\text{श}}{\text{ल}}$ space in

इ time. Here श,ल and इ denote गत दे(श), गत का(ल) and (इ)ष्ट काल respectively. It will be obviously seen that the formula $\frac{s}{t} = r$ is identical with this rule of three.

(b) विषमभुक्ति (unequal rate of displacement). A particle moving along its path passed over unequal distance (or space) in successive units of time, is said to be moving with विषमभुक्ति, it is also divided into two classes अनियता and नियता (i) अनियत विषमभुक्ति (or irregular unequal displacement). A particle moving along its path passes irregular unequal spaces in successive units of time is said to be moving with अनियत विषम भुक्ति. This sort of भुक्ति is not at all a subject of any mathematical calculation. As our entire solutions depend chiefly upon regular numerical relation between time and space. मुनीश्वर in his commentary मरीचि on सि. शिरोमणि said that 'नहि अनियतार्थोऽनुपात-गम्यः' (See मरीचि. गोल. Poona Ed. P. 103) (ii) नियत विषम भुक्ति (or regular unequal displacement). A particle moving along its path passes regularly over unequal spaces in successive units of time is said to be moving with नियत विषमभुक्ति. In other words when a particle passes over regularly increasing or decreasing amount of unit spaces on successive units of time, it is called so. The difference of the amounts of unit spaces passed over in any two successive units of time is called चय or acceleration, which is also of two classes सम and विषम समचय (or uniform acceleration). When the चय remains uniform in each successive unit of times, it is called समचय. विषमचय (or variable acceleration). When the चय varies in each successive unit of time, it is said to be विषमचय, which is also of two class, अनियत and नियत. अनियत विषमचय is also beyond calculation. नियतविषमचय (or regularly varying acceleration). When the चय is varying with regularity in each successive unit of time, it is called नियत विषम चय. In the following pages words विषमभुक्ति or विषमचय will be meant for नितयविषम भुक्ति and नियतविषमचय only for sake of abridgement of the terms.

Before we proceed to describe the methods adopted by our mathematicians to calculate विषममुक्ति, we should illustrate the विषममुक्ति in terms of गोपगणना or the calculation done by the cowherds of ancient India. (See for detail the statement of पृथूदकस्वामी quoted by सुधाकर द्विवेदी in his commentary on ब्रह्मस्फुट सिद्धान्त P. 187-88).

(1) Suppose a particle moves from its place of rest for a single unit of time with an uniform speed of 5 units of space per unit of time and gains an additional speed of 7 units of space per unit

of time at each subsequent unit of time, the particle moved for 9 units of time. From the above statement we have according to गोपगणना system :—

at first unit of time the particle moved over 5 units of space.
at 2nd unit of time the particle moved over 5+7 units of space.
at 3rd unit of time the particle moved over 5+7+7 units of space.
at 4th unit of time the particle moved over 5+7+7+7 units of space.
at 5th unit of time the particle moved over 5+7+7+7+7 units of space.
at 6th unit of time the particle moved over 5+7+7+7+7+7 units of space.
at 7th unite of time the particle moved over 5+7+7+7+7+-7+7 unit of space.
at 8th unit of time the particle moved over 5+7+7+7+7+-7+7+7 units of space.
at 9th unit of time the particle moved over 5+7+7+7+7+-7+7+7+7 units of space.

As in the above said case the difference between any two successive units of time about the amount of space passed over is 7 so it is a case of समचय.

(2) Suppose a particle moves from its rest with an initial speed of 2 1/2 units of space per unit of time which is accelerating at each unit of time twice the amount of the speed. The body moved for 6 units of time. Accordingly we have at the beginning the initial speed 2 1/2 which increased during 1st unit of time twice that amount (i. e. 5 units of space); So we arrange :—

1st unit of time	5 units of space.
2nd ,, ,, ,,	5×2 units of space.
3rd ,, ,, ,,	5×2×2 units of space.
4th ,, ,, ,,	5×2×2×2 units of space.
5th ,, ,, ,,	5×2×2×2×2 units of space.
6th ,, ,, ,,	5×2×2×2×2×2 units of space.

In this case the difference of the amount of unit spaces between two successive units of time is different so it is a case of विषमचय. It is also called गुणवृद्धि in our mathematics. There are several kinds

of विषमचय according to their nature of the increment or decrease. We should deal them in proper place.

According to our mathematics the विषमभुक्ति has six aspects to be calculated. They are अन्त्यधन, मध्यधन, सर्वधन चय, पद, and मुख

(i) अन्त्यधन or the amount of unit spaces described in a particular unit of time, taken as the last instance of a period.

(ii) मध्यधन or the average units of space would be described by the particle in each unit of time, if there will be a समभुक्ति. It is the amount of unit spaces described at the middle most unit of time of a given period.

(iii) सर्वधन or the total amount of units of space described by the moving particle in a given period.

(iv) चय or the increment or decrease in the amount of the units of space passed over in each successive unit of time.

(v) पद or the conventional units of time constituting the period of movement.

(vi) मुख or the numerical value of initial speed in the first unit of time.

Method for Finding अन्त्यधन etc. in a case of समचय

(1) To find अन्त्यधन or the space described in the last unit of time or पद our formula is :—

(a) (प-१) × च + मु = अन्त्य or (b) प × च = अन्त्य

Here प, च and मु stand for पद, चय and मुख respectively, which are equivalent to t, f, and 'u' of western dynamic. Commenting on this formula (a) गणेश दैवज्ञ in his commentary बुद्धिविलासिनी on लीलावती said 'यदि चय तुल्यमेवादि धनं स्यात् तदा सर्वं दिनेषु समचयत्वात् चयगुणितपदं अन्त्यधनं स्यात्' (बुद्धि विला Poona Part I, 114). following which we get the formula (b).

From the note given by गणेश दैवज्ञ on the formula (a) we understand that in the cases where the amount of initial speed or मुख is dissimilar to चय there the formula (a) is applicable. Thus to find the अन्त्यधन in the illustration mentioned above we should apply the formula (a) consequently we will have $(9-1) \times 7+5=61$. Evidently it will be seen in the illustration that at the 9th unit of time the particle passed over 61 units of space. If in the above said example the मुख is 7 instead of 5 (i.e. similar with चय), then we may apply the shorter formula (b) and get $9 \times 7=63$ as the अन्त्यधन It should be noted that the formulas 'u+ft. and ft. are the equiva

lants of (प-१) × च × मु and प × च respectively. The apparent dissimilarity of the formulas u+ft and (प-१) × च × मु comes from the difference of the things aimed at in the queries. Also there is difference between the concepts of initial speed and मुख. To explain our position we must say that मुख is not identical aspect with initial speed. For which नीलकण्ठ may be referred to. He said in his भाष्य on आर्यभटीय that सर्वेष्वपि पदेपु प्रथम पद तुल्य भागो मुखमन्यश्चयात्मक इति द्रष्टव्यम्। इयमत्रोपपत्ति—द्वितीये पदेतावदेकश्चयो etc. It follows that generally our प is ?+1 of western dynamics or the t that of western dynamics is equal to प-१ of our system. Further may be added that our मुख is the space traversed by the particle in the first unit of time whereas the u or the initial speed of western method, is the rate at which the particle was moving at the beginning of the first unit of time. Moreover, in western dynamics is taken as the period of acceleration or the period in which acceleration is taking place whereas in our system there is no acceleration in the first unit of time. Thus it may be safely decided that apparent difference seem in the formulas is due to the difference of the question (inquiry). Otherwise both of the formulas are based and worked out on the same principle and data.

Thus in each case we must study carefully a question and apply the formula with necessary amendments (i. e. whether we have to take t= प-१ or not). where a particle moves from rest the applicable formula is f × t or प × च in either system.

(ii) To find the speed at the middle-most unit of time or the मध्यधन

(a) $\frac{\text{प-१}}{\text{२}} \times \text{च} \times \text{मु} = \text{मध्यधन}$ (b) $\frac{\text{मु} \times \text{अन्त्यधन}}{\text{२}} = \text{मध्यधन}$

Applying this formula to the above said example we get :

(a) $\frac{9-1}{2} \times 7+5=33$ मध्य or (b) $\frac{5+61}{2}=33=$ मध्य

It is also the same with $V=u+f\frac{t}{2}$ of western dynamics.

(iii) To find out the सर्वधन or the distance passed over by particle in the time specified with uniform acceleration with or without initial speed.

(a) $\text{म} \times \text{प} = \text{सर्वधन}$ (b) $\frac{(\text{मु} \times \text{अन्त्य}) \times \text{प}}{2} = \text{सर्व},$

(c) $$\frac{\{(\text{प}-\text{१}) \times \text{च} \times (\text{मु} \times \text{२})\} \times \text{प}}{\text{२}} = \text{सर्वं}$$

By application of this formula we have :

(a) $33+9=297$ or (b) $\frac{(5+61) \times 9}{2}=297$ or

(c) $$\frac{(9-1) \times 7+(5 \times 2) \times 9}{2}=297$$

At the first sight it may seem dissimilar to the formula $ut+ 1/2ft^2$ but the formula $s=v.t=(u+f\frac{t}{2})$, t from whica $ut+ ft^2$ is derived is based on the same rational as , म × प = सर्वं,

(iv) To find the चय or the rate of increment or decrease in (of) the speed.

(a) $$\frac{\frac{\text{स}}{\text{१}} -}{\frac{\text{प}-\text{१}}{\text{२}}} = \text{चय}$$ here स, प मु. stands for सर्वंधन, पद and मुख respectively.

By numerical representation we have in the referred example :—

$$\frac{\frac{297}{9}-5}{\frac{9-1}{2}}=7=\text{चय}$$

(v) To find the मुख or the speed at the end of the commencing unit of time whether it is uniform or not.

$$\frac{\text{स}}{\text{प}} - \frac{(\text{प}-\text{१}) \times \text{च}}{\text{२}} = \text{मुख}$$

Substituting the letters by numbers we get :

$$\frac{297}{9} = \frac{(9-1) \times 7)}{2} = 5 = \text{मुख}$$

(vi) To find the पद or the time units of movement of a body moving with uniform acceleration :

(a) $$\frac{\sqrt{[\{\text{स} \times \text{८} \times \text{च} \times (\text{मु} \times \text{२}-\text{च})^2\}-\text{मु} \times \text{२}] \div \text{च}+\text{१}}}{\text{२}} = \text{पद}$$

(b) $$\frac{\sqrt{\{\text{स} \times \text{८} \times \text{च} \times (\text{मु} \times \text{४}-\text{च})^2\}-(\text{मु} \times \text{२}-\text{च})}}{\text{च} \times \text{२}} = \text{पद}$$

(c) $$\frac{\sqrt{\{\text{स}\times\text{च}\times\text{२}+\left(\text{मु}-\frac{\text{च}}{\text{२}}\right)^2}-\text{मु}+\frac{\text{च}}{\text{२}}}{\text{च}}=\text{पद}$$

(d) $$\frac{\frac{\text{म}-\text{मु}}{\text{च}}}{\text{२}}+\text{१}=\text{पद}$$

(c) $$\frac{(\text{म}-\text{मु})\times\text{२}}{\text{च}}+\text{१}=\text{पद}$$

By arithmetical substitution of the formulas (c), (d) or (c) we have :

(c) $$\frac{\sqrt{\left\{297\times7\times2+\left(5-\frac{7}{2}\right)^2\right]}-5+\frac{7}{2}}{7}=\text{पद}$$

$$\left[(35-5)\div\right]+1=9=\text{पद} \quad \text{or} \quad (c)\ \frac{(33-5)\times2}{7}+1=\text{पद}$$

Formulas (d) or (c) are simply derived from the formula :

$\frac{\text{प}-\text{१}}{\text{२}}\times\text{च}+\text{मु}=\text{मध्यधन}$ according to the विपरीतकर्म or व्यस्तविधि. Some others can be divided according to that method from the formulas $\text{प}-\text{१२}\times\text{च}\times\text{मु}$ or $\frac{\text{प-१}}{\text{२}}\times\text{च}\times\text{मु}$ also to find पद, चय or मुख भुक्ति स्पष्टीकरण or the method for finding the actual position or distance and direction of a moving body with reference to its former position of rest, brought about by its motion.

Before we proceed to describe the method we must say something about the units of time and space used in our system. The (a) unit of time used chiefly in our astronomical or other works and which has come down to us is दिन which is divided unto 60 equal parts called दण्ड, नाड़ी or घटी which is also divided into पल and 60th part of a पल is विपल or the 216000th part of a day. It should be noted that there were different subdivision of time used by the authors belonging to different age and locality. Though there was no standard division due to lack of central organisation of authors, in spite of that विपल was and is the most widley used minute part of time uptill now.

(b) Units of length are यव, अंगुल, हस्त etc. यव is the standard unit which is equal to the diameter of a husked barley corn. It is also called यवमध्य. An अंगुल is equal to 6, 7 or 8 यवमध्यs. Different

kinds of यवमध्य are used in different measurements. (For which see, समराङ्गण सूत्रधार) At the top of the derived units of length is योजन which is also of three kinds due to the difference in the measurement of अंगुल.

(c) The unit adopted for circular measurement is विकला which is 1/216000 part of a circumference or periphery of a circle. A circle has been divided into राशि, अंश, कला, विकला etc. There is unit of weight (Mass ?) which will be described in its proper place.

We have only narrated the units, as it is a subject which deserves a special attention. The method for calculating the total space travelled by a moving particle has been described. But as a matter of fact, if we sought for the particle at a distance obtained through a calculation, we will not become successful in each case. That is to say that the actual position of a moving body after a given period of movement cannot be fixed only by adding the spaces passedover by the particle in each unit of time during the period, in every case.

Because the addition of the space passed over in each unit of time during the given period will only be fruitful when the motion is in a straight line. But change of direction indicates a characteristic change in the motion, where addition of such spaces will become total failure, as according to Vaiśeṣika philosophy the quantities of heterogeneous things cannot be added together. From the definition of देश or position, it is obvious that the पूर्व and उत्तरदेश (i.e. former and latter position) are correlative terms. Relation between which being of a special nature deserves a reference about the distance together with direction. Distance or direction alone cannot define a position, for it (distance or direction) is common property to so many limited spaces in relation to the spaces or origination or terminations or the पूर्व or उत्तर देश respectively.

Obviously, it is seen in the cases of change in the direction of motion that it is followed by a change in the actual distance of the two positions called पूर्व and उत्तर in spite of its uniform speed. (Here the word uniform is used to denote the uniformity of magnitude (देशकालानुपाततुल्यता) only. It is already said that to facilitate the calculation of speed we should neglect the direction, which is naturally included in the concept of speed). That is to

say, if a body moving with uniform speed changes its direction of motion, after the change of direction the positions of the said body (i.e. पूर्व and उत्तरदेश) will have two different values of the intervening relative space between them, one of which is (indicated by) the length measured along the path and the other is true distance between the said positions measured along a straight line, which may be called the actual distance (स्फुटदेशान्तर) of the said two positions. The direction indicated by that straight line may also be called the actual direction (स्फुटदिगन्तर) of the said positions. It may be illustrated thus. Suppose a particle is moving along its path AB changes its direction and moves along the line BC with the same speed. Distance covered along the path is represented by the magnitude of the lines indicating the path (i.e. AB, BC). The moving body is situated at the end of its journey on the point C on the line BC. Evidently the actual position of the body in relation to the original position A is indicated by the line AC. We have to find out the distance and direction of C with referenee to A, for which we are supplied with the distances and directions B and C with reference to A and B respectively. That is to say we know the length of AB and BC and the direction of B with reference to A together with the direction of C with reference to B. From these data we have to calculate the distance and direction of C with reference to A. It must be added here that distance or direction singly cannot define a position, because each of them taken alone are common property to so many limited spaces in relation to the पूर्वदेश. So both of them (i.e. distance and direction) should be mentioned to define a position with reference to other. Method for finding the true direction may be termed दिगन्तरानयन and the method for finding the true distance as देशान्तरानयन. दिगंश or दिगन्तर is, according to भास्कर, an arc connecting the उत्तरदेश (or the point position of which we are going to determine) with the east cardinal point with reference to the पूर्वदेश. His lines are :

चक्रांशकाङ्के क्षितिजाख्यवृत्ते प्राक्स्वस्तिकाभीष्ट दिशोस्तु मध्ये ।
येंऽशाः स्थितास्तेऽत्र दिगंशकाख्या.............................॥ त्रिप्रश्न 45

Thus, to find the दिगंश of any point we must determine the four cardinal points (i.e. पूर्व, पश्चिम, उत्तर and दक्षिण). For the method for finding these cardinal points, *see* सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि or any other work on astronomy. We have to find the दिगंश with the help of one of

these cardinal points. In other words we have to find out the चाप or the arc, in relation to a certain cardinal point. For which it is said in the क्षेत्रव्यवहार of our mathematical treatises or in the स्पष्टाधिकार of our astronomical works that we should know the relevant ज्याs or the sine or cosine of that arc. Reasoning about the application of अर्द्धज्या in determining the actual position of a moving body Bhāskara said in सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि (स्पष्टाधिकार) that as a planet always seen in the extremity of a अर्द्धज्या, so it is taken as the datum in स्पष्टीकरण process. (*See*, श्लो. २ of the above.) About the cardinal points of a circle (the most necessary points in finding the directions), it is said in the नीलकण्ठ's भाष्य on आर्यभटीय that मिथोव्यस्त दिक्काभ्यां द्वाभ्यां व्यासाभ्यां हि वृत्तपादाः परिच्छिद्यन्ते ॥ (गणपतिपाद P.45) This provides us with a circle divided into quadrants. The diameters dividing the circle into quadrants are called पूर्वापरसूत्रम्, and दक्षिणोत्तरसूत्रम् sometimes it is called मातृपितृरेखा (*see*, आर्यभ.गणित. P. 48) or दिग्रेखा also (*see*, आमराजकृत खण्डखाद्यकटी P. 99)

Let the interacting point of मातृपितृरेखा or the straight lines dividing the circle into quadrants, be the पूर्वदेश or the point of origination of a motion. As it is the द्रष्टस्थान (position of the observer) according to आर्यभट, द्रष्टस्थान is the point in relation to which directions are mentioned. (See, आर्य भ०गोल २०) If the point indicating the उत्तरदेश of a moving body falls on any of these lines, then it is easy to assert the direction of that point in relation to the point called पूर्वदेश. (i.e, the central or intersecting point of मातृपितृरेखा) Where the point in question does not fall on one of these पितृ or मातृरेखा, there it is necessary to draw two perpendicular one on each cf मातृपितृरेखा. And further on the two points (i.e. the points indicating पूर्व and उत्तरदेश) should be joined by a straight line. For a diagramatic illustration let A be the पूर्वदेश of a moving body and C be the उत्तरदेश direction and distance of which is not known. For which we are supplied with the distance and direction of AB and BC. With which we construct a क्षेत्र and by application of the method of क्षेत्रव्यवहार we find the कर्ण AC out of the भज and कोटि (i.e. AB and BC) Thus we get the distance of C in relation to A.

To find the direction of C, in relation to A, we draw a circle with a radius equal to AC from A and divide the circle into quadrants. Thus we have the मातृपितृरेखा as NS and EW intersecting one another on the point A. It will be seen in the figure thus made, that the line AB is coinciding with the पूर्वापरसूत्र or the line AE

indicating the east cardinal point of A. According to the ज्याच्छेद process of our astronomy CB and CD are perpendiculars on AE and AN and are, called भुजज्या and कोटिज्या respectively. We know that AC is equal to AE, and AB subtracted from AE is equal to BE which is called उत्क्रमज्या. To determine the arc EC we have to apply the method ज्यातःचापानयन of our mathematics. Which is $\sqrt{\left\{\text{ज्या}^2+\text{श}^2+\frac{\text{श}^2}{3}\right\}}=\text{चाप}$ (*See*, नीलकण्ठी on आर्यभटीय) Here we must remember that in the process of स्पष्टीकरण the word ज्या is used to denote ज्याद्ध. We get by application $\sqrt{\left\{CB^2+BE^2+\frac{BE^2}{3}\right\}}=EC$ It should be mentioned here that it is an approximate value of EC only.

According to आर्यभट II to find the arc EC the formula is

(a) $\sqrt{(\text{श}^2\times 6+\text{ज्या}^2)}=\text{चाप}\times 2$ (b) $\sqrt{\left\{\frac{288\times\text{श}^2}{49}+\text{ज्या}^2\right\}}=\text{चाप}\times\text{२}$

The latter formula is more accurate than the former. Here the word ज्या is used in its real sense. So we apply the formula in the above said case as :—

(a) $\sqrt{\{BE^2\times 6+(CB\times 2)^2\}}=EC\times 2$, or(b) $\sqrt{\frac{288\times BE^2}{49}+(CB\times 2)^2}$

$$=EC\times 2$$

It must be remembered that उत्क्रमज्या is nothing but शर indicated by श in the formulas.

Now we are in a position to mention the actual position of the point C in relation to the point A. In this connection we should describe the relevant formulas here.

(1) To find the चाप or arc.

(a) $\sqrt{(\text{श}^2\times 6+\text{ज्या}^2)}=\text{चाप}$ or (b) $\sqrt{\left\{\frac{882\times\text{श}^2}{49}+\text{ज्या}^2\right\}}=\text{चाप}$

(2) To find the शर

$\sqrt{\frac{(\text{ज्या}^2-\text{चा}^2)}{6}}=\text{शर}$ or (b) $\sqrt{\left\{\frac{(\text{ज्या}^2-\text{चा}^2)\times 49}{288}\text{ज्य}\times\right\}}=\text{शर}$

(3) To find the ज्या or sine.

(a) $\sqrt{(\text{श}^2\times 6-\text{चा}^2)}=\text{ज्या}$ or (b) $\sqrt{\left\{\frac{288\times\text{श}^2}{49}-\text{चा}^2\right\}}=\text{ज्या}$

In these formulas the words चाप and ज्या are used in their proper sense. But in every case of स्फुटीकरण these two words are being used

in the sense of चापार्द्ध and ज्यार्द्ध respectively. The formula mentioned by नीलकण्ठ has already been stated. Obviously it will be seen that applying these formulas we get an approximate value of the चाप, ज्या or शर. नीलकण्ठ says सल्यंशादिषु वर्गात् ज्या वर्गाप्यात् पदं धनुः प्रायः (*See*, आर्य भ० भाष्यगणित p. 110). Also he says तत एवमानीताद् धनुषोऽप्यधिकमेव वास्तवं धनुः etc.

Evidently having no other means left to find out the accurate value of an arc (चाप) they have to satisfy themselves by those said formulas by which an approximate value of an arc can be obtained. However that may be, we use this arc (i.e. between a cardinal point and उत्तरदेश) as दिगंश which tells the direction of the moving body in relation to the starting point or पूर्वदेश. (For detail *see*, नीलकण्ठ's भाष्य आर्यभटीय, सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि, महासिद्धान्त etc.)

Calculation of गतिविवर

Without entering into a philosophical discussion about the relativity of motion, we should consider the method of calculation of गतिविवर of a body moving towards or forward another moving body. Elsewhere we should try to describe and explain the doctrine of Kaṇāda about the non-relativity of motion and relativity of rest. In short in the system rest is acknowledged as a relative thing, whereas motion is not at all so. To make the subject under consideration (गतिविवर) comprehensible we should illustrate it, for which we are quoting Loney's example on the subject.

(a) 'Consider the case of two trains moving on parallel rails in the same direction with equal velocities and let A and B be two points one on each train, a person at one of them, A say, would, if he kept his attention fixed on B and if he were unconscious of his own motion, consider B to be at rest. The line AB would remain constant in magnitude and direction, and the velocity of B relative to A would be zero.'

(b) 'Next, let the first train be moving at the rate of 20 miles per hour, and let the second train B be moving in the same direction at the rate of 25 miles per hour. In this case, the line joining A to B would, if we neglect the distance between the rails be increasing at the rate of 5 miles per hour, and this would be the velocity of B relative to A.'

(c) 'Thirdly, let the second train be moving with a velocity of 25 miles per hour in the opposite direction to that of the first the line joining A to B would now be increasing at the rate of 4 miles

per hour in a direction opposite to that of A's motion, and the relative velocity of B with respect to A would be—45 miles per hour.'

(d) Lastly, let the first train be moving along the line OC with velocity U, whilst the second train is moving with velocity V. along a line O, inclined at an angle to OC'. (From the elements of Statics and Dynamics by S. C. Loney, M. A., Part II, Ed. 1893, P. 14-15)

These sorts of problems are being solved in the sections dealing with समागम and विक्षेप or अपक्रम of our astronomy, in which it is necessary for calculating conjunction of planets to find out the गतिविवर first. Thus in calculating a lunar eclipse we have to find out the विक्षेप or inclination of moon with reference to the path of the sun. Inclination, being the deviation from a direction which is regarded as normal, deserves a line of reference which in our astronomy is called अपमंडल or the path of sun. गतिविवर is the intervening space between two moving objects ब्रह्मगुप्त in खण्डखाद्यक said about the method for calculation of a समागम that भुक्त्यन्तरयुति भाजितमनुलोम विलोम विवर प्राप्तदिनैः (*see*, आमराज़ टी० pp. 188-89) commenting on this stanza आमराज said यदा द्वावपि ग्रहौ प्रागगती अपर गती वा भवतः तदा तयोर्गत्यन्तर तुल्येनाध्वना प्रतिदिनं शीघ्रगतिरन्तरमुपचिनोति। अतः कालानयने (युतिकालानयने) तावानेव दिनभोगः। यदा तु एको वक्री तदा तयोर्विलोमानुलोम गतित्वात् गतितुल्येनाध्वना द्वावप्यन्तमुपचिनुतः। अतः तयोर्गतियोग एव दिनभोगः॥ (खण्डखाद्यक आमराज टी० pp. 188-89).

When both of the planets are moving in the same direction (अनुलोमगति) then, the intervening space increasing between them is equal to the difference of their individual velocity. So, that (the difference of their individual velocity) should be considered as speed to calculate the समागम. On the other hand when a planet moves in the opposite direction (विलोमगति) with reference to another planet, then the विवर or the increasing intervening space between them is equal to the sum of their समागम" individual motion. So, that (the sum of their individual speed) should be considered as speed in calculating their.

Indirectly it is stated here that गतिविवर of the two moving objects should be calculated by subtracting the individual velocity of a body from the velocity of the other, if they are moving in the same direction. And the velocity of one body should be added to the velocity of the other, if they are moving in the opposite directions. Thus if we have to calculate the विवर of the trains mentioned first

in the example, then, we have to subtract the velocity of A from that of B. As the velocity of A is equal to B and they are moving in the same direction we get that the विवर is zero. In the second case also the trains are moving in the same direction with different velocities we subtract one velocity from the other. Thus, we get 5 miles per hour. In the third case the trains are moving in the opposite direction so we add the velocities.

The fourth is not a case of गतिविवरानयन but of विक्षेपानयन. If we are supplied with चापात्मक विक्षेप (as it is in the example), then according to the previous method for finding the ज्या of such विक्षेप can be determined. The result of such calculation will be ज्यात्मक विक्षेप which can be converted into योजनात्मक विक्षेप easily. On the other hand where ज्यात्मक or योजनात्मक विक्षेप is known, there also चापात्मक विक्षेप can be determined with no difficulty. For the methods applicable in such calculations *see*, स्फुट दिग्देशानयन section of this paper.

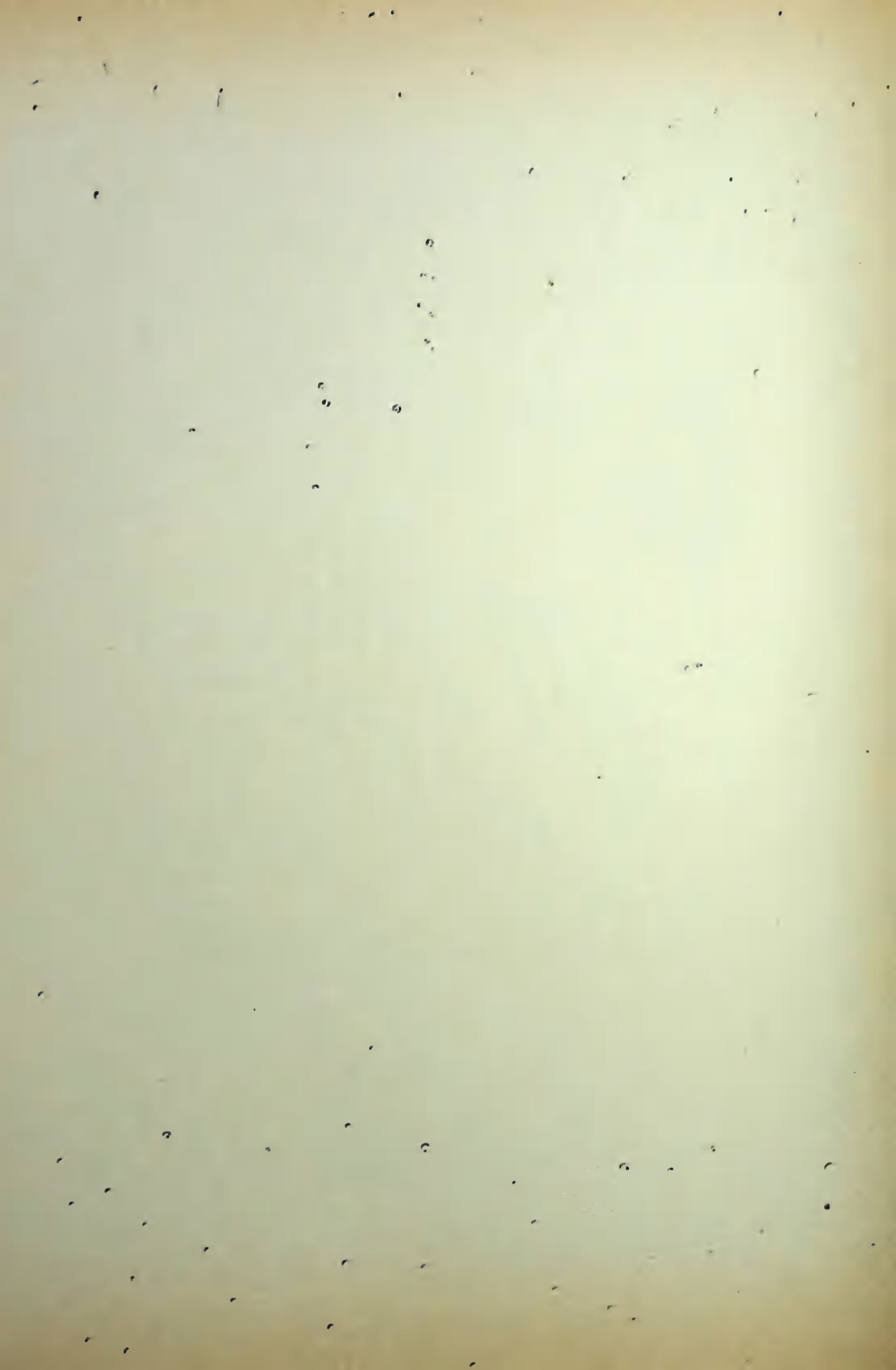
मुक्तेर्धनर्णत्वं or positiveness or negativeness of velocity. Here we should explain the terms ऋण or धन used in a preceding example, For which we only should quote the वीजनवांकुरा a commentary on भास्कर'sवीजगणित by कृष्णदैवज्ञ. Explaining the said terms he said ऋणत्वमिह त्रिधातावदस्ति—देशतः कालतो वस्तुतश्चेति । तच्च वैपरीत्यमेव । यत उक्तमाचार्यैः............ ऋणगतावाधा दिग् वैपरित्येनेत्यर्थः । तत्र एकरेखास्थिता द्वितीया दिक् विपरीता दिग् इत्यच्युते । ....यथा पूर्वंगतेर्धनत्वकल्पने यदाग्रहः पश्चिमगतिर्भवति तदाग्रहे गतितुल्यकला ऋणं भवति अथवा पश्चिमस्य धनत्वे यावत् ग्रहः पूर्वंतो गच्छति तावत् पश्चिम भ्रम (?) ऋणमिति । *See*, भास्करीय बीजगणित टीका p. 8 (Poona Edition)

In this connection कृष्णदैवज्ञ has defined the विवरीतदिक् as एक रेखास्थिता द्वितीयादिक् but this is particularly true only. So we should mention the definition of विपरीत दिक् given by श्रीधर in his न्यायकन्दली from the ontological point of view. He says याम्यां दिग्म्यां द्वयोः परस्परमागच्छतोः अन्योन्य प्रतिघातो भवति ते विरुद्धे दिशौ यथा प्राची पतीच्यौ दक्षिणोदीच्याविति । (*See*, p. 147).

Arguments in favour of this latter definition will be given in a section solely allotted for 'Composition of forces' or 'the resultant motion caused by the forces acting simultaneously on a body' (the resultant motion of a body acted upon by simultaneous forces).

Calculation of Motion in Circle (or Circular Motion)

So far we have dealt with the motion in a straight line. Now we should consider the curviliniar motion of the bodies. The only

case of curviliniar motion with which we shall deal here is that of motion in a circle. When the path of a body moving with uniform or accelerated speed, is the circumference of a circle, then to calculate such motion we may take help of the liner or circular measurement of the part of the circumference passed over by the body in unit time, as the case may be. Here we must say something about the units of circular measurement used in our mathematical or astronomical treatises. The circumference of a circle is equal to 1(भगण) which is divided into 12 equal parts called राशि. Each राशि is divided into 30 अंश each of which is also divided into 60 parts called कला. A कला is divided into 60 विकला and so on. Thus it is evident that the circumference is equal to 1(भगण) or 12 राशि or 360 अंश or 21600 कलाs in consequence of which the diameter of a circle is acknowledged to be equal to 6876 कलाs. The radius being a half of diameter is equal to 3438 कलाs only.

DR. ADITYANATH JHA
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Poetic Experience : The Indian View

KRISHNA CHAITANYA

IN the depth analysis of poetic experience and poetic art, the West has a great tradition, from Plato and Aristotle to Paul Valéry, Mallarmé, T.S. Eliot and others in our own times. India, too, has an equally great tradition, though it is no use pretending that it has maintained its continuity right up to our own times. It should be our task now to pick up the lost threads and forge links with the explorations in this field in other traditions and alike in old and contemporary epochs.

The present task is to attempt to give in outline the basic theories which the Indian tradition has to offer on the nature of poetry and poetic art. Since there is an incredible wealth of materials we have to proceed very carefully. We shall try to probe from the periphery to the centre, from poetic expression to poetic intention, from the structure and anatomy of poetry to its soul which is the poetically relished flavour of experience, *Rasa*.

Poetic expression uses language ; but it is startlingly different, qualitatively, from ordinary linguistic discourse. It is to stress this profound difference that I. A. Richards distinguishes between 'referential' speech and emotional speech, between 'pure, scientific, impersonal or neutral statement' in which words are used to point to things, and 'emotive utterance which expresses or evokes states of feeling'. Mallarmé contrasted the evocative function of the word in poetry with its function in narration, instruction and discourse and called the latter function 'reportage.' More than a thousand years before Richards and Mallarmé, Bhāmaha of the seventh century used an identical expression, *Vārtā*, news, information or reportage. Ordinary linguistic discourse, he said, was either *Lokavārtā*, news about the goings-on of the world, or *Śāstravārtā*,

scientific and analytical description ; but poetry is that in which word and meaning abide in a mutually enfolding coexistence or merger. The Sanskrit word for literature is *Sāhitya*. It is derived from Bhāmaha's concept or *Sauhitya*, this functional union, the nuptials of sound and sense, word and meaning.

In ordinary linguistic discourse, the idea has the monopoly of importance and words serve as instruments of communication. But, implicit in Bhāmaha's definition of poetry is the parity in sovereignty of both word and meaning. The idea may be profound ; but as Kuntaka of the eleventh century insisted, if it is not realised in a tissue of words which has poetic adequacy, it is *Mṛitakalpa*, dead, still-born. Likewise, when words show a tendency to lush, proliferating growth through their own libertine autonomy, the poetic organism becomes *Vyādhibhūta* ; infected by a cancerous disease.

If word and meaning have parity in their own plane, from a higher perspective they together constitute only the body of poetry *Kāvya Śarīra*, for *Rasa* or feeling is the soul of poetry. Here the Indian view is identical with the formulation given by Paul Valéry over a millennium later. Valéry said. 'The thoughts set forth or suggested by a poetic text are in no way the unique and primary concern of (poetic) discourse, but are rather the *means* which move together *equally* with the sounds, the cadences, the metre, and the embellishments, to provoke, to sustain a particular tension or exaltation, to produce in us a *world*—or a *mode of existence* altogether harmonious.' The mode of existence Valéry is referring to is the state of aesthetic relishing or *Rasa* experience of Indian theory. The analysis of poetic tissue thus culminats in the basic reality of the poetic process—the experience of *Rasa*.

The analyses of all features of poetry similarly lead to the core experience of *Rasa*. Let us take the case of poetic figures. Later Sanskrit poetry is heavily overlaid with this kind of ornament and preciosity marks both the figures fabricated by the poets and their analysis and classification by the rhetoricians. But it had not been always so. There are abundant and exquisite examples of *Svābhāvokti*, a poetic naturalism which dispensed with simile and metaphor, in Vālmīki. In fact, it was Vālmīki's triumphant demonstration that poetic figures were not indispensable that paved the way to the realisation that, when they were used, the use should be justified by a genuinely poetic function. The theory here is

summarised for us by Abhinavagupta of the tenth century. Though poetic creativity is continuous, for the purposes of analysis, three phases of its action can be distinguished. They correspond to three successive and steadily expanding vibrations or *Parispanda*. In the very first vibration, the poet's genius conceives the aesthetic emotion to be enshrined in the poem as the core experience it will ultimately yield and intuits the quality of its feeling—tone or *Guṇa*. This is often very difficult to verbalise and all verbalisations can only be approximate. Thus, if the emotion is erotic feeling (*Śṛiṅgāra*), the quality of its feeling-tone (*Guṇa*) is approximately verbalised as sweetness (*Mādhurya*). The second vibration effects the creation of poetic figures. The third selects the words and ideas, the verbal music and the thought-content, *Śabda* and *Artha*, which build up the actual poetic tissue or body of the poem (*Kāvya-Śarīra*). The poem is a unity, for there is inner congruence between the feeling, the poetic figuration and the overall texture of the extended poetic tissue. Walter Pater warned that ornament could often become surplusage piled up the pedestrian intelligence. Abhinavagupta also warns against this kind of excess (*Atinirvahana*). Valéry said. 'A metaphor is *what arrives* when one views things *in a particular manner*.' This is the effortless (*apṛithag yatna*) accession by feeling of the figure which is its objective correlative. There is also the warning that figures should be used or dispensed with according to the demands of the poetic context. (*Kāle ca grahaṇa tyāgau*). Wordsworth believed that 'the real language of men, simple and un-elaborated,' dispensing with figures and ornament, was also suitable for poetry. But he insisted on a selection, which would eliminate 'the vulgarity and meanness of ordinary life' and he also insisted that only the language used 'in a state of vivid sensation' should be selected. In sanctioning the use of poetic naturalism (*Svabhāvokti*), Sanskrit poetical theory insists on the same conditions. Bāṇa of the seventh century warns against *Grāmyatā*, vulgarity. And all the writers insist that the naturalism should be poetic, that is, instinct with feeling. Once again, *Rasa* or feeling emerges as the soul of poetry.

Startled by the first perception of the integral reality of diction Vāmana of the eighth century tried to raise diction to the status of the soul of poetry. He failed, because in the Indian tradition nothing can displace feeling or *Rasa* from her high throne. But the analysis did yield some rich perceptions. Very briefly, the drift of the thought was that the impact of a literary tissue was integral,

determined by its totality. Sound and sense, verbal and ideal figures of speech, all were held by diction, dissolved in its music, melted into its flow. A verbal figure like alliteration which functions through its auditory pattern cannot be substituted by a synonym ; an ideal figure, like simple or metaphor, which depends on the sense, can ordinarily tolerate such substitution. But Abhinavagupta pointed out that the texture of the integral matrix, which is diction. may impose limits on the substitution even here. Even an ideal figure has a verbal body and its texture and feel will have to belong to the particular poetic stream in which it is used, become a cadence in its music, a shapely curve in the evolving undulation of its rhythm. Different dictions seem to have first emerged as regional literary mannerisms. But analysis soon notes their aesthetic characteristics, like the mellifluous sweetness of the Vaidarbhī or the flamboyant energy of the Gauḍī. With Mammaṭa of the twelfth century the analysis probes deeper. The poetic tissue cannot be said to possess the qualities of eneray or sweetness, he points out, unless we mean by it that the underlying feeling is vigorous or sweet. The qualities of diction are therefore related to the feeling and, in fact, determined by it. Theoretical analysis has similarly related the various metrical forms of the feeling.

Mallarmé, the theoretician of the Symbolist movement in French poetry, renounced 'that erroneous aesthetics which would have the poet fill the delicate pages of his book with the actual and palpable wood of trees, rather than with the forest's shuddering or the silent scattering of thunder through the foliage.' He insisted that poetic communication should be entirely through suggestion. 'The supreme musical moments,' he said, 'are born of fleeting arabesques, and their bursting is more true, more central, more brilliant than any reasoning. When we consider their matchless efficacy, we feel unable to translate them into any language save that of the listener's ideas. Their contact with our spirit is direct and fitting.' The doctrine of *Dhvani* formulated by Ānandavardhana of the ninth century, has great affinities with the views of Mallarmé. In a brilliant and sustained exposition he shows that poetic meaning is not exhaustively derived from logical categories like denotation, indication or inference. The expressed meaning often subordinates itself to another, a suggested meaning. And in fact, the finest poetry is that in which the literal meaning thus be-

comes subsidiary. What is suggested may be a fact, idea, image or poetic figure. But they are not ultimate since their function should be to evoke *Rasa*. Thus the end of poetry is *Rasa*-evocation and the ideal poetic strategy is suggestion. For instance, in Coleridge's poem, *The Ancient Mariner,* the stagnant sea and the becalmed ship are the expressed reality. They suggest a matter of fact of idea, Coleridge's realisation of his inadequacy, of the ebbing away of his creative energies. This suggested reality is not a mere datum in a psychiatrist's report, it is saturated with feeling. We feel with the poet in his frustration as we rejoice with him in his recovery of ecstasy.

Tillyard once wrote. 'All poetry is oblique : there is no direct poetry.' Just as we distinguish the special and general theories in relativity, we can distinguish the theory of *Dhvani,* which stresses the obliquity of poetic expression, from the more fundamental formulation about the basic obliquity of the entire poetic context itself. This was given by Bharata who lived some time between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. Bharata emphasized that the poet cannot gift feeling to the reader in the way that he can communicate information through propositional statements. He laid down that the basic and only possible strategy was to recreate in art the situation in life. In the living situation, the individual confronts a pattern of stimuli and the drama or poem must plastically re-create this constellation of stimuli. Let us clarify this by a very simplified example. In a romantic episode in life, the basic stimulus is an attractive woman. A favourable milieu or ambience—a garden or the spring season—will be an enhancing stimulus. These are the *Ālambana Vibhāva* and *Uddīpana Vibhāva* of Bharata's formulation. Emotively suggestive behaviour which may be a conscious invitation like a smile or glance or unconscious revelation like a bush nurses the reaction to further growth. These are the *Anubhāva* and the *Sātvika Bhāva*. Over a period the development of the relation will allow the play of derive emotions or *Sañcārī Bhāva,* like anxious longing in separation or ecstasy in fulfilment. When the whole situation is presented thus, extended in space, time and depth, respectively, which is an abiding though latent reality in all men, is nursed to growth as consciously experienced emotion. The abiding reactivity is the *Sthāyī Bhāva.* When it is enabled to manifest itself in the relishable state, it is *Rasa*. The whole strategy of aesthetic stimulation depends on empathy and induction. The poetic context

plastically organised by the creativity of the poet is a constellation of the objective correlatives of the emotions, as T.S. Eliot would put it.

A magnificant classical Indian world-view recognizes four goals for human existence and the theme of poetry is the depiction of man in the pursuit of these goals. The first two goals are economic security (*Artha*) and the satisfaction of libidinous and aesthetic impulse (*Kāma*). Their pursuit should be governed by the moral conscience or *Dharma* which thus is an inclusive third goal. But poetry is not abstract. Poetry is *hlādaikamayī*, delight is the inalienable nature of poetry's being. If now it guides man in the same direction as the moral-religious code, it does so by virtue of the *Kānta-sammitatva*, a persuasive power like that of the winsomely including influence of a beloved. The fourth and final goal is *Mokṣa*, liberation. This concept is basic to Indian thought and it is impossible to bring out all its depth of meaning here. But it does point to man functioning on the plane of his truest and deepest subjectivity, liberated from the *Tāmasika* pressures of blind physiological and psychological drives and from the *Rājasika* pressures of self-interest. Now, this kind of liberation is an essential precondition of poetic experience. In the life-situation, emotion is the mobilisation of the resources of the organism for practical involvement. In the poetic situation, the emotion is aroused for being relished in itself. In the poetic confrontation, the world ceases to be regarded as a practical utility or a menace to practical motives. It becomes pure spectacle, like a play. It becomes a poem. A great Vedic tradition hails God as poet and the creation as his poem. And when we relish the world as a poem, we are sharing in the self-relish of the poet of creation when he embarked on the high adventure of creating the myriad variety of the world, its plenitude of forms, the tremendous range of experience it affords.

Foundations of Sanskrit poetics

DR. VIDYANIWAS MISRA

THE first step toward an understanding of Sanskrit rhetoric and poetics involves the understanding of the complex concept of *Vāk*. The word *Vāk* has multiple and inter-related meanings : primarily it indicates 'activity,' 'knowledge' and 'the power of speech itself.' Its nature partakes both of the unrevealed and revealed world,[1] and it is conceived in the form of layers, the inmost being cosmogenic energy itself, the wellspring of existence, of reality. *Vāk*, then, is the essence of creative energy, conceived in the earliest Indian thought as an all-prevailing reality and an abstraction that is more comprehensive than the sensory world[2] which is but a partial manifestation of its power. Legends of the Brāhmaṇa literature, over and over identify *Vāk* with the Supreme Reality, the Brahman, with His creative will, also with the ritual representation in which the cosmic process is restored, and finally with the power of divine speech. *Vāk* represents these stages of being, not in single form, but as layers of strata, taking a different character at different layers.[3]

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1. *Ṛigveda* X. 71.4.
   She is who seen and unseen, heard and unheard. Like a wife in her loveliest silks who shows her form just for her spouse, she shows herself only to him she has chosen.
   Uta tvah paśyanna dadarśa vācamuta tvah śṛiṇvanna śṛiṇotyenām.
   Uto tvasmai tanvam visasre Jāyeva patyā uśatī suvāsāh.
2. (a) *Vide*, S. Al-George—The Semiosis of Zero Acc. to Pāṇini (Private Communication)
   (b) *Ṛigveda* X. 125.7 'I bear them both up, and the sea is my mother. There is nowhere left my touch does not touch. I breathe and the worlds come spinning to both.'
   Aham suva pitaramasya mūrdhan mama yonirapsvanh samudre.
   Tata vitiṣthe bhuanāni viśvotāmūm dyām varṣmaṇopa spṛśāmi.
3. (a) *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa II.* 1.5.6 'Speech is *Brahman*' (*vāg vai brahma*),
   (b) *Ṛigveda* X. 114.8 'Vāk extends as far as this manifestation of Being extends' *Yāvad brahma visthitam tāvatī vāk*)
   (c) V.N. Misra—*Vāk Legends in the Brāhmaṇas* (Gopinath Kaviraj volume).

This very idea of layers of meaning led to a pervasive impulse to systemize, as can be seen in the Sanskrit approach to linguistics.[4]

If both Indian and Greek thinkers 'postulated an ontological abstraction,'[5] Indian tradition has maintained abstractness more vigorously in every sphere of creative activity, from the visual arts to spiritual discipline. A glance at the Pāṇinian theory of language suggests how fundamental and pervasive is the impulse to abstraction in Indian thought. This theory begins with the assumption that language precedes every knowledge and entire knowledge is manifested only because it is pierced through by a linguistic activity.[6] 'Moreover, the independent and the self-contained reality of language cannot be questioned.'[7] Reality, in this radical view, is in fact the linguistic sign. What language refers to and the sound of speech are merely two unreal adjuncts to the linguistic sign.[8] This reality transcends logic, since language is arbitrary, a way of life accepted by the community. Nor is this reality understood as sensory cognition, or concept. It is *Sphoṭa*, that is the linguistic abstraction of the surrounding world.[9] Awareness of this reality, called pratibhā or 'shining back' is inherent in the continuous usage of language and its impression.[10]

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4. S. Al-George-*Ibid.*
   (a) 'In Bhartṛihariś *Vākyapadīya*, this conception appears more amplified and systematized, enabling to establish the identity of *Brahman* with the essence of speech (*Śabdatattva*) and with the universals, whereas the sensory or the sensible world represents the manifestation of this verbal Brahman...This linguistic emanation is reaching its climax in the medieval Tantrism where it is connected with Yogic experience.'
   (b) Misra—*Ibid.*, for detailed discussion.
5. S. Al-George—*Ibid.*
6. Bhartṛihari—*Vākyapadīya* I. 115
   Na sosti pratyayo loke yaḥ śabdānugamādṛiate / anuviddhamīva jñānam sarvam śabdena bhāsate.
7. V. N. Misra—Structural Meaning—An Indian Standpoint (X International Congress of Linguists).
8. Bhartṛihari—V.P. II. 12
   Asatyopādhi yatsatyam tadvā Śabda-nibandhanam.
9. cf. K. Kunjunni Raja—*Indian Theories of Meaning*, p. 123.
   'It is the meaning-bearing nature of an expression that makes it *Sphoṭa*',
10. G.N. Shastri—Philosophy of Word and Meaning. p. 225.
   Pratibhā 'is immediate and unique. It is an illumination and not an intellectual judgment...this illumination is directly generated by word, if bodily present and if absent, by the impression left by it'.

I have dwelled on this difficult concept of Indian linguistics because it is deeply implicated with Sanskrit poetics. For the latter has borrowed two key terms from linguistic terminology, terms which are of central importance for poetics : these are *dhvani* or suggestion and vyañjanā (another synonym for *dhvani*) or the manifestation of inner meaning.[11] These terms cover a concept which is actually an expansion of linguistic abstraction into a deeper realm of meaning, the meaning within the linguistic sign; that is, in meaning; or that significance signalled by the significance inherent in the linguistic sign. If linguistic meaning was established as independent of the world it denoted, inner meaning was even more remote from dependence on the world of sensory perception. Thus the grammarian Bhartṛihari could assert : 'The activity of speech is the cohesive force which unites all the arts and all the branches of knowledge, and the entire object-world only through its being processed through *Vāk*.'[12] This observation is substantiated by the fact that some verbal expression—be it myth or legend or description—is the basis for almost every Indian art form, from painting to drama.

Another significant concept that underlies the formulation of Indian aesthetic theories can be traced to Vedic literature : this. the concept in which sound finds its correspondence or equivalence in light. Coomarawamy properly observes that *Sūrya*, the sun and symbol of light, is derived from two roots, one *svar* which means 'to shine', and the other *svṛ* which means to sound; therefore, the utterance of names and the appearance of worlds is simultaneous.[13] Connected with this concept of correspondence is that of *nāma*. and *rūpa*. *Nāma* is the continuum of ideas and is represented by its

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11. (a) By Bhartṛihari—V.P. I. 81
Dhvani (Resources literally, resonance) is identical with *Sphoṭa*) '*Sphoṭarūpāvibhāgena dhvanergrahaṇamiṣyate*'
(b) 'Sound is manifester and *Sphoṭa* is that which is manifested' Bhartṛihari—V.P. I. 97.
Vyaṅgya-vyañjakabhāvena tathaiva sphoṭanādayoḥ
12. V.P. I. 117
Sā (vāk) Sarvavidyāśilpānām Kalānāṃca nibandhanī tadvaśādabhiniṣpannam Sarvam vastu vibhajyate
13. A. Coomarswamy—Vedic Exemplarism page 59,
'Thus we find in J.B. III. 33 that 'The Sun is sound ; therefore they say of the Sun—'He proceeds resounding'—*ya ādityah svara eva sah, tasmādetam ādityamāhus svar etīti.*'

contingent aspect *rūpa* or form. *Nāma* is the microcosm, *rūpa* the macrocosm, the *rūpa* being 'a reflection or projection' of the *nāma*, so that form can be said to correspond to the world of the continuum of ideas. [14] In the realm of aesthetics, *nāma* is the word; *rūpa*, the meaning. Aestheticians and poets found in this concept a way of going very deeply into the question of inner and outer meaning, or reality and appearance, as western theorists might say. It is for this reason that Sanskrit poets have freely borrowed both the terminology and method of linguistics and visual arts, as if using the operations of practical algebra on the higher plane of abstract algebra.

Along with the concept of *Vāk* and that of correspondence, the concept of communion or *yoga* takes its place as part of the foundation of Indian aesthetics in general and poetry in particular. This concept involves the further one that art in fundamental ways is different from all other experience. Its difference is to be noted in its nature as communion, and this communion makes art unique in the following ways :

1. Art involves two 'repositories of common trust'[15] the artist and his audience, in an act characterized by *Sahṛidaya*, that is literally 'one having a heart for art.' [16] This quality shared by

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14. *Ibid.*, page 51.
 'It is in fact as a reflection or projection and as we shall see expressively (*sṛijyamāna*) that the eternal reasons or ideas (*nāmāni*) are represented in their contingent aspects (*rūpāṇi*), a formulation that implies the traditional doctrine of the correspondence of macrocosm and microcosm, as enumerated for example in A.B. VIII. 2.'

15. S. H. Vatsyayan—Conflict as a Bridge (Diogenes 45) (page 51)
 'Art was therefore something more than communication, it was an act of communion. Between the two parties involved, there already existed not only an understanding on certain basic premises but something of the nature of a solemn covenant. Art was a dialogue, not between two strangers but between, shall we say, not each to the other, but to both the treasure that lay between them.'

16. Abhinavagupta—Abhinava-Bhāratī
 'A *Sahṛidaya* (a competent receptacle of Art) is one who has acquired the capacity to identify himself with the object of art, because his mind has been purified and made resplendant (like a mirror) through continuous appreciation of art, and subsequently one who can have a heart to heart communion with the artist.'
 Yeṣām Kāvyānuśīlanābhyāsavaśād viśadībhūte manomukure varṇanīyatanmayībhava nayogyatā te svahṛidayasaṃvādabhājaḥ sahṛidayāḥ.'

the participants is communion, something transcending mere communication.

2. Art as communion involves the world of All, not the world of It,[17] the whole as against the particularities of real-life experience.

3. Art puts the artist in communion with his own *self* which is revealed simultaneously with the art creation. [18] The art experience as a rushing stream of awareness has removed all obstacles to the artist's perception, not of his psychological, but his metaphysical self. This perception of the metaphysical self through the communion of Art is what is called in Sanskrit aesthetis, *rasa*, a key term which I will return to at some length later.

4. Art as communion is an end in itself, and has no other purpose but its own fulfilment. [19]

5. Art as communion differs from spiritual experience in that, while the latter requires complete surrender to a higher more impelling stream of reality, the former involves the complete merger of non-identical objects with the subject.[20] That is, art does not

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17. S.H. Vatsyayan—*Ibid.*, p. 52

18. (a) R. Gnoli—The Aesthetic Experience Acc. to Abhinavagupta—page 67-68 (tr. of Abhinava Bhāratī)
'The perception of Fear (as an aesthetic experience) is of a different order from the ordinary perceptions, for they are necessarily affected by the appearances of fresh movements...and just for this reason are full of obstacles. The sensation as *Rasa* on the contrary is the matter of cognition by a perception devoid of obstacles and may be said to enter directly into our hearts to dance before our eyes.'
(b) Mammaṭa—Kāvyaprakāśa IV
'*Rasa* is experienced as a revelation of the self by the consciousness of Self itself' (*svākara ivābhinnopi gocarīkritah*).

19. *M. Hiriyanna* Art Experience, page 27.
'The experience of art, like that of the ideal condition, is an ultimate value in the sense that it is sought for its own sake and not as a means to anything else.'

20. R. Gnoli—*The Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavagupta*, page XXIV.
'Religious experience marks the complete disappearance of all polarity, the lysis of all dialexis in the dissolving fire of God, the *yogin* as it were isolated in the compact solitude of his consciousness far beyond any form of discursive thought. In aesthetic experience, however, the feelings and the facts of everyday life, even if they are transfigured are always present......Art is not absence of life—every element of life appears in aesthetic experience—but is life itself pacified and detached from all passions.'

reject common experience, but through communion, transforms it so that at that participates in the art experience finds its place in one whole. This does not mean release *from* but release *of* passions and attachments.

Besides the intellectual basis for Sanskrit poetics, of course, there is the social one which can be perceived as a threefold matter : the poet's social position, his audience, and his education. Even during the period of degeneration of Sanskrit poetry, the poet's position at court was as eminent as it was unchallengeable. Moreover he could expect an extremely sophisticated audience, initiated to his art by a gradual process of refinement, which was partly the result of intense and incessant experience with art and literature and partly the result of minute observation of man and nature. [21] Thus the poet, using conventions of various kinds, could expect his audience to understand his hints and indirections. Indirectness became a tool of great power, though never an end in itself. The contact between poet and audience was so rich and complicated that much could be said with little, but this meant a poet who could live up to such a demanding bargain. His training was rigorous, but depended more on self-discipline than a regular course of instruction. Poetic discipline required not merely emotional involvement, but intellectual refinement, [22] for the poetic ideal went beyond social good to encompass that highest propriety which is the

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21. M. Hiriyanna—*ibid.*, page 23.

'But the (poetic process) should still involve activity, in as much as a proper appreciation of a work embodying the results of idealization is impossible without an imaginative reconstruction of its content......The beautiful as a value needs to be striven for and achieved.'

22. Kṣemendra—Kavi *Kaṇṭhābharaṇa* Chapter 1/17-18.

'A poet should cultivate taste in songs, ballads, poems (in Sanskrit as well as popular dialects) and discussions pertaining to appreciation of charms of speech.

A poem shoots up as a sprout from the mind of that poet alone, who has identified himself with one after another aesthetic experience and has rejoiced at various displays of poetic skill and whose creative energy is impelled into action by its inner heat and simultaneously by its moistening by the water of discretion.'

Gīteṣu gāthāsvatha-deśabhāṣakūveṣudadyāt saraseṣu karṇam
Vācām camatkāravidhayinīnām navārthacarcasu rucim vidadhyāt
Rase rase tanmayatāmgatasya guṇe guṇe harṣavaśīkṛtasya
Vivekasekasvakapākabhinnam manaḥ prasūteṅkuravatkavitvam.'

source of ethical formulation.[23] This propriety is the awareness of the order and harmony of things; the function of poetic creation is to generate a true sense of identity of all knowing subjects, a sense that can be called a full and perfect beatitude.[24]

These then are the fundamentals. Upon them, Sanskrit poetic tradition develops its chief characteristics. As would be expected, this tradition gave priority to the abstract in its methods. Thus, meticulous analysis of form became paramount in criticism, concrete representation giving way to abstract representation. The formal categories of rhetoric-figure, diction, assonance, and total variety—became subservient to one end :[25] that is, to reveal unrevealed meaning. The logicality of all these formal categories becomes redundant in the new scheme of things[26] in which criticism aims at nothing less than realistic analysis, if we remember that reality here is inner meaning. Thus, the rhetorical figure was not important in its own self, but only as a means of revealing inner meaning. Its value was in its power to bring to fullness inner meaning which is perceived by the illumination of poetic experience, sublimed of all accidental properties, unique in itself and yet itself generalizing to encompass the higher reality. Form served, so to speak, as a hand to hold the mirror at the right angle, that angle in which your own self, aesthetically purified and realized, could be seen. This self, this inner meaning is that state of self-consciousness so sought after

23. M. Hiriyanna—*Ibid.*, p. 19.
'Similarly in creating a new world, the aim of the poet is to reveal to us the inner significance of the world of Nature.

24. (a) R. Gnoli—*Ibid.*, page XXVII.
'Art, Abhinavagupta says, in contradiction to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and to tradition in general, is not instructive, except indirectly, in so far as it sharpens the aesthetic sensibility and therefore the consciousness.'
(b) Abhinavagupta—T. A, X, v. 85
Sarvapramātṛtādātmyaṃ pūrṇarūpānubhāvakam.

25. M. Hiriyanna—*Ibid.*, p. 36,
'The emotional aspect of the situation can be indicated only in an indirect or mediate sense, the media being the thoughts and images, as conveyed by the poet's words, of the objective constituents of that situation.'

26. R. Gnoli—*Ibid.*, page XXXI.
'The logical and practical categories of language are a diagram, an obstacle which comes between the reality and our consciousness. The difference between the poetical and the ordinary language lies in this, that the former is devoid of these categories and attains the reality before its solidification into the modes of discursive thought.'

in Indian tradition, a state at once within easy reach and yet hard to hold on to.

This is clearly a transcendental view of art, which, however much it owes to Kashmir Śaivism on the metaphysical level and Sanskrit grammar on the formal level, took its own lines of development. These lines, it should be noted, deliberately excluded considerations of logical compatibility. The reasoning behind this exclusion is characteristic of the tradition and important for poetic criticism and practice. The new theorists flatly rejected the absolute value of their framework for literary hierarchy.[27] Like the Buddhists of Central Doctrine (Mādhyamika), they refuse to take a positive logical position because none, they insist, can be held. Their own holds only because it is the negative of a position, of all positions. It is the logical incompatibility of the ultimate reality that receives emphasis in this idealistic aesthetic scheme, the implication being that reality transcends logic. This is illustrated in the theory of *Rasa*.

Rasa, is a state of awareness of the metaphysical self through the communion of art. The state which is *rasa*, however, is not the result of a particular cause, though it is brought into play by experiencing words in a certain order, that is, meaning of a transcendent kind. Because *rasa* is not the outcome of a cause and effect relation, logical criteria are irrelevant to its nature. Moreover, logic cannot account for a state which is matter of direct perception, as is the *rasa* state, in spite of the fact that this state is manifested through a verbal experience. The verbal experience itself, when *rasa* is attained, recedes into the background. It follows that the very logical distinction of subject-object is beside the point, For in the state of *rasa* no subject or object can be said to exist. It is only for the convenience of critical discourse that *rasa* is divided into nine or ten types ; in itself the state indivisible and whole. When the passions or *bhāvas* are transformed into *rasa* a state of indifferenciable beatitude is attained. Logic, then, is insufficient to account for the creative experience of reality in its wholeness.

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27. Ānandavardhana—D.A. IV, 6
'There is no finite limit to the poetic meaning, provided that the poet has the creative capacity to produce it.'
(*Nakāvyārthavirāmasti yadi syāt pratibhāguṇah*)

Once it was accepted that reality is superlogical and that any proper aesthetics must account for this in its methods, theorists could use traditional categories to formulate a new frame of reference for responding to art. So one finds old terms, but used to new, more idealistic purposes as the Sanskrit aesthetic attains maturity. Old terms like *guṇa, rasa, dhvani* and *aucitya* appear with the new significance. Whereas in materialistic philosophy *guna* implied attribute of substance now it stands for the 'intrinsic quality' of a work. Whereas in drama *rasa* meant transformation of mood now it means the soul of a work, without which the body is lifeless.[28] *Dhvani*, as we have seen, meant resonance in linguistic terminology; now it implies the means for getting at inner meaning. And there is also the technical term *aucitya* or appropriateness from ethical philosophy which here signified a sense of proportion to the entire work. These terms constitute a scheme for analysis and classification, for explicating linguistic meaning, both primary (or outward) and secondary (or inward).

This scheme was perceived as analogous to the human life ;[29] words and meaning constituted the body *rasa* the soul, *dhvani* the cital breath,[30] *guṇa* the intrinsic personality, figure of speech the external features beautified, and *aucitya* the right symmetry. The scheme provided categories for poetic judgment also. Works could be judged as one of three types, excellent or *uttama*, good or *madhyama* bad or *adhama*.[31] Excellence in a work was where the inward or suggested meaning was placed higher than the outward or direct meaning ; goodness was when the two meanings were given equal status, bad when the inward was wholly ignored. This, then is the basis on an idealistic art and the critical apparatus that was aimed to justify and promulgate it.

But like all schemes it soon enough was severely tested by the complications of reality and revealed serious contradictions and

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28. For detailed discussion see :
S. Kuppuswami Sastri—Highways and Byways of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit. Pages 25-29.

29. Mammaṭa—Kāvya Prakāśa VIII.

30. S. Kuppuswami Sastri—*Ibid.*, page 22.
'The life of speech consists in this suppressed element and the greater the life that art has, the greater is the suppressed element in it.'

31. S. Kuppuswami Sastri—*Ibid.*, pages 41-42

weaknesses.[32] For instance, it was felt that glaring injustice was being done to poems of the second category. So an element of appeal was added to critical assessment.[33] This new element was an extension of the concept of *rasa*, in that a poem of the second category might be found to have an illusive appeal which cannot be classified as *rasa*, but resembles it in the respect that it promotes a higher level of response. The difficulty in this tinkering with category became evident when many poems of the second category were judged to outrank those of the first, so that good became better than excellent. Paṅḍitarāja Jagannātha desperately tried to resolve this contradiction by inventing a new category, *uttamottama*, or the most excellent.[34] Thus the best works would have to have both the charm of appeal and of indirection at their highest ; the second best would have the charm of indirections or suggestions subdued by the charm of appeal or the beauty of its outward expression. The third would have equivalence of both kind of charms, and the fourth would neither have appeal nor suggestion in it, a clever juggling of words merely.

Another solution was that of Viśvanātha who tried to extend the definition of *rasa* until he could assert that every sentence of poetry is permeated by *rasa*, it being the very soul of poetry. This approach was properly attacked by critics like Paṅḍitarāja for narrowing the scope of poetry and stretching the term *rasa*. But all this fiddling with classification was beside the point, a purely logical dilemma growing out of the inherent problems of any system of classification when it confronts a complex experience. It was the experience, as perceived by theorists, that mattered. And the answer to the problem of poetic meaning and value was found in an examination of the creative process seen as a whole—from the construction of a poem to its proper appreciation by the right reader. Writer and reader share in a process that transcends

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32. *Ibid.*, page 42.
'Ānandavardhana himself suggests that this reclassification is only a tentative device which he has suggested as a challenge to the traditional classification of literature into various genera, to the traditional method of compartmental slicings and cuttings.'

33. *Ibid.*, page 48.
'The beauty consists in its pathetic appeal to the *Sahṛidaya* (appreciator).'

34. S. Kuppuswami Sastri—*Ibid.*, page 47-48.

intellectual judgment;[35] they meet in an illumination of dynamic self-consciousness. The writer creates for his reader, anticipates him in his imagination as one who will understand with something like his own creative awareness or *pratibhā*. The reader in some sense reconstructs[36] the poet's creation in the act of reading, and shares thus the awareness in which personal passions are converted into the impersonal, into *rasa*, a mood, unconfined to one time or place. This state is the goal of art for both artist and audience, that is, the man whose greatest urgency is to respond. These urgencies lie hidden in most men; only the few are able to convert them into realization.[37]

The process of conversion of passion to *rasa* resembles the process by which cosmic energy or *Śakti* is brought to realization—that is, in a three-staged development : the operation of the creative energy ; its transmission, and the effect of the transmission in the form of delight. In this parallel Śiva is equated with word and meaning ; as Śiva is lifeless without the operation of Śakti, word and meaning are æsthetically meaningless without the operation of *rasa*.

But one hastens to add here that for all the subtlety in this process, it is by no means to be thought of as esoteric or mystical. For the tools to both linguistic and æsthetic awareness lie nearby, in the experience of everyday commonplace events and the impressions they leave.

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35. See G. N. Shastri—Philosophy of Word and Meaning, page 225.

36. *Ibid.*, page 22-23.
'On the part of the artist, there is much scope for anticipatory imagination and on the part of the Sahṛdaya, there is scope for anticipatory realization.'

37. R. Gnoli—*Ibid.*
'The force which makes possible the magical conversion of the passions into Rasa, freeing them of time and space is the creative intuition, *pratibhā*. This power is none other than the same consciousness, the same self.'

38. Bhaṛithaṛi-Vākyapadīyā II 317-318.
'Conjunction, disjunction, association, disassociation, function, context, symbol, proximity of another word, linguistic comparability, location. tense, gender, accent and the like are the factors which lead to an unambiguous comprehension of a particular meaning, when the sign has a multivalence of meanings.' [Saṃyogo viprayogaśca sāhacaryaṁ virodhitā/ Arthaḥ prakaraṇaṃ lingaṃ śabdasyānyasya sannidhiḥ// sāmarthyamaucitī deśaḥ kālo vyaktiḥ svarādayaḥ/ śabdārthasyānavacchade viśeṣasmṛitihetavaḥ].

These, of course, are recorded by linguistic signs ; and as the linguist seeks meaning of signs by an analysis of their syntactical contexts,[40] so the poet and the adept reader when seeking for inner meaning address their imaginative powers to the whole context of the word, until it becomes truly *Vāk* in their awareness. Thus proper analysis concentrates on the speaker of a poem, the person addressed, the occasion of the speech, the presence of third parties, the poetic context, and, of course, the linguistic character of the speech itself. Thus *Vāk* is realized, and, if it is remembered that *Vāk*, that language itself, is independent of, and in some sense creates, sensory appearances, then it is clear why the poet or reader is more interested in the linguistic sign than in what thing in nature it seems to refer to. If the linguist is concerned with the linguistic sign as it related to some reference in the natural world, the creative person is concerned in the linguistic sign as part of a whole that expresses and creates awareness of a higher reality.

Yet it should not be thought, as is all too frequently done, that this higher reality involves the awareness of a far off, Platonic universal.[41] Indian æsthetic theory has been misunderstood all too often as leading to a sort of abstract and universal art, an art of lofty but vague sentiments and commonplaces. This is, alas, more Victorian than Indian. The true awareness of *Vāk* in all its depths

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39. Mammaṭa—Kāvya Prakāśa III 2/22.
'Suggestion is that function of meaning which operates on the linguistically determined meaning and with the aid of a creative imagination, gives it a different meaning based on the particular factor of the speaker, the person addressed, the intonation, the syntax, the expression-format, the presence of a third person added to the speakers, occasion, time and place, etc.'

40. L. Doležel : Statistical Theory of Poetic Language [Prague Studies in Math. Linguistics] page 98.
'The main distinction is to be made between two functional languages : communicative and poetic......the function of communicative language was described as the tendency toward the expression of the extralingual reality (referent), whereas the poetic function is the tendency to move the sign itself into the centre of attention'......In general communicative language is characterized by the automization of linguistic means and rules. On the contrary poetic language, in order to draw attention to the language sign itself, has to destroy or at least to shift the conventional relationships between sign and referent. It has to use linguistic means and rules, in an unusual, creative manner.'

41. See R. Gnoli—The Aesthetic Experience Acc. to Abhinavagupta, page XXX-XXXI for detailed discussion.

is anything but a matter for discursive understanding. It is far more concrete and intuitive, for its response is to a unique particular, the individual work of art which reveals something which neither existed before nor can exist elsewhere; and this revelation is 'not a presentation of possibilities'; it is 'the possibility itself.'[42] The poet has realized, and his appropriate audience with him, a new portion of truth through the means open to his art.

It is for this reason that logical classification fails. The uniqueness of art, the organic character of its processes, brings any logical system applied to it into contradiction with itself. The truth is that criticism can only make approximations in this field, for even the most adept reader, experiencing the art work to his fullest, cannot wholly describe what is happening to himself or why it happens.

The maturest theory of creative process, tried to take this fact into account, but it did not always succeed. For instance, theorists of the new scheme subordinated rhetoric to poetics (and did not regret it)[43] generally a healthful position. But in developing an account of the role of figures of speech, technically called *alaṅkāra*, they got into trouble. They began to concentrate on technique rather than the end of technique, on description instead of function, on classification instead of analysis. They accepted the view that poetry could be enriched by *alaṅkāra* or that could be plain, *vastu*. So far so good. They also recognized that the poetry of suggestion, of inner meaning, could be either, as could poetry of the lower variety. And then they lost sight of the issue entirely, multiplying distinctions beyond the point of any usefulness.

Abhinavagupta, the propounder of the new integrated theory, had two purposes in mind in developing the theory of a poetry of suggestion or *dhvani*. First, he wished to clarify how *rasa* got into

42. Arturo B. Fallico, Art and Existentialism, page 21.

43. V. Raghavan—Some Concepts of Alaṅkāraśāstra, page 54.
'Albeit the importance of form, one should not understand the rhetoric as poetry. It is possible to sacrifice poetry at the altar of figure. There is such a thing as *aucitya* appropriateness, harmony and proportion, which is the ultimate beauty in poetry. The final ground of reference for this *aucitya*, the thing with reference to which, we shall speak of other things as being inappropriate, is the foil of poetry, Rasa.'

poetry ;[44] for it is one thing to declare a passion or mood, quite another to create it. A mere declaration has little power to stir ; finding any embodiment of the passion is another matter. The theory of suggestion was conceived to cover such an embodiment. Second, Abhinavagupta was trying to account for a curious fact in poetry, in all art ; that by obeying rules, the artist becomes free. *Dhvani* was a term implying 'synthesis between law and liberty.'[45] That is, each new poet brings his uniqueness to the literary conventions, and working through them, in some sense transforms them. *Dhvani* or suggestion is the way in which the individual poet, so to speak, angles the mirror of convention to reveal his awareness.

It is for this very reason that the successors of Abhinavagupta, less flexible than the master, went wrong. Trying to fix ideal forms in their classifications, multiplying stylistic distinctions, they missed the point. For the conventions, given the fact of unique poetic expressions, had constantly to undergo change, both from author to author and from period to period.

But because there can be no fixed scale in this matter, it is not to be inferred that there could not be a consistent way of looking at every poetic creation. Such a way, however, must be founded on an understanding of the participants of the creative experience as well as that experience itself, not on extrinsic classifications and catalogues of beautiful *alaṅkāra*. As I have earlier stated, the search for the unique experience of aesthetic meaning, for an awareness of the full significance of *Vāk*, is the outcome of a profound desire for communion of minds ready for the aesthetic experience. Though the poet is unique, as is his reader, communion is possible because, in the Indian view, at the level of poetic discourse individuality and society become meaningless terms. Sanskrit pœtics does not make any distinction between individualistic or personal writing and writing for the purpose of society ; it does this because Indian thought in general does not accept a 'polarity between the individual and the group.' At the

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44. Misra—*Rasa Siddhānta* (Kalpanā—Aug. '67)
'*Rasa* experience cannot be had through words and their conventional meanings, directly a sentence like 'I love you' by itself does not stimulate a *rasa* experience and yet this experience has to come through a function of the language. It was therefore essential that a higher linguistic function be introduced to serve as a medium of this experience.'

45. S. Kuppuswami Sastri—*Ibid*,, page 23.

level of poetic experience, there is no individual and there is no group; there is no scheme, there is no personal feeling, and there is no social obligation; there is only an impelling stream of consciousness which has carried with it all the limitations of time and space and has completely merged the object of appreciation with the subject and merged the purified subject in the consciousness of the form of the appreciated object. It does not follow from this description that the poetic experience is somehow other worldly; on the contrary, it is based primarily on *words* and thier *meanings*, objectively predetermined in a particular group and secondarily on manipulations of sound, with a view to catching the sensitive and the trained ear for verse. This phenomenon distinguishes the poetic experience from the other similar experience on higher plane.

Sanskrit poetic tradition was deeply rooted in recitation; it is basically an oral tradition. A rigorous training in articulation of sounds in chanting was given and still is followed in some Indian families. A poet, therefore, had to be awake to this receptive environment. Rājaśekhara (X Cent. A. D.) and Kṣemendra (11th-12th) Cent. A.D.) have described in great detail the practical aspects of this tradition. Rājaśekhara in his treatise Kāvya Mīmāmsā (Chapters XI & XII) has thoroughly discussed how a poet is inspired by his predecessor's writings and how gradually his own poetry springs from the poetry which has preceded him. Rājaśekhara also laid down the prerequisites for an effective recitation : clear and steady articulation, proper rise and fall of intonation, control of speed, appropriate pause in accordance with the semantic requirements, sense of cohesion of compounded words and control of volume in accordance with the theme. He has given a very apt simile to describe the ideal type of recitation. A good reciter articulates the sounds with the delicate firmness with which a tigress holds her cubs by her teeth; she would not let them fall and yet she would not hurt them. He also laid emphasis on observation of nature and man as an essential part of a poet's training. Kṣemendra discussed the appropriateness of metrics in *Suvrittatilaka* and demonstrated with ample illustrations in his *Aucityavicārā-carcā* that the theory of appropriateness is the secret of a poetic creation. He also wrote a treatise on the training of poets and enumerated among the various courses of the training, the following very important ones; recitation of excellent pieces, versification, association with poets, appreciation of

dance drama and other fine arts and a study of folklore. Modern critics have ignored these practical matters and given their attention to the theoretical categorizations. Their misplaced emphasis has made Sanskrit poetics look very unsubstantial and unreal. The practical matters transmitted more through the oral tradition are much more to the point than abstract categories. Commentaries on Sanskrit poetry have only partly maintained the balance between practical and theoretical criticism. It is the teacher tradition or *guru-paramparā* which has been the most effective repository of the Sanskrit poetic tradition. It was this oral-oriented tradition which continuously imposed new life into the application of the idealistic theory. This living tradition drew inspiration from new creations, not only in Sanskrit, but also from the more popular dialects. A careful reading of the aesthetic treatise of Madhusudana Sarasvatī, a sixteenth century thinker, would show that he has been deeply influenced by the medieval vernacular Bhakti poetry and it is with such poetry in mind that he has propounded the theory of *Bhakti Rasa* or the devotional *rasa* as the sole real poetic entity. All other divisions of poetry into love, pathos or whatever are various shades of *Bhakti rasa*. Yet he, too, accepted the traditional rhetorical conceptions. So in fact, the flexibility and, subsequently, the broader applicability of the theory are made possible through a structural framework which is more or less constant and, as such, Sanskrit rhetoric, though subservient to the poetics, is important as the sole means to comprehend the scope of its possibilities.

Before I conclude, I would like to give a few illustrations of the traditional rhetorical and poetic approach to poetic discourse. I begin with a plain style verse of Bhavabhūti :

Purā yatra srotāh pulinamadhunā tatra saritām
Viparyāṣsamyāto ghanaviralabhāvah Kṣitiruhām
Bahoḥ Kālāddṛṣṭam hyaparamiva manye vanamidam
Niveśaḥ śailānām tadidamiti buddhim draḍhayati

I would read first the English verse rendering of this verse by L. Nathan.

Where the stream once went sand of the rivers; the great trees
In their hundreds, stumps; and saplings are now great trees.
Nothing of what I knew except the mountains,
Unmoved rock which says: this is the place.

This is an utterance by Rāma, when he comes on a very cruel duty of State to visit *Pancavaṭī*, the place where he had long lived with

Sītā, now in exile for twelve years. Everything has changed. The world of Rāma has changed, but Rāma the ruthless symbol of *duty* still lives. In this verse the direct statement in its particular order is by itself very moving; but when the additional considerations of the total poetic situation are taken into account, the entire verse rings a deeper tone. The first word *purā* (ages ago) strikes the keynote of the underlying situation and then comes *sand*, that is what has happened to *Rāma*'s love for *Sīta*, then comes the taking away of shade of great trees, the isolation of *Rāma*; followed by the coming up of a new array of trees, a new generation, which will not understand *Rāma*, and the speech ends in the hard, unmoved rocks, which would not allow *Rāma* to escape into the memories of the past; these are the hard realities of his position as king. The suggested pathos in *Rāma's* life is further heightened by the assonance of the syllables and the fall of the lines: *purā yatra srotah* echoes the gushing rush of the stream, *ghanaviralabhāvah* the reversal of the situation regarding the trees, and the string of long syllables in *niveśah śailānām* is in harmony with the expanse of the harder reality; the string of smaller syllables in *tadidamiti* underlines the utter annihilation of the individuality of *Rāma*. The use of singular in the case of the stream indicates the uniqueness of *Rāma*'s love for *Sītā* and the use of plural in the case of (*Saritām) rivers* indicates the drying up of very possible affection. To conclude, a *rasa* or an aesthetic experience of pathos has been aroused through this suggested meaning, the dormant sentiment being *Rāma's* grief over *Sītā's* exile, the situation in nature serving as an excitant. This sort of literary appreciation is at once a-historical and a-social; for here is neither an historic Rāma, nor a real social situation in the mind of the poet or his audience. The *rasa* aroused is not just sympathy for Rāma but compassion for the human condition; it is actually an immersion of both Rāma and the reader into a consciousness of the form of such a heightend emotion.

Let us take an ornate example from Kālidasa, who is so well-known for his similies :

'Gata eva na te nivartate
Sa sakhā dīpa i vānīlāhatah.
Ahamasya daśe va paśya mām
Aviṣahyavyasanenn dhūmitām,'

Its English verse rendering by Nathan reads as :

'Your friend would not rise up again
As a light, stunned by the wind, goes blackly out.

And I—look at me—a wreck
Smoking in a dead and darkened lamp.'

It is from Kumārasambhava, Canto IV where *Rati* laments for the loss of *Kāma*, the God of Desire, who has been burnt to ashes by *Śiva*. *Rati* is addressing the *Spring*, who is said to be the companion of *Kāma*. The comparison of *Kāma* with a blown-out lamp and of *Rati* with the *wick* by itself is very striking. It is based on a very familiar and common domestic experience. But '*Paśya māṁ*' (*look* at me) gives the clue for the search for deeper meaning; this *me* is no longer identical with *Kāma*; it is no longer merged in the activity of desire. And now, the simile reveals a new significance. *Rati* symbolized the act of *giving in love*, *Kāma* symbolized *Desire*, *Kāma's* effulgence is made possible by this self-sacrificing love, just as the lamp is lit by the burning of the wick; conversely the very purpose of self-sacrificing love is destroyed. *Kāma's* death is the determining factor. When *desire* is extinguished, self-sacrificing love is left as forlorn, bleak and dark as the smoky wick of the blown-out lamp. This new meaning heightens the sentiment of pathos. A further scrutiny of the words shows that the use of heavy syllables in describing *Rati* and that of light syllables in describing *Kāma* are both very significant; *Kama* is gone in a puff of wind, *Rati* is left behind.

I would now like to give one more illustration from a verse which is excellent so far as its suggestiveness goes, but at the same time it has apparent faults. The verse reads as :

Nyakkarō hyayameva me yadarayas tatrāpyasau tāpasaḥ
So pyatraiva nihanti rākṣasakulān jīvatyaho Rāvaṇaaḥ
Dhigdhik Śakrajitaṁ prabodhitavatā kim Kumbhakarṇena vā
Svargagrāmatikā-viluṇṭhana-vṛithoccūnaiḥ Kimebhir bhujaiḥ

A paraphrase of this verse would be :

'Disgrace is this, that I have *enemies* and amongst them is *one ascetic* and he is right here, right now annihilating clans after clans of demons and Rāvaṇa, their king still lives. Fie on my son, conqueror of Indra. What use of my brother Kuṁbhakarṇa and what use are these arms of mine, swollen vainly by their plundering activities in the hutments of the celestial world.'

The speaker is the great demon king, Rāvaṇa. He is under terrible pressure and utters these statements in self-reproach because

an insignificant mortal like Rāma has intruded into his kingdom. What appears to be a faulty emphasis when he begins with 'disgrace' instead of saying 'this itself is a matter of disgrace,' is in fact not a poetic impropriety, but the revelation of a character in a particular mood. Thus, what seems like a clumsy inversion is, in fact, a reflection of a mood in which a character's feelings are seriously dislocated.

Beyond this obvious syntactical strategy, there are other details that must be noted. First, the use of plural in the case of enemies suggests how unbearable is the situation in which the speaker, who was before without enemies, now finds himself humiliated by innumerable foes. Second, the use of singular in the case of 'ascetic' heightens the humiliation since it selects out of all enemies a single holy man who dares, with no power beyond his own emaciated body to challenge the great king. Third, the use of present tense in the case of 'lives' marks the intensity of self-reproach; for in Rāvaṇa's eyes, the situation in which he now finds himself should have shamed him to death long before. Here a transitory feeling of reproach is aroused to the level of an intense aesthetic experience, and is, therefore, nearly on the same level with *rasa*.

These illustrations bear out, I hope, that traditional literary criticism, at its best, bases its analysis on the inner structure of a poem and attempts to abstract the inner significance brought to completion by that structure. These illustrations ought to indicate the value of Sanskrit rhetorical analysis as an independent discipline applying to all literary discourse. This discipline approaches literature not as psychology or sociology or even grammar, but as a body of discourse with its own laws and its own meaning, a meaning of the first importance to human understanding. The best Sanskrit critics provide us with a viable mode of discussing this meaning, not as a historical process, but as a living phenomenon, rich, complex, and at the very centre of the human condition.

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On Pāṇini's Sūtra V, 3, 99 Jīvikārthe Cāpaṇye

DR. BUDDHA PRAKASH

In his sūtra V, 3, 99 *Jīvikārthe cāpaṇye* Pāṇini lays down that the suffix *kan* is not added to the words denoting the images of gods which are the source of livelihood but are not the objects of sale. This rule implies that images of gods, besides being objects of worship, also acted as the source of livelihood for a section of people who obviously looked after them and worked as priests, clericals and ecclesiastics in temples and other places of worship. These images were known by the same names by which the gods, they represented were designated. For instance the images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha of this category were also called Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha rather than Śiavaka, Skandaka and Viśākhaka as prescribed in the rule *ive pratikṛitan* V, 3, 96. However there was another class of images which were marketable commodities subject to commercial transactions. They were sold and purchased as other goods and were thus distinct from those which were not marketable and were objects of worship only serving incidentally as source of livelihood for those who attended on them. Such images were called by names of gods, they stood for, with the addition of the suffix *kan* i.e. Śivaka, Skandaka, Viśākhaka. Thus, we have two categories of images of gods, those meant for sale and purchase in markets and those not meant for this purpose. To the names of the former the suffix *kan* was added and to those of the latter it was not added. In this way the images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha, meant for sale and purchase, were called Śivaka, Skandaka and Viśākahka and those, not meant for this purpose, were known as Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha, the question of being source of livelihood being incidental and even adventitious.

The aforesaid state of affairs was altered in the Maurya period which followed the time of Pāṇini. In that age even the images of

gods, meant for monetary gain were given the names of gods, they represented, without the addition of the suffix *kan.* They were not called Śivaka, Skandaka and Viśākhaka, as the rule of Pāṇini, under reference envisaged. Therefore at the time of Patañjali, in the second century B. C., people began to doubt if Pāṇini's rule IV, 3,99 was at all valid. This is clear from a discussion he enters into on this subject. He begins by citing the view that the condition of being unsaleable (*apaṇya*), laid down by Pāṇini for dropping the suffix *kan* and thus naming the images of gods as Śiva, Skanda Viśākha, is redundant. In other words all images of gods should be called after their names, e.g. Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha, irrespective of whether they are marketable or not[1]. To elicit the reason for this view Patañjali raises a query asking 'why'[2] To this, the upholder of the said view replies that, since the Mauryas out of the desire for wealth got images of gods to be made, it is not necessary to insist that the images of gods should not be marketable in order to be called Śiva, Skanda, Visākha.[3] Patañjali rejoins that there is no justification for generalising the usage of the Mauryas to mean that all images of gods are like those which they caused to be made. Hence, he adds that, properly speaking, we may not drop the suffix *kan* from the names of the images of gods of the Maurya period and call them Śivaka Skandaka and Viśākhaka.[4] but should drop it from the names of the images of gods used for worship at his time and call them Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha.[5]

The remarks of Patañjali are so cryptic and laconic that they admit of various interpretations. V. S. Agrawala divides the images of gods into five classes : (1) those installed in temples or open shrines, which are not of individual ownership, and hence not for any one's livelihood, or for sale, but are for worship; (2) those which were either installed in one place or carried from place to place and were meant for worship, but the offerings made to which were the source of livelihood for the priests or clericals who attended on them or the owners and custodians of their shrines;

1. Patañjali, *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* ed. K. V. Abhyaṅkara, Vol. IV p. 479 अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति शिवः स्कन्दः विशाख इति ।
2. किं कारणम् ?
3. मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः ।
4. भवेत्तासु न स्यात् ।
5. यास्त्वेताः सम्प्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति ।

(3) those which were displayed for sale and were not for worship although they were a means of livelihood to their owners; (4) those which the Mauryas caused to be made out of requirement of money and served the triple purpose of worship (*pūjā*), livelihood (*jīvikā*) and commerce (*paṇya*); (5) those which were installed in temples and other places of worship at the time of Patañjali and served to maintain their attendants but were not meant for commerce.[6] Agrawala thinks that Pāṇini's rule, under reference, did not touch upon the first class and it cannot be said how they were called, but the probability is that they were named without the *kan* suffix as *Śiva*, *Skanda* etc., this rule applied squarely to the second class which were accordingly named as Śiva, Skanda Viśākha, and did not apply to the third class which were called Śivaka, Skandaka & Viśākhaka; it also did not cover the Maurya images which should have been called Śivaka, Skandaka and Viśākhaka and not Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha; it applies alright to the fifth class.[7]

Here the import of the discussion is mostly missed. If the dropping of the *kan* suffix did not take place in the case of Maurya images also as in that of other images, meant for commerce, there would have been no occasion for the discussion entered into by Patañjali. His comments were called for only because those images were believed, rightly or wrongly, to nullify Pāṇini's rule or at least to be exceptions to it. Peterson[8] clarifies this point in his translation of this passage as follows: 'In that case (*if āpaṇye* is to be part of the rule), the following expression is not obtained [i.e. must be declared to be bad grammar, while as a matter of fact, it is in common use, and so it is the correctness of the rule that is in peril]. Why ? It is for gain that the Mauryas make images. Let it be admitted that so far, to them, the rule *kano lup* does not apply, but that the affix *ka* should be used. But whatever images among these even are, from the beginning, intended for worship and not for

6. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pānini* pp. 361-363 ; *Pāṇinikālīna Bhāratavarṣa*, pp. 356-358.
7. Abhyaṅkara (Vol. IV p. 479) makes a similar observation in regard to the last two classes ; तशाच इच्छेनें ज्या प्रतिमा तयार केल्या असतील त्या ठिकांणीं लुप् न होइल, पण हल्लीं पूजे कारितां ज्या केल्या आहेत त्या ठिकाणीं लुप होइल । आणि शिवः, स्कन्दः विशाखः आशीं रुपें होतील ।
8. 'The Aucityalaṅkāra of Kṣemendra with a note on the Date of Patañjali', *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol, XVI 1885 pp. 181 ff.

sale to them that rule will apply and the affix *ka* will be barred.' R. G. Bhandarkar rightly finds fault with many aspects of this translation, but he too observes : 'The addition of the condition that the images should not be vendible renders such forms as Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ, Viśākhaḥ grammatically not justifiable. Patañjali must here be taken to mean that these forms are current and that the description 'not vendible' is not applicable to them. 'Why not', he asks. 'Because the Maurya, seeking for gold or money used images of gods as means.' Here the author must be understood to say that the description 'not vendible' is not applicable to the images now called Śivaḥ, Śkandaḥ and Viśākhaḥ because such images were sold by the Mauryas. These images should be called Śivakaḥ, Skandakaḥ and Viśākhakaḥ but they are called Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ, and Viśākhaḥ.'[9] At another place he writes : 'What Patañjali means to say is that the termination *kan* should be applied to the names of the images, sold by the Mauryas, according to Pāṇini's rule; but the rule is set aside in this case and the wrong forms Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha are used.[10] Nāgojibhaṭṭa also clarifies that in Patañjali's view the use of the suffix there is necessary so that the requirement of the rule is met (*tatra pratyaya—śravaṇamiṣṭameveti vadan sūtrasyodāharaṇaṁ darśayati*). Thus it is clear that the Maurya caused images of gods to be made for monetary purposes and they were as good as those, meant for sale, yet, in popular parlance, they were known as Śiva Skanda and Viśākha rather than Śivaka, Skandaka and Viśākhaka, as prescribed by Pāṇini. Patañjali pointed out that it was wrong idiom and bad grammar and the correct forms of words for those images should be Śivaka, Skandaka and Viśākhaka, whereas those, worshipped in temples or other places in his time, should be termed as Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha, for there was no commercial motive or monetary object behind them.

Some writers have imputed other meanings to the observations of Patañjali. Peterson says that all images are vendible in as much as they have the possibility of being sold. Whenever we find some images the presumption arises that they are the objects of sale. The basis for this presumption is that the Mauryas caused images to be made for gain. But subsequently when they are used as objects of

9. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, Vol. I p. 170.

10. *Ibid.*, Vol. I p. 126.

worship only their nature is changed and they are called Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha. The import of this argument is that essentially all images are called Śivaka, Skandaka and Viśākhaka but when they are used exclusively for worship they are known as Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha. According to this construction the reference to the Maurya images is only incidental rather illustrative, or as Böhtlingk suggests, even pejorative. The Sanskrit commentator Nāgojibhaṭṭa, also makes a similar suggestion by not understanding the meaning of the word Maurya and taking it to mean the manufacturers of images. He says that the images made by such manufacturers, on account of their vendibility, should be called with the suffix *ka*, Śivaka, Skandaka Viśākhaka, but those, which are made with the avowed object of worship *ab initio*, are known as Śiva, Skanda, Viśākha. Apparently this suggestion is untenable because there is no evidence to show that the word *maurya* even remotely referred to the manufacturers of idols[11]. The point, missed by these scholars, is that there is no dispute regarding the nomenclature of those images which are meant for sale and those intended for worship—the former are called Śivaka, Skandaka and Viśākhaka and the latter Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha—the dispute arises only in regard to the images caused to be made by the mauryas for monetary consideration—in popular speech they being called Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha, though their correct grammatical forms should be Śivaka, Śkandaka and Viśākhaka, whereas the images used for worship should not be confused with them and should go by the name of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha. Let us see why this dispute at all arose and why one got the impression that all images, even those installed for worship, should not be called Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha, simply because the Mauryas caused images to be made for monetary purposes.

The key-sentence in the passage in question *mauryairhiraṇyārthibhirarcāḥ prakalpitāḥ* has been rendered by Peterson as 'it is for gain that the Mauryas make images,' but, as Bhandarkar has shown, the central idea expressed by the root *kḷp* is that of a plan, system, arrangement, device, mutual fitness or consistency so that

11. मौर्या विक्रेतुं प्रतिमाशिल्पवन्तः। तैरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः। विक्रेतुमिति शेषः। अतस्तासां पण्यत्वात्तत्र प्रत्ययश्रवणप्रसङ्ग इति भावः। तत्र प्रत्यय श्रवणमिष्टमेवेति वदन्सूत्रस्योदाहरणं दर्शयति भवेदित्यादि यास्त्वेता इति च। सम्प्रति पूजार्थाः सम्प्रति स्वनिर्माणसमकालमेव फलजनिका या पूजा जीविकाप्रदत्वेन तदर्था इत्यर्थः।

the sentence means that 'the images were devised fitted or made to answer by the Mauryas who wanted gold, i. e., to answer or fit in with their desire for gold, in other words, they were used as means fit for the end, the attainment of gold'[12]. From this it appears that the Mauryas did not manufacture images just for sale as ornamental pieces, but made use of them for meeting their need of gold while they were used as objects of worship. In case they had taken up the sale of images as objects of decoration they would have naturally been called Śivaka, Skandaka and Viśākhaka; the controversy arose only because they let the images be installed in temples or other places of worship so that they were called Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha but, side by side, utilized them for making money and satisfying their monetary needs as a result of which it became doubtful if they should be designated by those names rather than be called Śivaka, Skandaka and Viśākhaka. In fact the confusion and doubt regarding the justifiability of calling the images of the time of Patañjali, that were used for worship obviously in temples, by the names of the gods, they represented, without the addition of the suffix *kan*, arose from the very fact that the Maurya images, intended to serve as catch-penny devices, were also similarly installed in shrines and acted as the objects of worship for the people and were called by names without *kan*. Unless this analogy is borne in mind the point of the argument against the applicability of Pāṇini's rule to the images of Patañjali's time cannot be grasped. On this subject a reference to some sources of information of the Maurya period will be helpful.

The Maurya empire broadly embodied the line of thought enshrined in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya though this work was composed somewhat before or on the eve of its foundation as a theoretical treatise. Its centralised and bureaucratic administration based on totalitarian control, comprehensive planning and absolute authority is anticipated in the *Arthaśāstra*. Regarding religion it envisages the control and direction of the state. For this purpose it conceives of an officer called *devatādhyakṣa* whose duty included the maintenance and control of temples of gods and utilising them as sources of imperial revenue and income. He is enjoined to collect the treasures belonging to temples in the capital and in the country in one place, each separately, and bring them to the trea-

12. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 153.

sury in the same place. His ways of raising money through religious devices are outlined as follows :

After raising at night a god's temple or a sanctuary of a holy person as a miraculous happening, he should live on fairs and festive gatherings (at the place) or, he should proclaim the presence of a divinity by means of a tree in a sanctuary-park endowed with flowers and fruits out of season or agents appearing as holymen, after showing danger from an evil spirit in a tree demanding the tax of a human being, should ward it off for the citizens and the country people for money or, in a well, connected by a subterranean passage, he should show a cobra with a number of hoods for a gift of money. In a sanctuary hole or an ant hill hole, (he should point to) the manifestation of snake in an image of a cobra concealed inside, and after 'arresting its consciousness' by means of food, should show it to the credulous. To those who do not believe he should administer poison when they are sipping water or washing themselves and declare it to be the curse of the divinity or should cause a person condemned to death to be bitten.'[13]

All these measures suggest how religious beliefs and practices were harnessed to the fiscal and financial needs of the state and temples and images of gods made the means of getting money from the people through a special department headed by the *devatādhyakṣa*.

During the reign of Candragupta Maurya, the Greek envoy Megasthenes noted that temples were under the control of the members of the five-man six committees; set up to administer public affairs, acting collectively. [14] This shows that the authors of the Maurya administrative system, taking their clue from the

13. *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, part II by R.P. Kangle pp. 346-347. The text is V, 2, 38-44, part I ed. R. K. Kangle, p. 155 देवताध्यक्षो दुर्गराष्ट्रदेवतानां यथास्वमेकस्थं कोशं कुर्यात् । देवतचैत्यं सिद्धपुण्यस्थानमौपपादिकं वा रात्रावुत्थाप्ययात्रासमाजाभ्यामाजीवेत् । चैत्योपवनवृक्षेण वा देवताभिगमनमनार्तवपुष्पफलयुक्तेन ख्यापयेत् । मनुष्यकरं वा वृक्षे रक्षोभयं प्ररूपयित्वा सिद्धव्यंजनाः पौरजानपदानां हिरण्येन प्रतिकुर्युः । सुरुङ्गायुक्ते वा कूपे नागमनियतशिरस्कं हिरण्योपहारेण दर्शयेत् । नागप्रतिमायामन्तश्छन्नायां चैत्यच्छिद्रे वल्मीकच्छिद्रे वा सर्पदर्शनमाहारेण प्रतिबद्धसंज्ञं कृत्वा .श्रद्दधानां दर्शयेत् । अश्रद्दधानानामाचमन प्रोक्षणेषु रसमुपचार्य देवताभिशापं ब्रूयात्, अभिन्त्यक्तं वा दंशयित्वा ।

14. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 88. 'In their collective capacity they have charge both of their special departments and also of matters affecting the general interest, as the keeping of public building in proper repair, the regulation of prices, the care of markets, harbours and temples.'

policy outlined by Kauṭilya, brought temples of Gods under Government care and control, like markets and harbours, but made the collective body of all the members of the six committees responsible for their regulation.

Under Aśoka also the practice of showing the figures and images of gods and other supernatural objects through state agencies continued though he used them for inculcating piety and preaching morality rather than extorting money. In Rock Edict IV he says that he held popular demonstrations of divine vehicles, celestial elephants, pyrotechnic shows and the figures of gods, for the promotion of dharma[15]. This proves that these shows and performances of gods were prevalent from before the time of Aśoka and according to his policy, he infused a new intent and purpose into them making them instruments for the propagation of moral appeals. But it is clear that the control of state over these figures and images of gods remained intact.

In the light of the above data regarding the control of Maurya government over the temples and images of gods it becomes understandable that Patañjali's remark about the images of Maurya period being called *paṇya* (commercial or vendible) refers to the subjection of religious life, centring on the worship of images of gods in temples, to political regulation. The observation of B.N. Barua that 'Patañjali's source of information about the fiscal expedient of the Mauryas is not disclosed and that the Arthaśāstra does not bear out his statement concerning the Maurya fiscal device'[16] is not convincing. Patañjali referred to the same practice which other Maurya sources bear out.

We know that Patañjali was a contemporary of Śuṅgas whose leader Puṣyamitra slew the Maurya monarch Bṛihadratha in 184 B.C.[17]. His regime represented a Brahmanical restoration and the

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15. Rock Edict IV, Girnar Version, line 2 in A. C. Woolner. *Aśoka, Text and Glossary*, Vol. I, p. 6 त अज देवानांप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राञो धम्मचरणेन भेरिघोसो अहो धम्मघोसो विमानदसणा च हस्तिदसणा च अगिखन्धानि च अञानि च दिव्यानि रूपानि दसयित्पा जनम् ।

16. B. M. Barua, 'The Arthaśāstra : A Blend of Things Old and New', *Bhārata-Kaumudī* (R. K. Mookerjee Commemoration Volume) I p. 126.

17. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 100 ff. ; Sten Konow, *Indian Culture*, Vol. III p. 1 ff., Buddha Prakash, *Studies in Indian History and civilization*.

removal of all heresies and sacrileges which tarnished the rule of the Mauryas. Hence it is clear that at that time political and administrative control over temples was relaxed and they were not treated as fiscal devices or financial mechanisms to extort money from the people. That is why Patañjali remarked that whatever be the case of the images of Maurya times, those of his time were not meant for making money and so were not *paṇya* and were used for worship only and thus could be validly Śiva, Skanda, Viśākha.

Though the Śuṅgas changed the policy of making temples and images of gods installed in them the instrument of extorting money from the people, as the Mauryas had done, the remembrance of it lasted long and found a place in the description of social decadence in the account of the Kali Age in the epics and the purāṇas. In *Mahābhārata* (III, 188, 51) it is stated that in the period of decadence (*Yugakṣaya*), characteristic of the Kali Age, the countrymen would trade in foodstuffs, the crossroads will be centres of sale of Śivas or images of Śiva and the women would make a business of their hair meaning that they would lend themselves to prostitution[18]. Likewise in the description of Kali Age in the *Padma-purāṇa*—VI (uttarakhaṇḍa), 188, 39—the same account is given with the alteration that the twice-born or men of higher castes would trade in idols of Śiva[19]. This description refers to a time when the foreigners, Yavanas and other Mlecchas, dominated the political scene, that is to say, the period of the rule of the Bactrians, scythians and Yue-chi, but it combines all the evils, heresies and sacrileges that the authors could conceive. Among them the poetical control over temples and the monetary use of the images installed in them was prominent being an anathema in the eyes of the Brāhmaṇas whose privileges it undermined. Hence, naturally, they tore it out of the context and fitted it in the account

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18. *Mahābhārata* (Critical Edition) Vol. IV, part II, p. 659.

अट्टशूला जनपदाः शिवशूलाश्चतुष्पथाः ।
केशशूलाः स्त्रियश्चापि भविष्यन्ति युगक्षये ॥

19 *Padmapurāṇa* (Ānandāśrama Edition) Vol. IV, p. 1595.

अट्टशूला जनपदाः शिवशूला द्विजातयः ।
कामिन्यः केशशूलिन्यो दृश्यन्ते भुवि सर्वतः ॥

of the Kali Age corresponding to the rule of the foreigners about the commencement of the Christian era. However, the important point which they preserved was that they called these images by names without the suffix *kan*. Thus we have the forms *Śivaśūlāḥ* and not *Śivakaśūlāḥ* in them showing that the words Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha rather than Śivaka, Skandaka and Viśākhaka were prevalent for such images meant for making money. In fact, if the forms were *Śivakaśūlaḥ* etc. There would have been no calumny because the sale of images for ornamental or decorative or recreational purposes, to the names of which the suffix *kan* is added, is a regular business valid for all times including the *kṛitayuga*. The sin arose only when images, meant for worship, (*Śiva* etc.) were made the instruments of making money, like *Śivaka* etc. The core of the offence was that a sacred object, an image to be worshipped, was treated as a mundane object for sale and commercial gain or *śivas* were treated as *śivakas*. This practice lends colour to the view that what the Brāhmaṇas resented was not the sale of *śivakas* but the commercial use of *śivas* implying the conversion of temples, shrines and places of worship into means for making money on state level. Even the earning of livelihood through the images in temples for the priests and attendants would have been permissible, as the word *jīvikārtha* in Pāṇini's rule signifies, but the interference of the government in them with a view to earning revenue and making money was considered altogether reprehensible and that is why this practice was condemned as a sinful act characteristic of the Kali age.

It is clear from the above discussion that the import of Patañjali's remarks on Pāṇini's sūtra under reference is that the Mauryas exercised political control over religious life and took over the administration of temples and made the images of gods installed in them sources of revenue. This control of the secular authority over religious affairs or treatment and administration of temples under a department of the government was an idea posterior to Pāṇini and hence not envisaged in his rules. It originated with the Mauryas but was rejected by the Śuṅgas as Patañjali's discussion shows snbsequently, it was considered one of those sacrileges which are the hall-marks of social decadence and moral degeneration in the Kali age, because, evidently, the secular phase of Indian history was of brief duration.

Incidentally the above discussion shows that the Sanskrit language was not a static or still show but had to face problems of adjustment with changing situations and usages which kept its dynamism alive.

Derivations of certain names as recorded in the Ādi-parvan of the Mahābhārata (Gītā Press Edition)

SADHU RAM

ONE of the most interesting facts about our ancient ancestors is that they were averse to having unintelligent and meaningless words in their speech. Therefore, they tried to connect every word as far as possible with some action or event to make it significant and intelligible. For this purpose, they invented even hypothetical roots and concocted legends to justify their derivation. Here are a few instances of certain names in the *Mahābhārata* whose derivations are given by the author. They are arranged alphabetically.

1. *Aṇī-Māṇḍavya* : The sage Māṇdavya was called by this name because he went about carrying the point of the stake (*aṇī*) on which he was wrongly impaled on suspicion of theft. On being found innocent, he was taken down from the stake, but its point could not be extracted from his body[1].

2. *Āyutanāyī* : He was the son of Mahābhauma and Suyajñā. As he performed ten thousand (*ayuta*) *Puruṣamedha* sacrifices, he came to be called Ayutanāyin.[2]

3. *Āstīka* : His father, Jaratkāru, while leaving home for the forest on taking offence for being disturbed in his sleep by his wife

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१. तथाऽन्तर्गतेनैव शूलेन व्यचरन् मुनिः ।
अणीमाण्डव्य इति च ततो लोकेषु गीयते ।। (१. १०७. ७. ८)

२. महाभौमः खलु प्रासेनजितीम् उपयेमे सुयज्ञां नाम । तस्याम् अस्य जज्ञे अयुतनायी, यः पुरुषमेधानाम् अयुतम् आनयत् । तेनास्यायुतनायित्वम् ।। (१. ९५. २०)

assured her that there was a child in her womb by saying *asti*. Hence, the son, when born, was called *Āstīka*.[3]

4. *Uparicara* : King Vasu was called Uparicara because he preferred to move about (√*car*) in the air (*upari*) in the crystal aerial car of his friend Indra.[4]

5. *Aurva* : As he was born by bursting open the thigh (*ūru*) of his mother, he was named Aurva[5].

6. *Karṇa* : His former name was Vasuṣeṇa (q.v.). He came to be called Karṇa because he tore off (√*krit*) from his body the golden armour and ear-rings wearing which he was born, and gave them away in charity to Indra who came to beg for them in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa.[6]

7. *Kārttikeya* : Being protected and brought up by the constellation Krittikā (Pleiads), he was called Kārttikeya[7].

8. *Gandhavatī* : She was so called because she emitted the smell of fish from her body which was later turned into a sweet smell by the boon of the sage Parāśara. (*See* also Matsya-gandhā and Yojana-gandhā).[8]

9. *Garuḍa* : Since he flew (*uḍḍīnaḥ*) in the sky carrying the heavy (*guru*) load of an elephant and tortoise in his talons, he came to be called Garuḍa.[9]

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३. 'अस्तीत्युक्त्वा' गतो यस्मात् पिता गर्भस्थमेव तम् ।
वनं तस्माद् इदं तस्य नामास्तीकेति विश्रुतम् ॥ (१. ४८. २०)

४. वसन्तम् इन्द्र-प्रासादे आकाशे स्फाटिके च तम्
उपतस्थुर् महात्मानं गन्धर्वाप्सरसो नृपम् ।
राजोपरिचरेत्येवं नाम तस्याथ विश्रुतम् ॥ (१. ६३. ३३. ३४.)

५. आरुषी तु मनोः कन्या तस्य पत्नी मनीषिणः ।
और्वस् तस्यां समभवद् उरूं भित्वा महायशाः ॥ (१. ६६. ४६),

६. पुरा नाम च तस्यासीद् वसुषेण इति क्षितौ ।
ततो वैकर्तनः कर्णः कर्मणा तेन सोऽभवत् ॥
आमुक्त-कवचो वीरो यस्तु जज्ञे महायशाः ।
स कर्ण इति विख्यातः पृथायाः प्रथमः सुतः ॥ (१. ६७. १४७-१४८)

७. कृत्तिकाभ्युपपत्तेश् च कार्त्तिकेय इति स्मृतः । (१. ६६. २४),

८. सा कन्या दुहिता तस्या मत्स्या मत्स्य-सगन्धिनी । (१. ६३ ६७)
वृणीष्व च वरं भीरु यं त्वम् इच्छसि भामिनी ।
एमम् उक्ता वरं वव्रे गात्र-सौगन्ध्यम् उत्तमम् । (१. ६३. ७९. ८०)
तेन गन्धवतीत्येव नामास्याः प्रथितं भुवि । (१. ६३. ८२),

९. गुरु-भारं समासाद्योड्डीन एष विहंगमः ।
गरुडस्तु खग-श्रेष्ठस् तस्मात् पन्नग-भोजनः ॥ (१. ३०, ७)

10. *Cyavana* : He is said to have dropped ($\sqrt{cyu}$) from the womb of his mother who was frightened at the sight of the demon who came to abduct her.[10]

11. *Jaratkāru* : Since he had emaciated himself by austerities and looked overcome by the old age (*jarā*) and haggard (*kāru*) in appearance, he was called Jaratkāru.[11]

12. *Dakṣa* : He was so called because he sprang from the right (*dakṣiṇa*) thumb of Brahmā.[12]

13. *Dvaipāyana* : His name is derived from the word *dvīpa*, an islet of Yamunā on which he was abandoned as soon as born. He was also called Kṛṣṇa owing to his dark complexion.[13]

14. *Parīkṣit* : He was the still-born child of Abhimanyu who was killed in the Mahābhārata war. He was resuscitated by Lord Krisṇa. Since he was born in a bereaved (*parikṣīṇa*) family, he was named Parīkṣit[14].

15. *Pāṇḍu* : He was so named because his mother turned pale (*pāṇḍu*) on seeing the formidable appearance of the sage Vyāsa who was requested to raise an issue to the deceased Vicitravīrya from his second wife by levirate.[15]

16. *Putra* : As a son is said to save ($\sqrt{trai}$) his departed ancestors from falling into the hell called *Put*, he is termed *putra*.[16]

17. *Prācinvān* : He was the son of Janamejaya. As he conquered the whole of the country to the east (*prācī*) of the sunrise (hill called Udayācala), he was named Prācinvān.[17]

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१०. रोपान्मातुश् च्युतः कुक्षेश् च्यवनस् तेन सोऽभवत् । (१. ६. २)

११. जरेति क्षयम् आहुर वै दारुणं कारु-संज्ञितम् ।
शरीरं कारु तस्यासीत् स धीमाञ्छनैः शनैः ॥
क्षपयमास तीव्रेण तपसेत्यत उच्यते जरुत्कारुरिति ॥ (१. ४०. ३. ४.)

१२. दक्षस् त्वजायताङ्गुष्ठाद् दक्षिणाद् भगवान् ऋषिः । ब्रह्मणः·········॥(१. ६६. १०)

१३. एवं द्वैपायनो जज्ञे सत्यवत्यां पराशरात् ।
न्यस्तो द्वीपे स यद् बालस् तस्माद् द्वैपायनः स्मृतः ॥ (१. ६३. ८६)

१४. परिक्षीणे कुले जातो भवत्वयं परिक्षिन् नामेति । (१. ६५. ८४,)

१५. यस्मात् पाण्डुत्वम् आपन्ना विरूपं प्रेक्ष्य माम इह ।
तस्माद् एष सुतस् ते पाण्डुर् एव भविष्यति ॥(१. १०५. १७)

१६. पुद् इति नरकस्याख्या दुःखं हि नरकं विदुः ।
पुतस् त्राणात् ततः पुत्रम् इहेच्छिन्ति परत्र च ॥ (१. ७५. २४)

१७. जनमेजयः खल्वनन्तां नामोपयेमे माधवीम् । तस्याम् अस्य जज्ञे प्राचीन्वान् ।
यः प्राचीं दिशं जिगाय यावत् सूर्योदयात् । ततस्तस्य प्रचिन्त्वाभि ॥ (१, ९५. १२)

18. *Bharata* : When Śakuntalā was about to leave with her child after narrating her woeful tale to Duṣyanta, who had repudiated her, a divine voice from heaven commanded him to bring up (√*bhṛi*) the child. Hence the child was named Bharata. His lineage came to be called Bhārata and his country also Bhārata.[18]

19. *Matsya-gandhā* : A fish (*matsī*) who had swallowed the floating seed of king Vasu, gave birth to twins. The male child became the king Matsya, and the female child was brought up by a fisherman. Since she emitted piscine smell from her body, she was called Matsya-gandhā.[19]

20. *Mahābhārata* : Being a voluminous (*mahat*) work and heavy (*bhāravat*) to lift and carry, the great epic came to be called *Mahābhārata*.[20]

21. *Yojanagandhā* : The sweet smell of the fish-born Satyavatī could be smelt even at a distance of one *yojana* (about 9 miles).[21] (See also Matsya-gandhā and Gandhavatī above)

22. *Vadhūsarā* : Pulomā, the wife of Bhṛigu was the daughter-in-law (*Vadhū*) of Brahmā. Seeing the river near the hermitage of the sage Cyavana following (√*sr*) the track of his daughter-in-law, the Creator named it Vadhūsarā.[22]

23. *Vasuṣeṇa* : As the child of the Sun born to Kuntī during her virginity, was furnished with a golden armour (*kavaca*) and ear-rings (*kuṇḍala*), he was named Vasuṣeṇa with reference to his rich (*vasu*) equipment.[23] (See also Karṇa above.)

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18. भर्तव्योऽयं त्वया यस्माद् अस्माकं वचनाद् अपि ।
तस्माद् भवत्वयं नाम्ना भरतो नाम ते सुतः ।। (१. ७४. ११४-११५)

19. काये मत्स्या इमौ राजन् संभूतौ मानुषाविति ।
तयो पुमांसं जग्राह राजोपरिचरस् तदा ।।
स मत्स्यो नाम राजासीद् धार्मिकः सत्य-संगरः ।
सा कन्या दुहिता तस्या मत्स्या मत्स्य-सगंधिनी ।। (१. ६३. ६२, ६३, ६७)

20. महत्वाद् भारवत्वाच्च महाभारतमुच्यते । (१. १. २७४)

21. तस्यास् तु योजनाद् गन्धम् आजिघ्रन् नरा भुवि । (१. ६२.४२)

22. अवर्तयन्ती सृतिं तस्या भृगोः पत्न्यास् तपस्विनः ।
तस्या मार्गं सृतवतीं दृष्ट्वा तु सरितं तदा ।।
नाम तस्यास् तदा नद्याश् चक्रे लोकपितामहः ।
वधूसरेति भगवांश्च्यवनस्याश्रमं प्रति ।। (१. ६. ७, ८.)

23. वसुना सह जातोऽयं वसुषेणो भवत्विति । (१. ११०. २४)

24. *Vyāsa* : He was so-called because he arranged (*vi-√as*) the four Vedas.[24]

25. *Śakuntalā* : As soon as this girl was born, she was deserted by her parents and was protected by birds (*śakunta*) under their wings. She, therefore, came to be called Śakuntalā. In the definition given in the epic, the word *Śakunta* does not occur, but instead its synonym *pakṣin* is used.[25]

26. *Śāntanu* : Two derivations of this name are given. According to one, whomsoever he touched with his hands, he felt happy (*śaṁ*) and became young, if old. The second makes him the son of a decrepit (*śānta*) father (named Pratīpa).[26]

27. *Hastināpura* : Since the city was founded by king Hastin, it was called Hastināpura.[27]

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24. विव्यास वेदान् यस्मात् स तस्माद् व्यास इति स्मृतः । (१, ६३. ८८)

25. पक्षिणः पुण्यवन्तस्ते सहिता धर्मतस्तदा ।
पक्षैस्तैरभिगुप्ता च तस्माद् अस्मि शकुन्तला ॥ (unnumbered verse next to १. ७४. ७०)

26. यं यं कराभ्यां स्पृशति जीर्णं स सुखमश्नुते ।
पुनर्युवा च भवति तस्मात् तं शान्तनुं विदुः ॥ (unnumbered verse after १. ६५. ४६.)
शान्तस्य जज्ञे संतानस् तस्माद् आसीत् स शान्तनुः ॥ (१. ६७, १८)

27. सहोत्र खल्व इक्ष्वाकु-कन्याम् उपयेमे सुवर्णां नाम । तस्याम् अस्य जज्ञे हस्ती । य इदं हस्तिनापुरं स्थापयामास ॥ (१. ९५. ३४.)

Lines of Approach to the Problem of Smṛiti Interpretation

DR. SHIVAJI SINGH

THE work of Smṛiti exposition, being interpretative in nature, tends to be subjective and it is not unnatural, therefore, to find different lines of approach developed by scholars of different ages while interpreting the original text of the Smṛitis. Although slight differences in outlook may be marked from author to author, we may clearly distinguish four main lines of approach :

1. The Traditional Approach,
2. The Juristic Approach,
3. The Historical Approach, and
4. The Evolutionist Approach.

The present paper aims at discerning the characteristic features of these lines of approach to the problem of Smṛiti interpretation.

1. The Traditional Approach or the approach of the authors of Smṛiti commentaries and digests

The commentators like Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, Vijñāneśvara etc. and the authors of digests like Devaswāmi, Lakshmīdhara, Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa and others were the pioneers in the study of Smṛitis. It is true that there are slight differences in the attitude, psychological make-up and the individualistic touch of these scholars. Nevertheless, a study of their writings makes it amply clear that they had evolved a particular common outlook through their similar method and aim of exposition.

This outlook, truth obliges us to state, is one-sided and does not correctly represent the basic spirit with which the Smṛitis were composed. The authors cannot, however, be blamed for this. The politico-cultural atmosphere in which they breathed was totally

different from that in which the authors of original Smṛitis had flourished. The free atmosphere of intellectual and moral speculations and expansive and progressive outlook had given place to tenacity, conservatism and rigidity under the impact of alien rule and religious hostility. The age of original Smṛitis was over because it required a spirit of progressive adaptability which was no more present. The new conditions had demanded new weapons of defence and the society was busy making frantic efforts to conserve what was treasured at the time. The need of conservation and stability was upper-most in the minds of these authors and they did what the times demanded.

There is no point, therefore, in blindly imitating their method of interpretation today. The following dominant maxims of the traditional thinking must be reviewed in the perspective of their politico-cultural background :

(a) Belief in the Sacrosanctity of the Smṛiti texts

It is true that the commentators and the authors of digests have given new interpretations to old texts in order to harmonize them with their times but, in theory, they never accept that they are changing or even modifying the old rules. Need of stability is more important to them than the demand of change and they emphasize the eternal nature of the laws. Smṛitis were composed to cater the needs of different localities and different times and, as such they often contain divergent and even contradictory rules in them. These authors, believing in the sacrosanctity of the Smṛiti texts, vigorously struggle with ingenious devices to create uniformity in conflicts. The belief in the universality, consistancy and permanence of the Smṛiti texts comes in their way and they bring about what may be designed as the complete petrification of the texts.

The rules of Mīmāṁsā, which were invented chiefly to uphold the ritualistic side of the Vedic culture as against its speculative side, were utilized to harmonize Smṛiti texts and it was believed that all conflict is only apparent and should be resolved by investigation and, if the conflict is too strong to be reconciled, it should be taken as a case of *vikalpa* or option. This, however, was not the attitude of the Smṛitis. They generally do not try to reconcile their views with those of the earlier Smṛitikāras. Yājñavalkya on the question of taking a Śūdrā wife by a twice-born recollects that the same is ordained by some but emphatically says '*Naitanmama matam*'

(it is not agreeable to my views)[1]. Bṛihaspati, whose admiration for Manu knows no limits, explains the conflicting texts on *niyoga* in the Manu-smṛiti on the basis of *Yuga-hrāsa* (or decline in the consequitive time-cycles) and not as an option as has been done by Medhātithi.[2]

(b) Belief in the equal authority of all the Smṛiti texts

The traditional outlook believes in the equal authority of all Smṛitis. The Smṛitis are not viewed separately but jointly. Even an early commentator like Medhātithi very often uses such words as 'it is obtained by other Smṛiti texts', 'this is what is understood to be meant by the law in other Smṛiti texts' and so on. The belief in the equal authority of all the Smṛitis grew up gradually and explains the tendency to write digests, collecting the material of a large number of Smṛitis together, than commenting upon a single Smṛiti.

This, however, was not the case with the Smṛitikāras who had their own affiliations, likes and dislikes and who took some as their models while neglected others. But this position changed by the time of the commentators and authors of digests and they were all presumed to have absolute unanimity and equal authority. This new stand was not the result of consolidation of all India into a single social complex as has been taken by N.C. Sengupta[3] for it was certainly not a period of India's consolidation when these authors developed this character. It was the necessary and natural corollary of the aforesaid petrification of the texts and the belief in their universal applicability with no barriers of time and space.

(c) Belief in the absolute authority of the Smṛiti texts

The Smṛitis, like the Dharmasūtras, give the first place of authority to Śruti and indicate thereby that in cases of conflict between Śruti and Smṛiti, it is the former that prevails.[4] Śabara, who flourished in the 1st century B. C., distinctly asserts that a Smṛiti rule has no authority if it is in conflict with a Śruti precept. But by the end of the 7th century A. D., the position of the Smṛitis was raised and

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1. *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* 1.56.
2. *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti* Ed. by K.V.R. Aiyangar, Baroda, 1941, *Saṁsakārakāṇḍam*, V. 267 ; Medhātithi on Manu, IX, 64.
3. Sengupta, N.C. : *Evolution of Ancient Indian Law*, Calcutta, 1953, p. 18.
4. *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra*, 1.1.6, : *Gautama-dharmasūtra*, 1.1-2. ; *Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra*, 1.4.6 ; *Manu-smṛiti*, 11.6 ; *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* 1.7.

made equal to that of the Vedas. Kumārilabhaṭṭa, who flourished in the 8th century A. D., controverts the above view of Śabara and concludes that any conflict between the two should be taken as a conflict between two equal authorities.[5] The writers of commentaries and digests take this attitude of their times and lay great stress on the authority of the Smṛiti texts.

The above discussion makes it clear that, pressed under the needs of circumstances, the authors of commentaries and digests uphold the sanctity and authority of the Smṛitis. They could not probe into the real nature of their variations for to them it was too sacred to be analysed.

2. The Juristic approach or the approach of the Law Courts.

With the last quarter of the 18th century, there opened a new era in the field of Smṛiti studies. This time, the Smṛitis fell into the hands of modern scholars, mainly Europeans, who had a totally different training in dealing with legal literature. They developed a new line of approach which was different in almost every respect from the earlier, the traditional approach. Reverential and affectionate vision was replaced by critical and suspecting sight. The laws, that were petrified and unified by the earlier school, were broken and separated by the new line of thought. Sacrosanctity yielded and gave place to modern juristic approach.

The study of Smṛiti law with this new outlook was inaugurated by a few English judges, lawyers and officers. By the famous Regulating Act of 1773, the right of Hindus to have their own civil laws was established and there was an immediate necessity of a Code of Hindu Law understandable to the foreign administrators of justice. But how to prepare such a code ? A large number of difficulties stood in the way. The English did not know Sanskrit, the language in which the laws of the Hindus were to be found. The Paṇḍits, who knew the language of the laws, were unable to render them into English. The English were keen to their political interests, while the Paṇḍits themselves had a second-hand knowledge of the Smṛiti laws for they knew it mainly through commentaries and digests and had inherited the traditional approach of their authors which, as we have seen, did not correctly represent the original spirit

5. Gharpure, J. R. : *Teachings of Dharmaśāstra*, Lucknow, 1956, P. 30 ; Sastri, C. Sankarama : *Fictions in the Development of Hindu Law Texts*, Adyar, (1926), pp. 05-99.

with which the Smṛitis were written. The urgency of the moment gave hardly any time to solve these difficulties.

It was under such a circumstance that a batch of eleven Brahmins was entrusted with the work of preparing a compilation on Hindu law. These traditional Indian scholars, possessing degress generally in *nyāya* and *tarka*, unfortunately hardly knew about any other Smṛiti except those of Manu and Yājñavalkya and based their compilation on a few comparatively less important second-hand sources like the *Kṛitya-kalpataru* and the *Pārijāta*. This misleading epitome of Hindu law, which they had prepared in Sanskrit, was translated first into Persian and then from persian to English and thus the first English treatise on Hindu law entitled 'A Code of Gentoo Laws or Ordinations of the Paṇḍits' was somehow or the other laboured out and published in 1776.

The Preface to this work by N. B. Halhed, who had rendered the English translation, gives us a clear picture of the motives with which the English approached the problems of Hindu Law. Their aim was, to use the words of Halhed, 'to ensure stability to the acquisition' and this, they believed could best be achieved by adopting such institutes of the country as did not immediately clash with the laws or interest of the conquerors.[6]

The judges of the Supreme Court at Fort William experienced great inconvenience in reconciling the natural contradictions found in the Smṛiti texts. Not knowing what to do, some of them accepted and rejected alternatives arbitrarily. 'Laws which are repugnant to each other' writes F.W. Machaghten, one of the judges of the Supreme Court, 'must not all keep their ground, and where we cannot reconcile we must abrogate.' 'I would not expunge', he continues, 'because I thought it absurd, yet if absurdity be met by absurdity, I would make the most detrimental give way.'[7]

This arbitrary and detrimental approach of the judges could not, however, maintain its ground in face of the view of those English scholars who had taken up the study of Sanskrit and who were making genuine efforts to acquaint themselves with the original text of Smṛitis. One of the important fruits of the effort was

6 Halhed, N.B. : *A Code of Gentoo Laws Or Ordination of the Pundits*, London, (1776), pp. IX-X.

7. Machaghten, F.W. : *Considerations on Hindu Law as is Current in Bengal*, Serampore, (1824), p. VII.

William Jones' translation of the Manu-smṛiti, entitled 'Institutes of Hindu Law Or the Ordinances of Manu' which was published in 1794. Translations and editions of several other texts followed in quick succession and the position improved.

The juristic outlook, however, found it too difficult to deal with the contradictory provisions found in the different Smṛitis. Further, there was much doubt in the minds of some jurists about the applicability of the Smṛitis as codes of law in modern times. Writing about the Manu-smṛiti, H.S. Maine says : 'It does not, as a whole, represent a set of rules ever actively administered in Hindustan. It is in great part an ideal picture of that which, in the view of the Brahmins, ought to be the law.'[8] J. D. Mayne, on the other hand, thought that 'these texts were once literally true, but the state of the society in which they were true has long since passed away.'[9] Those who were administering justice, on the basis of these texts, found difficulty in the application of the Smṛiti law in all parts of the country. Nelson-Innes Controversy, which came to be the most important juristic event of the last quarter of the 19th century in India, concerns with applicability of Smṛiti law in the courts of Madras.[10] One concrete result of this controversy, however, was the acute realization of the fact that the problem of Smṛiti law cannot be solved without taking recourse to a historical perspective.

3. The Historical Approach or the Approach Based on Chronological Consideration of the Smṛitis

The historical approach seeks to solve the problems of Smṛiti laws by interpreting them as a growth. Different stages in the development are sought to be distinguished from one Smṛiti to the other and for the purpose of recording the various stages of development on the column of time, the chronology of the Smṛitis is sought to be fixed. But there are certain fundamental and unavoidable difficulties in the way of determining the dates of the Smṛitis beyond

8. Maine, H.S. : *Ancient Law*, 14th edition, London, N.D., pp. 17-18.
9. Mayne, J.D. : *A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage*, Madras, (1906), p. XII.
10. Nelson, J.H. : *A View of the Hindu Law as Administered by the High Court of Judicature at Madras*. Madras, (1877) ; Innes, L.C. : *Examination of Mr. Nelson's Views of Hindu Law in a Letter to The Governor of Madras*, Madras, (1882) ; Nelson, J.H. : *A Letter to Mr. Justice Innes Touching His Attack on Nelson's View of Hindu Law*, Madras, (1882).

doubt. The historical outlook, therefore, has achieved only a limited success.

The method of ascertaining the dates of Smṛitis is generally to fix the upper and the lower limits and then to narrow down this period. Several kinds of internal evidence, such as the evidence of names and quotations, of plagiarism, of elaboration and classification, of historical co-relations, etc., have been utilized to fix the dates of the Smṛitis but, although, the method is the same, there is bewildering difference in the conclusions arrived at by different historians. The date of Manu ranges from the 4th century B. C.[11] to the 4th century A. D.[12] The general acceptance of the date given by Bühler (2nd century B. C. to 2nd century A. D.[13]) is not due so much to the forceful arguments of the scholar as to the fact that it presents a *via-media* between the two extremes. According to Aiyangar, the Bṛihaspati-smṛiti was composed two hundred years before Chirst,[14] while the same work, in the opinion of Jolly, cannot belong to a period earlier than the 6th or the 7th century A.D.[15] While, according to Jolly, the works of Gautama, Manu and Yājñavalkya are older than that of Nārada,[16] in Meyer's view Nārada should be placed several centuries before Christ and certainly before Gautama, Manu and Yājñavalkya[17]. This is the state of affairs at the hands of comparatively sober historians. Even P. V. Kane's History of Dharmaśāstra in five volumes, which is certainly the most authoritative work of the historical school, has not been able to solve the chronological difficulties. On the basis of even this work we cannot positively say, for instance, whether a particular verse of Nārada is or is not earlier to a verse of Yājñavalkya or of Parāśara for the first two centuries of the Christian era fall between the date-limits of all the three Smṛitis under reference[18].

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11. Ghosh, B. : '*Age of Manu-Saṁhitā*' in Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, pp. 808-813.
12. Max Müller, F. : *India : What It Can Teach Us*, p. 366.
13. Bühler, G. : *Laws of Manu*, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV, p. CXVII.
14. Aiyangar, K.V.R. : *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti*, Baroda, (1941), p. 185.
15. Jolly, J. : *Hindu Law and Custom*, Calcutta, (1928), p. 57.
16. Ibid., p. 48.
17. Meyer, J. J. : *Uber das Wasen der altindischen Rechtsschriften und ihr Verhältnis zu einander und zu Kauṭilya*, Leipzig, (1927).
18. Kane, P.V. : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, Poona, (1930), pp. 187.

The reason for not being able to fix the dates of the various Smṛitis beyond doubt does not lie in any drawback of the historians but in the very nature of the literature itself. Truly speaking, the Smṛitis do not have dates, they have periods. They have early and late strata which may or may not be connected with each other in a regular sequence. One and the same Smṛiti is often found to have materials of chronologically far-separated periods. Even if a Smṛiti has no additions or interpolations and it is the product of one single author, it is not always possible to arrive at the date of that Smṛiti. The reason for this lies in the fact that composition of any individual is bound to reflect ideas of different times. A portion of the work may be found to be based on the author's background or the knowledge and influence of the past. Then, a portion reflects the author's own times. Then again, in certain parts of his work, the author may advocate certain things which do not exist but which may be a dim picture of what is possibly still a matter of the future.

Thus, the chronology of the Smṛitis is difficult to be ascertained unless the material is properly stratified both horizontally and vertically. Additional and interpolatory portions of a Smṛiti should be distinguished from the original portions. The factual part should be separated from the conceptual and the real times of the author should be clearly marked by brushing aside the reflections of the author's past, which have crept in his work due to the forces of atavism, and the reflections of his future, which have pervaded his writings due to the forces of progenism. All this is possible only if we look at the entire problem afresh with a new evolutionary perspective.

4. The Evolutionist Approach or the Approach based on the Inner Chronology of the Smṛitis

The speciality of the evolutionist approach is that it replaces chronology by inner-chronology. In short, it is more logical than chronological. The criterion of distinguishing the early portion from the late, the primitive from the advanced, and the contemporary from the posterior and the anterior is supplied by an evolutionary understanding of the various social forces that govern and condition the growth of socio-legal ideas. Known and accepted principles of philosophical and historical jurisprudence, laws governing the development of economic, political and religious

conditions, anthropology and sociology, all are summoned to help the fixation of the inner-chronology of the Smṛitis.

Although this line of thinking is still in its infancy, it has found favour at the hands of some eminent scholars. The gifted German scholar Rudolf J. Von Ihering has emphasized the importance of this approach and has urged the scholars working on law 'to go behind the apparent sequences and to find out the real sequence by a critique of the expressed laws[19]. The Polish scholar Ludwik Sternbach has applied this line of thinking in his papers on ancient Indian socio-legal ideas and institutions[20]. Among the Indian scholars, N.C. Sengupta vigorously upholds the evolutionist approach[21]. A study of Smṛiti laws from this angle has been attempted also by the author of these lines in his thesis 'Factors Leading to the Evolution of Smṛiti Law.'

The evolutionist approach is a promising outlook in the field of Smṛiti studies.

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19. Ihering, J. Von : *Geist der Romischen Rechts*, Aufl VI, pp. 38-39.
20. *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, Vol. XXI, pp. 202-219; Vol. XXIII, pp. 528-548.
21. Sengupta, N.C. : *Evolution of Ancient Indian Law*, Calcutta, (1953), p. 21.

Introduction of Sanskrit at Nagarjunakonda

H. SARKAR

NAGARJUNAKONDA, now submerged under water, had produced a very large number of inscriptions[1] of the Ikṣvākus who ruled over the lower Krishna basin from the second quarter of the third to about the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. These inscriptions constitute almost the exclusive source of history of the Ikṣvākus as their exploits do not even find a passing reference in the Purāṇas and other literary traditions. Also, no less important is the contribution of these records to the history of Buddhism ; in fact, the majority of the epigraphs are Buddhist records registering gifts by private individuals, merchants and the members of the royal family to different communities of monks.[2] These records are important even from the points of view of the development of Indian artificial poetry and the popularization of Sanskrit in the south ; here I am concerned with this aspect of the Ikṣvāku records.

The majority of the Ikṣvāku records are in Prākrit prose : fragmentary inscriptions mentioning the names of masons, architects, donors and also numerous memorial pillar-inscriptions (*chhāyā-stambha*) are, without any exception, written in Prākrit. Yet, it has to be admitted that some elements of *Kāvya* style are discernible in a number of early Ikṣvāku records, in Prākrit, of the third century. Excavations carried out by the Archaeological Survey of India from 1954 to 1962 have produced a rich harvest of epigraphical documents, and now we can say on a very sure ground that side

1. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vols. XX (1929-30), XXI (1931-32), XXXIII (1960), XXXIV (1960-63), XXXV (1963-64) and XXXVI (1964-65).
2. H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India* (Delhi, 1966), pp. 74-79. Also, H. Sarkar and B.N. Misra, *Nagārjunakonda*, (New Delhi, 1966).

by side with works of high prose in Prākrit there existed, though in a limited scale, also the compositions in Sanskrit, and even metrical works. This is a new addition to our knowledge, for previously the Kadamba records were considered as the earliest evidence of metrical Sanskrit in the epigraphical compositions of the south.

Several Prākrit inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus bear unmistakable imprint of *gadyaṁ kāvyaṁ*. 'The artificial nature of the style of the Ikṣvāku court poets,' says D.C. Sircar, 'is shown not only by the *oja-guṇa* and the length of sentences in the Ikṣvāku inscriptions, but also by the mode of glorifying the Buddha and the reigning king's ancestor with a large number of epithets, some of which exhibit figures of speech, characteristic of the Kāvya style'.[3] It was not a new trend, for it is noticeable even in the Sātavāhana records; further, the Junagarh rock-inscription of Rudradāman I (A.D. 150) provides the evidence of the use of classical Sanskrit 'which marvellously agrees with the principles of the Vaidarbhī style explained by Daṇḍin' in *Kāvyādarśa*.[4] Admittedly, the *kāvya* style in prose permeating the epigraphical compositions of the Ikṣvākus was derived from the Sātavāhanas who preceded the Ikṣvākus in the lower Krishna valley. This characteristic of the Ikṣvāku records can be observed from the very beginning but it took some time for the Ikṣvākus even to extend limited patronage to the cultivation of Sanskrit as the language of the epigraphs. In other words, the fundamental principles of artificial poetry, specially those governing the creation of *gadyakāvyas* reached the valley before the introduction of Sanskrit.[5]

The earliest use of Sanskrit in the inscription at Nagarjunakonda is to be seen in an Ābhīra record—the Ashṭabhujasvāmin temple-inscription of the time of Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa. It has been dated *circa* A.D. 278 by D.C. Sircar, and the inscription is in Sanskrit influenced by Prākrit. However, it contains a stanza in

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3. D.C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the lower Deccan* (Calcutta, 1939), p. 383.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 379. Also P. V. Kane, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, (Delhi, 1961), p. 336, and G. Bühler, *The Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry*, (translated from German by Prof. Ghate) in *Indian Antiquary*, XLII, (1913), pp. 29, 137, 172, 188, 230 and 243.

5. According to Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 336-37, 'In the first two centuries of the Christian era both Sanskrit and Prākrit inscriptions were engraved and followed the same pattern of literary style.'

classical *upajāti* metre; the inscription was composed by Amātya Tiṣyaśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* 'by virtue of the god's power'.[6] The Ābhīra interregnum did not last long; as a result, it failed to cast any permanent influence on the Ikṣvāku culture at Nagarjunakonda. Inscriptions engraved immediately before or after the Ābhīra interregnum do not also show any influence of Sanskrit, for all the records of Vīrapuruaṣdatta, the son and successor of Chāṁtamūla, the founder, are in Prākrit. Similarly, all the early records of Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla, the son and successor of Vīrapuruṣadatta are in Prākrit prose without much poetic fervour. But the eleventh regnal year of Ehuvala witnessed a dramatic change in the use of Sanskrit, that too, a good metrical composition, in the inscription. In fact, the Sarvvadeva temple-inscription[7] composed in *anuṣṭubh* and *sragdharā* is a unique product of the Ikṣvāku period. It runs as :

सिद्धम् । वर्षे एकादशे राज्ञः प्रभोरेहलश्रियः ।
शुक्लपक्षस्य माघस्य पुण्यएकादशेहनि [॥]
देवे यस्यातिभक्तिर्हुतवतनये चण्डशक्तौकुमारे
पौत्रस्सेनापतेर्य्यस्समरविजयिनः ख्यातकीर्त्तेरणिक्के: [।१]
प्रासादाङ्गाण्डिपुत्रस्सतलवरः कार्त्तिकेयप्रसादात्
एलिश्रीश्रीविशालं शुभमतिरकरोत्सर्व्वंदेवाधिवासम् [।।२]

In diction it certainly follows the Vaidarbha *rīti* or *mārga*. But the poetic efforts as revealed in the Sarvvadeva temple-inscription seem to have neither a beginning nor a culmination at Nagarjunakonda. Perhaps it is a case of importation from a place where the technique of Sanskrit artificial poetry reached its heights. Alternatively, let us suppose that Ehuvala's court was graced by a poet versed in Sanskrit *kāvya*—both *gadya* and *padya*; in that case, we are to explain the paucity of metrical composition at Nagarjunakonda. An interesting feature of this record is the existence of six or seven versions although the text appears to be one and the same. Each version had been engraved on a separate block of stone fixed into the grooves of the *maṇḍapa* pillars, a practice very much unlike that of Nagarjunakonda where inscriptions were found to have been carved directly on pillars themselves. The purpose of engraving so

6. D.C. Sircar, 'Nagarjunakonda Inscription of the time of Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa, year 30,' *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 197-204.

7. B. Ch. Chhabra, 'Nagarjunakonda Inscription of Ehavalasri's time, year 11', *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, pp. 147-49.

many copies at the same site is not clear to us but we know for certain that it is the first dated full-length Sanskrit metrical composition not only of Nagarjunakonda but also of south India. We have another inscription of the eleventh regnal year of Ehuvala but it is in Prākrit and in a matter-of-fact style. An inscription dated in the thirteenth regnal year of the same king exhibits the same character. Evidently, the Ikṣvāku capital had no Sanskrit-knowing poet capable of producing even a *gadyakāvya.* In the circumstances, we are inclined to consider the Sarvvadeva inscription only as an exotic element in the literary creations of the time of the Ikṣvākus.

It is even doubtful whether the Sarvvadeva temple-inscription provided any impetus for the cultivation of Sanskrit in the valley despite the existence of three more Sanskrit records. Chronologically the Puṣpabhadrasvāmin temple-inscription dated in the sixteenth regnal year of Ehuvala[8] comes next to the one discovered at the Sarvvadeva temple. It is a piece of artificial composition in prose replete with epithets and references to epic characters. Here the reigning king has been compared with Sagara-Dilīpa-Ambarīṣa-Yudhishṭhira etc., *(Śrī-Vīrapuruaṣadattasya paullreṇa mahārājasya Sagara-Dilīp-Āmbarīṣa-Yudhiṣṭhira-tulya-dharmma-vijayasya Rāmasy-eva sarvva-jan-abhirāmasya*···).

The evidence so far marshalled may lead one to believe that only the Brāhmaṇical sites yielded epigraphs in Sanskrit. But this is not so, for a few Sanskrit inscriptions came also from Buddhist settlements. Likewise, Brāhmaṇical temples were also associated with Prākrit records. Only two Sanskrit inscriptions can be ascribed to the monastic establishments. The one discovered from Site 32 A consists of three stanzas, the first in the *pañcacāmara* or *tūṇaka* and the second and the third in the *vaṁśastha* metre. It has no date, and is also very much mutilated.[9] As Sanskrit was used for the first time during the middle of Ehuvala's rule the possibility of this record belonging to this period itself cannot be ruled out. The other Buddhist inscription bears the date twenty-fourth regnal year of Ehuvala—the last known date of this king.[10] Written in Sanskrit

8. D.C. Sircar and K.G. Krishnan, 'Two Inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda', *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, p. 19.

9. D.C. Sircar, 'More inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda', *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, p. 18.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

prose it ends in a stanza composed in *anuṣṭubha :*

[देय] धर्म्ममिदंकृत्वा यत्पुण्यं समुपार्जितं [म्] ।
ते [न] पुण्येण [न] लोकोयं नि[र्वा]णमधिगच्छतु ॥

Buddha has been endowed in this inscription, with several epithets like *sarva sattv-ottama, sarva-guṇa-pārāmī-prāpta*, etc.

It is evident from the foregoing that Nagarjunakonda disclosed five Sanskrit inscriptions including the one from the Aṣṭabhujasvāmin temple. Except the last-mentioned one, all of them, belonged to the latter half of Ehuvala's rule. Surprisingly, none of the records of the time of Rudrapuruṣadatta, the last known Ikṣvāku king, was composed in Sanskrit—not even the epitaph of his mother, a Śaka princess. He might have ruled in the first quarter of the fourth century, and till that time and perhaps even later, Sanskrit failed to occupy any position as the language of epigraphs.

A question still remains to be answered: how this influence, however sporadic it may be, reached Nagarjunakonda ? There are reasons to believe that foreign immigrants were largely responsible for the popularization of classical Sanskrit in different parts of India. Does it mean that the Śakas or the Ābhīras were responsible for importing some specimens in the wake of their contact with the Ikṣvākus ? Or is it a pure chance infiltration unconnected with the either event? As already suggested the Ābhīra impact on the Ikṣvāku culture was very much short-lived. On the other hand, the Śaka influence on the Ikṣvākus must have been quite deep-rooted, for more than one Ikṣvāku king established matrimonial relations with the powerful Kshatrapa house of Ujjain. For example, Vīrapuruṣadatta married Rudradhara-bhaṭṭārikā, possibly a daughter of Rudrasena II (A.D. 254-74) while Rudrapuruṣadatta was the son of Ehuvala by a Śaka princess Vaṁmabhaṭṭā. Also there are evidence, both epigraphical and sculptural, of the presence of Śaka population at Nagarjunakonda. All this clearly shows an intimate social and cultural contact of the Ikṣvākus with the Śakas of Ujjain. Further, a few Ikṣvāku inscriptions reveal the use of characteristic Śaka title Svāmī for the Ikṣvāku kings. So far as our present knowledge goes, the earliest evidence of the use of this title comes from the *chāyā-stambha* inscription dated in the thirteenth regnal year of Ehuvala, and it may be recalled here that the first

metrical composition of a full-length epigraph was made only two years before. Evidently, the middle of Ehuvala's rule was marked by the arrival of certain new trends which had created some precondition for the artificial poetry to grow. However, for some reason or the other it failed to spread its roots; consequently, Rudrapuruṣadatta's period proved barren for cultivation of Sanskrit.

We may, therefore, conclude that the tradition of *gadyakāvya* at Nagarjunakonda was only a continuation of the Sātavāhana heritage while the spasmodic influence of Sanskrit perhaps derived its inspiration largely from central India or even beyond in the trail of Śaka contact. In the inscriptions from Mathura and central India we find the use of several ornate metres like *śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *bhujaṅgavijṛimbhita*, the latter being the longest metre in an early Brāhmī inscription, as early as the first-second centuries *A. D.* No less than five kinds of metre like *anuṣṭubha, pañcacāmara, sragdharā, upajāti* and *vaṁśastha* have been used in the Ikshvāku epigraphs datable to the last quarter of the third century A.D. All the metrical compositions here followed essentially the rules laid down in the oldest available manuals for the Vaidarbha style. Yet the impact of this new trend failed to leave a permanent mark; as a result, the flicker of interest manifested in the fine composition of the Sarvadeva temple inscription extinguished by the time Rudrapuruṣadatta had ascended the Ikshvāku throne.

Four Verses in Meghadūta

S.V. SOHONI

IT could be safely said that Kālidāsa was fully familiar with court etiquette and contemporary political conditions in India. His intimate knowledge of court life and protocol is clearly seen in a number of passages in his works. If the common assumption were correct that he was a court poet of Candragupta Vikramāditya II or some other Vikramaditya, his acqaintance with details of political life was satisfactorily explained.

In the Meghadūta, there are four verses which assume greater significance, if their deeper meanings were analysed in this context.

(a) Verse—11

कर्तुं यच्च प्रभवति महीमुच्छिलीन्ध्रातपत्रां
तच्छ्रुत्वा ते श्रवणसुभगं गर्जितं मानसोत्काः।
आकैलासाद्बिसकिसलयच्छेद पाथेयवन्तः
सम्पत्स्यन्ते नभसि भवतो राजहंसाः सहायाः॥

This verse has interesting ancestry.

(i) Its main idea was taken over from a stanza in Pṛithvī sūkta which clearly put the Rain as the male partner of the Earth.

यस्यामन्नं व्रीहियवौ यस्या द्रुमाः पञ्चकृष्टयः।
भूम्यै पर्जन्यपत्न्यै नमोऽस्तु वर्षमेदसे ॥४२॥

(ii) In the Gāthāsaptaśatī, there is even a more approximate and perhaps immediate predecessor of most of the thoughts expressed in this verse.

हंसैरिव तव रणजलदसमयभयचलित विह्वल पक्षैः।
परिशेषितपद्माशैमनीशं गम्यते रिपुभिः॥ G.S.471

It is noteworthy that apart from combining those and expressing them in exquisite language, Kālidāsa has contributed a detail from his observation of nature, *viz.* the mushroms which grow on the ground.

Bharata Mallika, the famous Bengal commentator on the Meghdūta, has clearly brought out the deeper significance of this stanza in his observation quoted below—

केचित्तु ध्वनिनाऽत्रार्थान्तरमपि तद्यथा राजहंसा राजश्रेष्ठा आकैलासात् पृथिव्यन्तं यावत् तव सहायाः सम्पत्स्यन्ते, निःस्वतया मृणालादि जीविनः, गर्जितम् अन्येषां शत्रुभूपानामहङ्कारप्रधान तर्जनवचनं श्रुत्वा मानसेन मनसा उत्का उत्सुकाः कातरा उन्मनस इत्यर्थः, यद्गर्जितं महीम् उद्यतानि शिलीन्ध्रवत् श्वेतानि छत्राणि यत्रतादृशीं सैन्यातपत्रशतसंकलां कर्त्तुं प्रभवति,' अश्रवणसुभगं श्रोतुमशक्यम्। अयं भावः, विजिगीषवो राजानः सच्छत्रसैन्याः सन्तः परान् जेतुं वर्षास्वपि यान्ति तत् प्रतापात्तच्छत्रवः कैलासान्तं पलायिष्यन्ते, तदन्वेषिणःपथिकैलासपर्यन्तं तव सहाया भविष्यन्तीति मेघप्रोत्साहनम्।

(b) Verse—41

त्वन्निष्यन्दोच्छ्वसित वसुधा गन्धसम्पर्कपुण्यः
स्रोतोरन्ध्रध्वनित सुभगं दन्तिभिः पीयमानः।
नीचैर्वास्यत्युपजिगमिषोर्देवपूर्वं गिरिं ते
शीतो वायुः परिणमयिता काननोदुम्बराणाम्॥

This is part of the description of Devagiri, which has been located in Mandasor district of Madhya Pradesh. It is a small hillock, on which even now stands a temple of Skanda.

The relevant aspect of this stanza has been brought out by Purna Sarasvati in his famous commentry on the Meghaduta, in the following words.

'अत्रकस्मिंश्चित्सुहृदि नरपतौ संन्निकृष्ट देशवर्तिनि प्रहृष्टेन केनचिद्राज्ञा तदानयनाय प्रहितस्य सुगन्धानुलिप्तलस्य सुभगमण्डलगृह्यमाणगुणगणस्य सज्जनोपकारिणः कुमारादेः समाधिरनुसन्धेयः।'

(c) Verse—57

तत्र व्यक्तं दृषदि चरणन्यासमर्धेन्दुमौलेः
शश्वत्सिद्धैरुपहितबलिं भक्तिनम्रः परीयाः।
यस्मिन् दृष्टे करणविगमादूर्ध्वमुद्धूतपापाः
कल्पन्तेऽस्य स्थिरगणपदप्राप्तये श्रद्दधानाः॥

There is an important clause 'करण विगमादूर्ध्वमुद्धूत पापः' One may notice the pun on 'करण विगम. करण was an extensively known word, meaning an officer साधन करणं 'क्षेत्रकाय कायस्थ कर्म' among other meanings, quoted by Viśwa. The primary meaning of विगम is end or cessation. करण विगम can mean, beyond the limits of the office. In the present context, there is clear indication that there was approach to authority after

the jurisdiction of the subordinate offices had ended. 'उध्वं' means, 'in the sequel' or उपरिष्टात् करण विभागादूर्ध्वंम् would mean, subsequent to or after crossing the limits of the Government offices. उद्घूतपापा: is quite simple. But its implications in the manner now clarified are very significant. Before the limits of Government offices were crossed, people would not be described as having got rid of their sins—that is place of area of sins.

Thus this stanza contains as definite a condemnation of ordinary court life, presenting difficulties to new entrants, as put by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in the mouth of Haṁsavega, in the Harṣa Carita. The latter passage is, by and large, the most emphatic disapproval of court life, recorded in Sanskrit literature. But this analysis would show that even Kālidāsa employed subtle Sarcasm in dealing with it.

The basic scene, projected by this verse, is of a darbar in which the king has placed his foot on the footstool. That is why the phrase 'ardhendu-moulaih' has been employed, deliberately; and there is reference to *āhritabali*, corresponding to tributes which are offered during the darbar ceremony; and to *sthira-gaṇa-pada-prāptaye* or obtaining appointments to permanent posts.

There is more subtle suggestion than is ordinarily suspected. The advice to the Cloud was '*bhakti-namra pariyaḥ*', i. e. move about with due humility, there being a pun on '*bhakti*' which means either suitable bending down or devotion (which, in itself, involves appropriate bending down ot the body). This counsel was given by the poet to a party visiting the court.

(d) Verse—56

ये त्वामुक्तध्वनिमसहनाः स्वाङ्गभङ्गाय तस्मिन्
दर्पोत्सेकादुपरि शरभा लङ्घयिष्यन्त्यलङ्घ्यम् ।
तान् कुर्वीथास्तुमुलकरका वृष्टिहासावकीर्णान्
के वा न स्युः परिभवपदं निष्फलारम्भयत्नाः ॥

The geography of the habitat of the '*Śarabhas*' was put in the Himalayan region. It may also be recalled that in his Cycle of Seasons, Kālidāsa has referred to *Śarabhas*—it being commonly assumed that Śarabhas meant either locusts or a kind of animal, either imaginery or real, resembling the lion, but having eight legs.

But it is not improbable that this was an oblique reference to the *Śarabha* kingdom whose territory was not far away from Vidarbha. A Śarabharāja is known from an inscription of 510 A. D. It is

not unlikely that his dynasty had come into existence four or five generations earlier.

It is worthwile examining this point further. In Raghuvaṁśa, Chapter VII, there is a famous account of battle between Aja and those kings who were rejected by Indumatī. This battle was supposed to have been fought at a point on the route between the capital of Vidarbha and the capital of Aja's father, viz. Ayodhya. Śarabha territory was not far away from this route; and the battle might have recalled a military campaign between armies of Ayodha and the armies of the rulers of this region.

In this background, the last line of this stanza seems to be interesting; and the term 'swāṅgá-bhaṅga' i. e. destruction of one's limbs or of the seven *angas* or political factors of the State, is particularly interesting.

The Chronological Relation of the Uttararāmacarita and the Kundamālā

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA DR. V.V. MIRASHI

SINCE the discovery of the Sanskrit play *Kundamālā* in 1923, the chronological relation of it to Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita* has become controversial. The play was ascribed by the editors to the Buddhist philosopher Diṅnāga and therefore referred to the fourth or fifth century A. D. They, however, changed their opinion subsequently and took Dhīranāga to be its author[1]. Still, several scholars clung to their earlier view and maintained that the play was composed by Diṅnāga. As there are several remarkable similarities in respect of dramatic incidents, ideas and expressions between the *Kundamālā* and the *Uttararāmacarita*, some scholars opined that Bhavabhūti borrowed them from the *Kundamālā*. This view was contested by some other scholars, specially of the older generation, such as S. K. De, K. A. Subrahmania Iyer and A. C. Woolner, who thought that the author of the *Kundamālā* was the borrower. Recently H. D. Sankalia has discussed this question in detail by comparing several passages in the two works[2]. He has supported the former view. It is proposed to discuss this question critically in the present article.

I have discussed elsewhere[3] the problems of the author and the date of the *Kundamālā*. I have shown that the author of the play was Dhīranāga and that its date lies between the seventh and the eleventh century A. D. I would not repeat my arguments here, but would state the most important of them briefly as follows.

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1. See the advertisement of the work on the back cover of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* Dakshiṇabhāratī Sanskrit Series, (1929).
2. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XV, pp. 322-334.
3. *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I (Second ed.), pp. 56 f.

Verses from the *Kundamālā* are found cited in several anthologies without mentioning the name of the work or of the poet. In the recently published *Subhāshitaratnakosha* of Vidyākara, however the verse द्यूते पणः प्रणयकेलिषु कण्ठपाशः (*Kundamālā*, IV, 20) etc. is definitely ascribed to Dhīranāga.[4] Again, another verse ज्वालेवोर्ध्वविसर्पिणी परिणत-स्यान्तस्तपस्तेजसो etc. *Kundamālā*, 1, 2) is cited in the *Saduktikarnāmrita* of Srīdharadāsa as that of Ravināga[5] and in the unpublished *Prasannasāhityaratnākara* as of Vīranāga.[6] I have shown that both these names of poets are mislections for Dhīranāga. On the other hand, not a single verse from the play is cited under the name of Diṅnāga. As regards the date of the play, we find that in its Nāndī verse it praises Heramba (Gajānana). The worship of this god seems to have come into vogue towards the end of the Gupta period. He is described by Varāhamihira (6th cen. A. D.) and referred to by Bāṇa (7th cen. A. D.). Bhavabhūti (8th cen. A. D.) has devoted one verse to him in the *Mālatīmādhava*. So the upper limit for the date of the *Kundmālā* is the 7th cen. A. D. Its lower limit is fixed by the *Subhāshitaratnakosha* of Vidyākara (11th cen. A. D.), which is the earliest anthology to cite some verses from it. So the date of the play lies between the seventh and eleventh centuries A. D.

Both the *Uttararāmacarita* and the *Kundamālā* derive their plots from the Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. There are several incidents, ideas and expressions which appear similar in the two plays. So their chronological relation has become very controversial. For solving this problem we must examine critically the similar incidents, ideas and expressions in the two plays. For this we shall have to refer to their plots frequently. It is, therefore, necessary to summarise them for the sake of those who may not have read the two works.

The *Uttararāmacarita*. This play of Bhavabhūti has seven Acts. The action in the first Act begins soon after the coronation of Rāma. Vasiṣṭha, Arundhatī and the queen-mothers have gone to the hermitage of Ṛiṣyaśriṅga to attend his sacrifice of twelve years. They send a message to Rāma that he should always please his subjects by his rule. They also enjoin him to satisfy any longings that Sītā may have in her pregnancy. Thereafter, Lakṣmaṇa

4. Vidyākara, *Subhāṣitaratnakosha*, (Harward Oriental Series), p. 141.
5. *Sadūktikarṇāmṛita* (ed. by H.D. Sharma). p. 10.
6. *Subhāṣitaratnakoshu*, p. 11.

shows to Rāmā and Sītā the pictures painted on the walls of the palace depicting their life in exile. When they come to the scene of the Jṛimbhaka missiles, Rāma telles Sītā that the missiles would attend on her progeny. When they come to the scene of crossing the Gaṅgā in the course of their journey in exile, Rāma requests the river to look after the well-being of Sītā. Sītā longs to visit the hermitages on the banks of the river and bathe in its cool and holy water. Rāma asks Lakṣmaṇa to fetch a chariot for the purpose. In the meanwhile Sītā feels tired and falls asleep on the arm of Rāma. Just then comes the spy Durmukha, who whispers to Rāma the scandalous reports about Sītā. Rāma is extremely grieved, but resolves to abandon Sītā to please his subjects. While leaving her, he calls upon the goddess Earth to look after her daughter (Sītā) (Act I).

The scene of the second Act is laid in the Daṇḍaka forest. Ātreyī, an elderly student of Valmīki, comes to the forest in search of teachers of Vedānta like Agastya. From her conversation with the sylvan deity Vāsantī, we learn that some years ago Vālmiki had received from a deity two infants named Kuśa and Lava, whom as fosterfather he has brought up and taught all lores. Ātreyī could not keep pace with them in learning. Besides, the sage was then engaged in composing a great poem on the life of Rāma. So Ātreyī had to leave his hermitage and come to the Deccan for instruction. Thereafter, Rāma comes there in search of the Śūdra ascetic, Śambūka who was practising austerities against the dictates of the Śāstras. Rāma kills him, but the victim assumes a divine form and tells Rāma about the surrounding Daṇḍaka forest. He then goes to pay his respects to Agastya, but comes back with the sage's message to Rāma that he should pay a visit to his hermitage before returning to Ayodhya (Act II).

The scene of the third Act is laid in the vicinity of Pañcavaṭī. After visiting Agastya's hermitage Rāma goes to Pañcavaṭī. where he had spent some years in company with Sītā during their exile. When he sees the old familiar scenes he faints again and again, but is brought back to consciousness by Sītā by the touch of her hand. Knowing that Rāma would visit Pañcavaṭī where he would be overwhelmed with grief. Gaṅgā had brought Sītā there when she came to see Godāvarī for some domestic rite. By her supernatural powers Gaṅgā has made Sītā invisible even to a sylvan deity like Vāsantī. who is showing the various places, beasts and birds of the forest to Rāma. At the site of the pale and emaciated

Rāma, overwhelmed with grief on account of separation from her, Sītā, who was previously full of resentment against him, gradually softens and finally absolves him of all wrong when she comes to know that instead of marrying again, he has got a golden image of her made to serve as his *sahadharmacāriṇī* in the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, which he commenced. (Act III)

The scene of the fourth Act is laid in the hermitage of Vālmīki. Janaka, the father of Sītā, has come to see his old friend Vālmīki. Just then Vaśiṣṭha, Arundhatī and the queen-mothers also come there after the completion of Ṛiṣyaśriṅga's twelve-year sacrifice. The sacrificial horse, let loose by Rāma to wander over the earth, comes to the hermitage. Lava, feeling incensed at the proclamation of the guardians of the horse, captures it and becomes ready to fight with them (Act IV).

The scene of Act V is laid outside the hermitage of Vālmīki. Lava has routed the guardians of the horse, but as he turns to talk to Candraketu, the son of Lakṣmaṇa, who was in charge of the horse, the soldiers harass him. So, to silence them, Lava uses the Jṛimbhaka missiles. Both Candraketu and his charioteer are surprised to see Lava using the missiles as they knew that they had been given by Viśvāmitra only to Rāma and to none else. After some altercation Lava and Candraketu repair to a place suitable for fighting (Act V).

Act VI opens with the fight of Lava and Candraketu. Rāma, who is returning from the Daṇḍaka forest, sees it from his aerial car and alights between them. He asks both to stop fighting. Candraketu introduces Lava to him. Rāma feels unaccountably attracted towards him. Just then there comes Kuśa, who had gone to deliver a dramatised portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to the sage Bharata. Rāma asks the boys to recite some verses from the Rāmāyaṇa, but when they do so, they bring very painful memories to his mind. In the meanwhile, it is announced that Vaśiṣṭha, Vālmīki, Arundhatī and the queen-mothers, having heard of the fight of Lava and Candraketu, are coming towards the field of battle. Rāma then goes to meet them (Act VI).

The scene of Act VII is laid on the bank of the Gaṅgā, where the sage Vālmīki has gathered all people of the realm and also all gods, demons and leaders of birds, beasts etc. to witness a play composed by himself, depicting the events that occurred after Lakṣmaṇa had abandoned Sītā near his hermitage, which he had

come to know by his supernatural powers. The play was directed by Bharata and acted by the celestial nymphs. This is a *Garbha-nāṭaka* or a play within a play. In it Sītā is shown to have thrown herself into the stream of the Gaṅgā after Lakṣmaṇa went back. There she gives birth to two sons. She is received by the Goddesses Pṛithivī and Gaṅgā, who console her. Just then the Jṛimbhaka missiles attend on the twins. Pṛithivī asks Sītā not to put an end to her life, but to nurse the children until they are weaned. Here the one-act play ends. Just then the stream of the Gaṅgā undergoes violent agitation and there emerge from it Pṛithivī and Gaṅgā, together with Sītā, whom they hand over to Arundhatī. Arundhatī then calls upon the people assembled there if they are convinced of Sītā's chastity. All people respectfully bow to Sītā and gods strew heavenly flowers over her. Sītā is then united with Rāma, her children and other relatives and the play ends happily.

Though Bhavabhūti has taken the theme of the play from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, he has made several changes in it while casting it into a dramatic mould. The twelve-year sacrifice of Ṛiṣyaśriṅga, the consequent absence, from Ayodhya, of all elderly persons, and the picture-gallery scene in the first act, the meeting of Vāsantī and Ātreyī in the second act, the whole of the third act, in which Sītā, brought by Gaṅgā purposely to Daṇḍakāraṇya, sees the pale and emaciated Rāma, listens to his lamentations on her account, revives him when he faints and is finally reconciled to him, the incidents of the fourth act in which Janaka meets Kauśalyā, sees and is attracted towards Lava, those of the fifth and sixth acts *viz.* the fight of Lava and Candraketu, Rāma's meeting Lava and Kuśa, his conjecture based on various reasons that Kuśa and Lava are his own sons and finally the *Garbhanāṭaka* in the seventh act as well as the miraculous emergence of Sītā from the stream of the Gaṅgā and her union with Rāma, her sons and other relatives—all these are entirely original and bespeak Bhavabhūti's skill in plot-construction. The language and characterisation in the play are equally superb.

The *Kundamālā*—Let us next take the *Kundamālā* and summarise its plot. The play has six acts. The scene of the first act is laid near the bank of the Gaṅgā. where Lakṣmaṇa has brought Sītā in a chariot. He tells Rāma's message to her *viz.* that he is abandoning her for fear of public scandal and that he would not marry again, but would use her image as his *dharma-patnī* in a sacrifice. This reference, by Rāma, to a future sacrifice is both

inopportune and unlikely.[7] Sītā says that her grief has been completely removed by that message. She then sends her message to Rāma. Lakṣmaṇa then calls upon sages, sylvan deities, rivers etc. to take care of Sītā. This invocation, unlike that in the *Uttara-Rāmacarita,* has no dramatic significance; for unlike Bhavabhūti, Dhīranāga has made no use of it hereafter. It is evidently a feeble attempt to imitate Bhavabhūti. The sage Vālmīki comes to know about Sītā and takes her to his hermitage. While going with him, Sītā vows that she would offer a garland of Kunda flowers to the Gangā every day; if she delivers safely.

The scene of the second act is laid in the hermitage of Vālmīki. Kuśa aud Lava, to whom Sītā had given birth, have now grown up. Rāma is going to commence the Aśvamedha sacrifice soon, for which materials have been collected in the Naimiṣāraṇya. Sītā's friend Vedavatī teases her that Rama would take another wife for the sacrifice. Sītā should have referred to Rāma's previous message in reply, but, strange as it may appear, she only says that she has control over his heart and not over his hand! Just then there comes a messenger to announce that Rāma is going to commence the Aśvamedha sacrifice in the neighbouring Naimiṣa forest. He is waiting for Vālmīki, after whose arrival he would perform the *dīkṣā* (initiation) ceremony. All the inmates of the hermitage are therefore, asked to proceed to the Naimiṣāranya. Sītā then goes to perform an auspicious rite for the journey to Naimiṣāraṇya of Kuśa and Lava (Act II).

The scene of the third act is laid in the Naimiṣa forest. In the interlude to it a hermit complains, like the Vidūṣaka in the second act of the *Śākuntala,* that he has been completely exhausted by the journey in the height of summer and that his feet have become sore. In the main act Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa see a garland of kunda flowers floating in the stream of the Gomatī, which comes to the feet of Rāma. Rāma recognises it as woven by Sītā. Lakṣmaṇa proposes that they should go against the stream to trace where it came from. They reach the vicinity of Vālmīki's hermitage, where Rāma sees and recognises the foot-prints of Sītā. Then there comes Sītā who says that she has bathed in the Gaṅgā and

7. Rāma is not likely to have on this occasion thought of the sacrifice which he performed several years afterwards.

offered a garland of the Kunda flowers to it.[8] Now she would gather flowers for offering them to guests. Then she sees Rāma, who is overwhelmed with grief as the sight of the forest brings painful memories of the Daṇḍakāraṇya to his mind. This is evidently in imitation of the *Uttararāmacarita*, where Rāma actually sees Daṇḍakāraṇya. Sītā also feels very much grieved to see Rāma lamenting for her (Act III).

In the fourth act Sītā comes to a step-well (dīrghikā) in the forest. She has worn the *uttarīya* (upper garment) which had been presented to her by the sylvan deity Māyāvatī at Citrakūṭa. As the womenfolk of the hermitage would not feel at ease if they are seen by men, Vālmīki has, by his supernatural powers, arranged that they would be invisible to men at the step-well.[9] So Sītā, though actually present there is not seen by Rāma when he, accompanied by Vālmīki's disciple Kaṇva, comes to the step-well. He sees, however, the reflection of Sītā. He sees also the *uttarīya*, which he snatches away. He then throws off his own *uttarīya*, which Sītā picks up. She finds that it is unscented. From this she infers that Rāma has not married again. Here Dhīranāga has imitated the *Mṛcchakaṭika* as shown below.

In the fifth act Rāma asks his friend Vidūṣaka why he did not prevent him when he abandoned Sītā. This question recalls a similar one in the *Śākuntala*.[10] Then there come Kuśa and Lava. Rāma feels attracted towards them and takes them on his lap. Immediately Vidūṣaka cries out, 'O, leave them, leave them ! I have heard from the people of Sāketa that if anybody, not born in the family of Raghu, sits on this throne, his head would be shattered to pieces.[11] This incident recalls a similar one in the *Śākuntala* (Act

8. She says that she has offered the Kundamālā in worship of the Gaṅgā (भागीरथीमुद्दिश्य) ; She had evidently offered it in the stream of the Gomatī which is a tributary of the Gaṅgā. But it is strange that she says that she had bathed in the Gaṅgā then. See—अवगाहिता भगवती भागीरथी । भगवती भागीरथीमुद्दिश्य मया प्रतिज्ञाता स्वहस्तग्रथिता कुन्दमाला समर्पिता ।
   Dhīranāga has evidently confused the Gaṅgā and the Gomatī here.
9. Though the ladies of the hermitage were themselves invisible, their reflections could be seen. The ladies would have objected to this also. Dhīranāga does not seem to have thought of this !
10. In the *Śākuntala* Duṣyanta asks Vidūṣaka how he never talked about Śakuntalā. See—भवान् प्रत्यादेशवेलायां मत्समीपगतो नासीत् । किन्तु पूर्वमपि न त्वया कदाचित् संकीर्तितं तत्रभवत्या नाम । (Act VI)
11. It is strange that Rāma does not know about this though he was sitting on that very throne for ten years !

VII), in which a similar idea occurs about the amulet of protection (*rakṣākaraṇḍaka)* tied on the wrist of Sarvadamana. Rāma comes to know some particulars about the two boys which seem to point to their being his own sons. This makes him uneasy. He asks Lakṣmaṇa to gather all people for listening to the boys' recitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* composed by Vālmīki.

In the sixth act Kuśa and Lava sing in the assembly the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* up to the abandonment of Sītā in a forest. They do not know the later portion of it, but that is sung by Kaṇva, a disciple of Vālmīki. Then all assembled there come to know that Kuśa and Lava are the sons of Rāma and Sīta. Rāma as well as Kuśa and Lava faint at this unexpected turn of the story, but Sīta, who comes there with Vālmīki, brings them back to consciousness. Vālmīki then rebukes Rāma for having abandoned his innocent wife and asks Sītā to prove her chastity. Sītā then calls upon the divine Earth to bear witness to it. Just then the Goddess comes out of the Pātāla and testifies to the chastity of Sītā. All people then bow to Sītā. Thereafter Vālmīki crowns Kuśa as the king of the earth and his brother Lava as *Yuvarāja*.

From the summary of the plot of the *Kundamālā* given above it will be seen that Dhīranāga has mostly followed Vālmīki in the construction of the plot, though he has made a few changes in it for dramatic effect. Thus, the reference to Sītā's *uttarīya* presented by Māyāvati, her being invisible at the step-well in the Naimiṣa forest, Rāma's conjecture from various circumstances that Kuśa and Lava are his own sons and finally the happy ending of the play are main alterations which Dhīranāga has made in the original story. They are fewer and far less striking than those made by Bhavabhūti in the *Uttara-Rāmacarita.*

The main incident which is common to both the *Uttara-Rāmacarita* and the *Kundamālā* is Sītā's being invisible and her restoring Rāma to consciousness when he faints owing to overwhelming grief. Scholars are not agreed as regards the originality of this incident. Some think that Bhavabhūti has borrowed it from the *Kundamālā*, while others hold the opposite view. If we examine the treatment of this incident in the two plays we shall be convinced that the latter is the correct view. Bhavabhūti has inserted that incident in his play with a definite dramatic purpose, *viz.* to convince Sītā about Rāma's intense love for her and thus to bring about reconci-

liation in her heart. That purpose is admirably served by that incident. Sītā at first refers to Rāma quite indifferently as Rājā (king[12]), but later, when she sees him overwhelmed with grief at the sight of the various places, beasts and birds of the Daṇḍakāraṇya, which bring to his mind painful memories of the life spent there in company with her, she is moved to tears and refers to him as *Āryaputra*.[13] She even blames the sylvan deity Vāsantī for showing those places etc. to him.[14] The corresponding scene in the fourth Act of the *Kundamālā* serves no such purpose. Sītā says in the first Act that Rāma's message has removed the grief of separation from her heart. Rāma goes to the step-well because his eyes are troubled by the sacrificial smoke. He sees Sītā's reflection in the water of the step-well, but does not see Sītā herself. He sees, however, Sītā's *uttarīya*, which he snatches away. He faints at the sight of Sītā's pale face and dishevelled hair and is restored to consciousness by Sītā's embrace. It would be obvious to any dispassionate critic that the scene is full of incongruities[15] and is evidently suggested by its counterpart in the *Uttara-Rāmacarita*.

K.K. Dutta, however, thinks that Bhavabhūti is the borrower on the ground that he has used the name *Chāyā-aṅka* for the third act of the *Uttara-Rāmacarita*, though there is really no *chāyā* or reflection of Sītā referred to in the play. On the other hand the *Kundamālā* has, in the corresponding passage, used the *chāyā* or reflection of Sītā for dramatic effect. Dutta thinks that Bhavabhūti taking a clue from the *Kundamālā* has named the third act of his play as *Chāyā-aṅka*. He regards this as a deciding factor which clinches the issue. Says he, 'We have seen before that the invisible Sītā in the *Kundamālā* is really a Chāyā-Sītā, being a watery reflection of the real Sītā, which was visible to Rāma, while Bhavabhūti's Sītā was not visible to Rāma at all and it is only her touch that Rāma received. So she cannot behold as a *chāyā* in any acceptable

12. See, दिष्ट्याऽपरिहीणधर्मा स राजा । (Act III).

13. See, दिष्टया कथं प्रभातचन्द्रमण्डलपाण्डुरक्षामदुर्बलेनाकारेणायं निजसौम्यगम्भीरानुभवमात्रप्रत्यभिज्ञातव्य आर्यपुत्र एव । (Loc. cit.)

14. See, त्वमेव सखि वासन्ति दारुणा कठोरा च यैवमार्यपुत्रं प्रदीप्तं प्रदीपयसि । (Loc. cit.)

15. We have pointed out that the hermit ladies would have objected even to their reflections being seen by men at the step-well.

sense of the term *chāyā* in Sanskrit. It then becomes obvious that Bhavabhūti was so much impressed by the idea of Diṅnāga's watery reflection of the invisible Sītā that he could not check the temptation of using the very term *chāyā*, though it was a misnomer, for his third act.'[16]

Dutta does not seem to know that the word *chāyā* denotes various senses such as shadow, reflection, image, lustre, beauty and resemblance. It denotes also the meaning of nightmare or hallucination.[17] It is in this sense that Bhavabhūti had used that word in the term *chāyā-aṅka* in the colophon of the third act of his *Uttara-Rāmacarita*. Rāma thinks that what he felt as the touch of Sītā's hand was only a hallucination; for otherwise, how is it that even the sylvan deity Vāsantī does not see Sītā if she is actually present here. Bhavabhūti has thus used the word in the right sense. It seems that Dhīranāga took a clue from the use of that word in the *Uttara-Rāmacarita*, and taking it in another sense (*viz.* reflection) he has utilised it for the scene of Sītā's reflection in the fourth act of the *Kundamālā*.

It is not only for this scene that Dhīranāga has obtained a clue from Bhavabhūti's play. He has derived from it some other suggestions also. Take, for instance, the scene of the picture-gallery in the first act of the *Uttara-Rāmacarita*. While seeing the pictures painted on the walls, Rāma comes to that of the crossing of the river Gaṅgā while Rāma and others were going into exile. He then prays to the river to look after Sītā, Later, he makes a similar prayer to the Goddess Earth when he decides to abandon Sītā in a forest. Both these prayers are significantly used by Bhavabhūti; for in the last act we find that both Gaṅga and Earth say to Rāma that they have done as requested by him as they had taken care of Sītā when he threw herself into the stream of the Gangā just before delivery. We have a similar scene in the *Kundamālā*. When Lakṣmaṇa leaves Sītā on the bank of the Gaṅgā, he prays to the Lokapālas, Bhāgīrathī, the sages of *tapovana*, sylvan deities etc. to

16. *Kundamālā*, ed. by K.K. Dutta, p. 200.

17. See the Sanskrit Dictionaries of Monier-Williams and V.S. Apte. The word is used in this sense in the following verse of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (VIII, 3, 14)—

सर्वेन्द्रियगुणद्रष्ट्रे सर्वप्रत्ययहेतवे ।
असताच्छायोक्ताय सदाभासाय ते नमः ॥

See, Śrīdhara's commentary on this—

असताहंकारादिप्रपंचेन छायया असद्रूपया उक्ताय प्रतिबिम्बेन बिम्बमिव सूचिताय ।

take care of Sītā; but this prayer has no dramatic significance as it is not connected with any future event as in Bhavabhūti's play.

These instances (and they can be multiplied further) show that Bhavabhūti is a far greater dramatist. He had very fertile imagination. He has invented several new scenes in the *Uttara-Rāmacarita.* So he is not likely to have drawn upon the *Kundamālā* for this single scene of the invisible Sītā. On the other hand, Dhīranāga, who mostly follows Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* in the plot of the *Kundamālā* and who has made very few changes in the original story, must have been indebted to Bhavabhūti for the corresponding scene in the *Kundamālā.*

It is not only Bhavabhūti to whom Dhīrānga is indebted for some scenes in the *Kundamālā*. He has borrowed some incidents and ideas from Kālidāsa and Śūdraka also. For instance, the complaint of the hermit in the second act of that play that he has become quite exhausted by travelling in summer and that his feet have become sore is evidently suggested by a similar scene in the second act of the *Śākuntala.* The story about the shattering of the head of the person who, not being a descendant of Raghu, datres to sit on the throne in Ayodhya. is obviously suggested by the similar case of the *rakṣā-karaṇḍaka* of Sarvadamana in the seventh act of the *Śākuntala.* The incident in the fourth act of the *Kundamālā* in which Sītā infers from the unscented *uttarīya* of Rāma that he has not married again is evidently suggested by a similar scene in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* in which Vasantasenā infers from the second *prāvāraka* of Cārudatta that he is not averse to the enjoyment of pleasures. There is no doubt that in all these scenes it is Dhīranāga who is the borrower. The same is also probably the case in regard to the scene of the Chāyā-Sītā in the *Kundamālā*.

It is not only in stray incidents that Dhīranāga is indebted to Bhavabhūti. He has borrowed several ideas and expressions from Bhavabhūti's plays. Scholars have cited several examples of close similarities in the plays of the two dramatists. We may cite some more instances here.

(1) *Uttara.* When Sītā learns that Rāma has prepared a golden image of her to serve as his *saha-dharmacāriṇī* in the Aśvamedha sacrifice, she says—

Kunda. (Act I) When Sītā hears the message of Rāma that her image would be his *dharma-patnī* in a sacrifice, she exclaims.

In both these passages the same idea is expressed almost in the same words.

(2) *Uttara.* (Act III)—While asking the aerial car to stop in Pañchavaṭī, Rāma says, (अयि विमानराज, अत्रैव स्थीयताम्) hearing these words, Sītā becomes horripilated and says, अम्महे, मेघस्तनितगम्भीरमांसलः कुतोन्वेष भारतीनिर्घोषो भवन् कर्णविवरं मामपि मंदभागिनी झटित्युत्सुकापयति ।

Kunda. (Act III)—When Rāma calls out to Lakṣmaṇa in the Naimiṣāraṇya, Sītā, who is near the step-well, says, कोन्वेष सजलजलदस्तनितगम्भीरेण स्वरविशेषेणात्यन्तदुःखभ्पजनमपि मे शरीरं रोमाञ्चयति ।

In both these passages there is the same idea that Rāma's voice resembles the thunder of a cloud and, what is more, it is expressed in almost the same words.

(3) *Uttara.* (III, 13)—Tamasā thus describes the state of Sītā's heart when she sees the pale and emaciated Rāma—

तटस्थं नैराश्यादपि च कलुषं विप्रियवशा-
द्वियोगे दीर्घेऽस्मिञ्झटिति घटनोत्तम्भितमिव ।
प्रसन्नं सौजन्याद्दयितकरुणैर्गाढकरुणं,
द्रवीभूतं प्रेम्णा तव हृदयमस्मिन्क्षण इव ।।

Kunda. (III) Sītā herself describes her own state on seeing Rāma in Naimiṣa forest—अहो दृष्ट इति परितोषः, चिरप्रवास इति मन्युः परिक्षाम इत्युद्वेगः, निरनुक्रोश इत्यभिमानः दर्शनीय इत्युत्कण्ठा, स्वामीति बहुमानः, कुशलवयोस्तात इति कुटुम्बिनी सद्भावः, अपराधं प्रवेशितास्मीति लज्जा । न जानाम्यार्यपुत्रदर्शनेन कीदृशीमवस्थामनुभवामीति ।

In both the passages the agitated state of Sītā's mind is described in the same manner, though not exactly in the same words.

(4) *Uttara.* (I, 45)—While abandoning Sita, Rāma says,

शैशवात्प्रभृति पोषितां प्रियैः सौहृदादपृथगाश्रयामिमाम् ।
छद्मना परिददामि मृत्यवे सौनिको गृहशकुन्तिकामिव ।।

Kunda. (I)—Lakṣmaṇa, who is taking Sītā to a forest for leaving her there, says,

'तदहमपि स्वजनविस्रम्भनिर्विशङ्कां देवीमादायगृहहरिणीमिव वध्यभूमिं नयामि ।'

The first passage compares Sītā, who is going to be abandoned, with a domestic bird and the second with a domestic deer, both about to be killed. In both the basic idea is the same.

(5) *Uttara.* (VI, 12)—When Rāma feels that his grief has

subsided and its place has been taken by affection on seeing Lava. he exclaims,

> व्यतिषजति पदार्थानान्तरः कोऽपि हेतु-
> र्न खलु बहिरुपाधीन् प्रीतयः संश्रयन्ते ।
> विकसति हि पतङ्गस्योदये पुण्डरीकं
> द्रवति च हिमरश्मावुद्गते चन्द्रकान्तः ॥

Kunda. (V)—Rāma's eyes become full of tears when he sees Kuśa and Lava. He then exclaims,

> आपातमात्रेण कयापि युक्त्या सम्बन्धिनः सन्नमयन्ति चेतः ।
> विमृश्य किं दोषगुणानभिज्ञश्चन्द्रोदये श्चोतति चन्द्रकान्तः ॥

In both the underlying idea is the same *viz.*, one's heart is attracted by some unknown cause on certain occasions. In both the passages the same idea of the moon-stone oozing at the rise of the moon is seen.

(6) *Uttara.* (III, 27)—Vāsantī describes how Rāma used to flatter Sītā with endearments during their life in Pañchavaṭī—

> त्वं जीवितं त्वमसि मे हृदयं द्वितीयं
> त्वं कौमुदी नयनयोरमृतं त्वमङ्गे ।
> इत्यादिभिः प्रियजनैरनुरुध्य मुग्धां
> तामेव शान्तमथवा किमिहोत्तरेण ॥

Kunda. (I, 14)—Lakṣmaṇa thus delivers the message of Rāma to Sītā—

> त्वं देवि चित्तनिहिता गृहदेवता मे
> स्वप्नागता शयनमध्यगता त्वमेव ।

In both the verses the same idea is present though the expression of it is different.

(7) *Uttara.* (I, 12)—In the picture-gallery scene Lakṣmaṇa thus describes Rāma's forest-life—

> पुत्रसंक्रान्तलक्ष्मीकैर्यद्वृद्धेक्ष्वाकुभिर्धृतम् ।
> धृतं बाल्ये तदार्येण पुण्यमारण्यकं व्रतम् ॥

Kunda. (IV, 5)—Kaṇva thus describes the Naimiṣāraṇya to which the kings of the Ikṣvāku family used to retire in the evening of their life—

आनाकमेकधनुषा भुवनं विजित्य
पुण्यैर्दिवः क्रतुशतैर्विरचय्य मार्गम् ।
इक्ष्वाकवः सुतनिवेशितराज्यभारा
निश्श्रेयसाय वनमेतदुपाश्रयन्ते ॥

In both the same idea is present.

Dhīranāga has drawn upon the *Mālatī-Mādhava* also for some ideas. See the following—

(8) *Mālatī.* (Act V)—Mālatī, who has been taken to a temple of Caṇḍikā for immolation, thus addresses her lover Mādhava—

हा देव माधव, परलोकगतोऽपि युष्माभिः स्मर्तव्योऽयं जनः ।
न खलु स उपरतो यस्य वल्लभो जनः स्मरति ॥

Kunda.—When Rāma exclaims, 'How can I desist from lamenting for Sītā ?', the invisible Sītā says to herself—

न खलु स जनः शोचनीयः, य एवं वल्लभेन शोच्यते ।

In both these passages, the same idea is expressed in nearly the same words.

The close similarity in these and numerous other passages, pointed out by other scholars should leave no doubt that one of these two—Bhavabhūti and Dhīranāga must have imitated the ideas and expressions of the other. But scholars are not agreed as to who is the borrower. Some, pointing to the simple and straightforward style of Dhīranāga as compared with the ornate and somewhat laboured style of Bhavabhūti, say that the latter is the borrower. We should remember in this connection that style is individualistic. Both Bāṇa and Harṣa lived in the same age; but whereas Harṣa uses a simple style in his plays, Bāṇa writes in a style full of compounds and puns on words. Besides, Dhīranāga has imitated not only Bhavabhūti but also Kālidāsa in several places. Some noteworthy instances of this may be cited here—

(1) *Kunda.* (IV, 73)—

एतस्मिन्विततध्वरे प्रतिदिनं सांनिध्ययोगाद्धरे-
स्त्यक्त्वा नन्दनचन्दनावनिरुहानालानतां प्रापिताः ।
विभ्रत्युच्चनिवेशितेन नयनेनालोकनीया अमी
मत्तैरावणकण्डरज्जुवलयन्यासक्षतिं पादपाः ॥

The idea that the trees in the Naimiṣa forest had marks of

ropes with which elephants were tied to them is evidently suggested by a similar idea in the following verse of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. (IV, 76)

तस्योत्सृष्टनिवासेषु कण्ठरज्जुक्षतत्वचः ।
गजवर्ष्म किरातेभ्यः शशंसुर्देव दानवः ।।

(2) *Kunda.* (IV, 8)

सचकितमवधाय कर्णमस्मिन्
सुरपतिकर्षण मन्त्रनिस्वनेषु ।
विरचयति शची स्फुटदेव नूनं
स्रजमवधूय वियोगवेणिबन्धम् ।।

The idea in this verse is obviously suggested by the following verse in the *Raghuvaṁśa*—

क्रियाप्रबन्धादयमध्वराणामजस्रमाहूतसहस्रनेत्रः ।
शच्याश्चिरं पाण्डुकपोललम्बान्मन्दारशून्यानलकांश्चकार ।।

(3) *Kunda.* (I, 18).

एते रुदन्ति हरिणा हरितं विमुच्य
हंसाश्च शोकविधुराः करुणं रुदन्ति ।
नृत्तं त्यजन्ति शिखिनोऽपि विलोक्य देवीं
तिर्यंग्गता वरममी न परं मनुष्याः ।।

The same idea occurs in the following verse of the *Śākuntala*. (IV, 12)

उद्गवलितदर्भकवला मृगाः परित्यक्तनर्तना मयूराः ।
अपसृतपाण्डुपत्रा मुञ्चन्त्यश्रूणीव लताः ।।

(4) *Kunda.* (VI, 15)—

स एव रामो नयनाभिरामः
सीतासुताभ्यां समुपास्यमानः ।
यदृच्छया तिष्यपुनर्वसुभ्यां
पार्श्वस्थिताभ्यामिव शीतरश्मिः ।।

The camparison of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with the star Punarvasu occurs also in the following verse of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. (XI, 6)

तौ विदेहनगरीनिवासिनां गां गताविव दिवः पुनर्वसू ।
मन्यते स्म पिबतां विलोचनैः पक्ष्मपातमपिवञ्चनां मनः ।।

Such instances can further be multiplied. But what has been cited above should be sufficient to convince any unbiassed reader

that Dhīranāga often borrowed his ideas from the works of his predecessors. We have seen above that he is indebted to Bhavabhūti for several scenes in the *Kundamālā*. He seems to have borrowed several ideas and expressions also from the *Uttara-Rāmacarita* of Bhavabhūti.

Some scholars may point, in this connection, to a few incidents and expressions for which Bhavabhūti himself is indebted to Kālidāsa.[18] As a matter of fact, no poet is absolutely free from this charge. Kālidāsa himself has borrowed several ideas and expressions from Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. As Rājaśekhara says, सर्वोऽपि परेभ्य एव व्युत्पद्यते ।[19] 'All writers draw upon their predecessors.' But while judging this matter of indebtedness, we must take into consideration the literary calibre and the general tendency of the two authors in question. From this point of view Bhavabhūti will be found to be far superior to Dhīranāga in respect of plot-construction, originality of conception and power of expression. As shown before, he has completely transformed the original story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by inventing several incidents and using them with dramatic effect. He is not likely to have drawn upon the *Kundamālā* for the single scene of the invisible Sītā. Again, he was *Vaśya-vāk*. He had a wonderful command over the Sanskrit language and was a veritable master of style. He was in no need of borrowing a few ideas and expressions from a mediocre poet of the type of Dhīranāga.

The foregoing discussion will, I hope, convince any impartial reader that it is Dhīranāga who is the borrower. As Bhavabhūti is known to have flourished in the first quarter of the eighth century A. D., Dhīranāga must be placed later than A. D. 750. It is not possible to fix a more definite date for him in the present state of our knowledge.

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18. For instance, the scene in the sixth act of the *Uttara-Rāmacarita* in which Rāma conjectures from various circumstances that Kuśa and Lava may be his own sons was evidently suggested by a similar scene in the seventh act of the *Śākuntala* in which Duṣyanta makes a similar conjecture about Sarvadamana. In the *Mālatī-Mādhava*, Act IX, in which Mādhava addresses the cloud and the birds and beasts of the forest about Mālatī was also probably suggested by a similar scene in the *Vikramorvaśīya* in which Purūravas makes inquiries about his lost beloved Urvaśī. As for similarities in description, compare the description of a child in the *Uttara-Rāmacarita* (IV, 4) with that in the *Śākuntala* (VII, 17).

19. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, p. 61.

The Dance-Dramas of India

DR. NARAYANA MENON

IN India today there is no 'Contemporary Music Theatre'. By that I mean that India has no operatic works or other works for the stage in which music plays a significant part which can be described as 'modern'. By 'modern' I mean a work which uses idioms and techniques which are contemporary, which alone are adequate for the expression of a modern consciousness.

Opera, as understood in the West, does not exist in India. The word is however often used loosely to refer to musical works which relate a story. The earliest of such works is Jayadeva's *Gīta Govinda.* We know the text of the work, but though there are indications of the *rāgas* used etc., we do not know with any degree of exactitude the actual music used. Jayadeva belongs to the 11th century. Some 400 years later we come across a work like *Gaurīpati Kāvyam* which has the germs of 'opera' in it. From then on, there are records of works in a kind of form generally referred to as '*Soolamangalam*' plays. These must have been the models for Thyagaraja, the great South Indian Composor (1767-1847) who composed some significant works like *Prahlādavijayam* and *Nauka Charitram.*, often referred to as operas. They are certainly musical works composed for the stage, but they are hardly ever performed as such. Gopalakrishna Bharati's *Nandanar Charitram*, a comparatively recent work, is operatic in form and the story of the Harijan (untouchable) Nandanar achieving salvation is realised with some dramatic force.

The Radio has made good use of some of these works but there is no real tradition of stage representation.

There have been some recent experiments in the north of presenting on the stage popular ballads in a kind of 'operatic'

style. Two recent productions—*Heera Rānjhā* and *Sohni Mahwal*—were based on Punjabi ballads and produced with an amateur cast. The vocal parts were charming musically, but the 'orchestral' accompaniment and introductions were poorly and amateurishly scored and were not keeping with the character and quality of the ballads. Neither of these could be described 'modern' in the musical idiom used nor in the techniques of production. But they indicate possibilities of a new *genre* on the Indian stage.

Rabindranath Tagore's several stage works like *Śyāmā*, *Māyār Khelā*, *Tāsher Deśa*, *Citrāṅgadā* and others, have a style and character of their own. They are dramatic productions with plenty of songs and dancing. When Tagore himself produced them, his august presence and authoritative direction gave them a distinction that was new to the Indian stage. Tagore was a fertile and inventive genius in many spheres of life, but his music does not stand serious analysis. The songs clothed in moving and beautiful Bengali words touch every Bengali, but that is a different matter.

India has a long and distinguished tradition in the field of dance-dramas. This tradition has to be seen and evaluated against the whole background of classical drama and dance in India.

The word used for drama was *Nāṭaka*, and the players referred to as *Naṭas*. Now *Naṭa* can mean an actor or a dancer. One thing is clear. The line of demarcation between dance and drama was a thin one. Every dramatic performance had something of the character of what we would today describe as dance-drama. Every *Naṭa* had to be, and, in fact was, an actor, dancer and musician. He had to be a master of *abhinaya*—all aspects of it—*āngika*, *vācika*, *āhārya* and *sātvika*. This is an indication of the training, the discipline of the actor. We often come across expressions like *nāṭakam nanṛituḥ*—they *danced* a play ; (Harivaṁsa 200 A. D. in Viṣṇuparvan or *Saṭṭaam naccidavvam*—a *Saṭṭaka* is to be danced or acted (Karpūramanjarī 1000 A.D.). The spectators were referred to as *prekṣakas*, those who watched a *prekṣā* or a spectacle.

There were, naturally, several types of plays and the accent or emphasis on words or dance or music varied a great deal from play to play ranging from what we would today call drama to opera or ballet or dance-drama. (The *Nāṭaka*, the *Prakaraṇa* the *Samavakāra*

the *Ihāmṛiga* and the shorter *prahasana* where the closest to what we would today call opera or ballet).

The only form of traditional Sanskrit Drama that has come down to us is the *Kudiyāṭṭam* of Kerala. These are acted and danced by a community of Kerala called *Chākyars* and the performances are normally confined to the precincts of the temple and take place in a kind of temple theatre called *Koothambalam.* Recently, very recently, one Chākyar party was persuaded to take *Kūdiyāṭṭam* out of the temple, and in fact, outside Kerala, and performances were given in Madras, Delhi, Varanasi. The repertoire of *Kudiyāṭṭam* contains many works dating from the third to the twelfth or thirteenth century. *Śākuntala* is said to have been in their repertoire, but has not been performed within living memory. But many of Bhāsa's plays are in the repertoire, and so are Harṣa's plays including *Nāgānanda.* Among the most popular and most frequently performed works are Kulaśekhara Verman's *Subhadrā-Dhanañjaya* and *Tapatī-Samvaraṇa,* Bhāsa's *Swapnavāsavadatta* was also a universal favourite.

Kudiyāṭṭam is a highly stylised art, the actors using elaborate make-up, the story being unfolded with great artistry and subtlety through dance, music and commentary. The *abhinaya* of the chākyars in *Kudiyāṭṭam* is perhaps the most highly developed and integrated art of its kind and every aspect of it is fully explored.

The *Āngikābhinaya,* the communication of ideas through gestures is closely based on the *Nāṭyaśāstra.* This is done in a meticulously detailed style, the actor-dancer often spending hours on a single verse. The *āhāryābhinaya* is also important—the correct make-up and costume for character. The later *Kathakali* of Kerala has borrowed much in both these aspects of *abhinaya* from *Kudiyāṭṭam.* The types of *Kathakali* characters now familiar to us as *Pacca* (Green denoting noble princes) *Katthi* (regal, but haughty), *Kari* etc., are all derived from *Kudiyāṭṭam* types.

Kudiyāṭṭam also gives much importance to *Vācikābhinaya,* the correct mode of speech (verse or prose) and perfect intonation in song. There are special rāgas for recitatives, others for the *arias.* Finally there is *Sāttvikābhinaya,* the expression of internal conflicts, feelings. This is a difficult art calling for perfect control of the facial muscles. Through the finally controlled movements of the eyes, the eye-brows, the lips, the cheeks, without the aid of the

hands, the actor is able to recreate the *Stobha*, the facial expression, the mood, unfailingly.

A play may take several nights to perform, so detailed is the exposition, so engrossing the interpretation. *Kudiyāṭṭam* has the stylistic economy, the perfection of a great Noh play. Everything is controlled, tight and the communication itself is at a high sustained level.

As Dhanañjaya, an early Medieval critic said, the *Rasika's* or *Prekṣaka's* (spectator's or observer's) capacity for appreciation is as the perfection achieved by the actor/dancer. A full appreciation of the art can come only through the cultivated sensibility of the audience. The actor/dancer merely creates the conditions. The artist and the audience must share a common approach, a common inspiration and a common fulfilment. This final stage of fulfilment, Dhanañjaya describes as a kind of 'intellectual ecstacy devoid of conceptual contacts' in which statements of facts and details of execution have no independent existence. This is the very 'summit of being' impossible to analyse and get in the likeness of our very being.

The *Kathakali* of Kerala owes much to *Kudiyāṭṭam.* It is in a way, a secular form of *Kudiyāṭṭam* which was developed some three hundred years ago. This is pure dance-drama. The characters do not speak or sing. It is the most dramatic form of Indian dancing with the gestures and technique of *Kudiyāṭṭam* acquiring a kind of masculine vitality. The themes are, like those of *Kudiyāṭṭam,* drawn from the great Hindu epics. Performances last a whole night and are usually given in the open air. The dancers used make-up and head-gear which are similar to those used in *Kudiyāṭṭam* but are even more elaborate and majestic giving the characters an unearthly heroic quality. An ornamented curtain held by two people at their end, and one or two low stools, are all the decor and props used. The dancers do everything else.

They describe the scene, they describe themselves, they relate the story, they act it, dance it and comment on it. Here, the dance is *the* thing. A formal stage and any elaborate decor will be merely a distraction and any transplantation of this art on to the stage will have to be done with thought and care.

Kathakali has that heroic elemental quality which lifts you right out of your daily lives. It has a vitality, a concentration, and a grand manner which few dance forms in the world possess. It is

the greatest and most magnificent form of dance-drama in India.

Of other extant forms of traditional dance-drama forms, the most important are the *Yakṣagāna* of Mysore, the *Kuchipudi* of Andhra, the *Bhāgvata Mela* of Melattur (Madras) and the *Rāsalīlā* of Manipur.

Yakṣagāna has some affinities to *Kathakali*. The themes are mythological. The use of music is similar, the vocal music providing a commentary on the dance and the drums doing the dance accompaniment. It is very vigorous spirited kind of dance with almost every story providing a brilliantly acrobatic fighting scene.

The *Kuchipudi* of Andhra, on the other hand, is graceful and lyrical. The name of the dance is derived from a little village in Andhra where families of dancers practised the art for generations. The actor-dancers, unlike in *Kathakali*, speak and sing.

The *Bhāgavata-Melas* are dance-dramas in the *Bharata-nāṭyam* style. All the dancers here are men and they enact stories from Hindu epics and mythology. Among the most popular of such stories are *Prāhlādacaritam, Uṣā Pariṇayam* and *Hariścandra.* This tradition has been created and kept in the village of Melattur, near Tanjore where every year during *Narasimha Jayantī* (May) a festival of dance-dramas is held. The participants are all amateurs i. e., they dance for the love of dancing and for keeping a tradition going, and not for a livelihood.

The music of the *Bhāgavata-mela* is of the finest quality, more refined and traditional in its vocal lines and *Sāhitya* (literature) than the music for other dance-dramas which are usually functional.

Finally there remains, of the serious traditional dance-drama forms, the *Rāsalīlā* of Manipur. This is mostly concerned with the love-episodes of Lord Kriṣṇa. This has a fine delicate style, like that of a fine etching, graceful, with lilting rhythms and the most gorgeous costumes.

There are, in addition, to these sophisticated traditional dance-dramas a host of folk styles all over the country—the *Rāmalīlā*, the *Krishṇa Līlā*, the *Rāsa* of U. P. and the north, the *Nauṭankī* of Rajasthan, the *Bhavānī* of Gujarat, the *Burrakatha* and the *Veedhināṭakam* of the South.

There is a movement for the revival of all these forms in India, and, in fact, a great deal of useful work is being done in the field.

But there has been no major achievement in the field of 'Contemporary' theatre, What work has been done is either by revivalists who have tried to create new dance-dramas using traditional idioms and techniques, or new creations by experimentalists who have not the equipment to create anything new with a significant modern accent. In fact there is little that can be considered the projection of an ancient heritage on the modern stage in an idiom that is in keeping with the spirit of the age and yet an organic growth from the past.

Some *Kathakali* groups like the International Kathakali Centre of Delhi have tried to clothe modern ideas in Kathakali technique. The *Kalakshetra* of Adyar has recreated some of the traditional stories in *Bharatanāṭyam* cum *Kathakali* techniques. Groups like the *Bharatiya Kala Kendra* of Delhi have attempted the creation of ballets and dance-dramas in the classic Kathak style. Uday Shankar has tried his hand at choreography, but his equipment is limited for any major creative achievement in the field of dance-drama.

India in such matters is going through a period of transition. There is, of course, a renewed awareness of our ancient tradition and heritage. This in itself is important. One has to be conscious of one's past before one can be conscious of the present, let alone one's future. As Eliot said, the pastness of the present is important. The importance of the new revival of interest in the classical tradition should thus be seen as a necessary corrective and preparation for future activity. And there can be no end to the full utilisation in the climate of the twentieth century of techniques and idioms which are so sophisticated, as expressive, as rich as any that the world has witnessed

Date of Sāgaranandin

BRAHMADATTA SHARMA

THE *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* of Sāgaranandin was discovered by Prof. Sylvain Levi during his visit to Nepal in 1922 and was noticed in the Journal Asiatique, cciii, (1923), pp. 210ff., where it was observed by him that the original palm-leaf manuscript, appeared to date from the 13th or 14th centuries. Though he also held that the text did not seem to have been derived from the *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya which ranks foremost among the medieval treatises on Indian drama, on the other hand it seemed to be one of the sources drawn upon by Viśvanātha, the author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa.* Thus as we shall see later, Prof. Levi was correct in surmising that Dhanañjaya did not derive from the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa.*

Later in 1937 Myles Dillon edited the aforesaid manuscript of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* from Oxford with a short preface where, precisely speaking, he opined that the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* was to be placed as early as the 13th century. He based his conclusions on the fact that the Dūtāṅgada quoted in line 983[1] of the published text, he believed, belonged to a certain Subhaṭa, the superior date for whom is A. D. 1263[2]. Although he himself doubted the identification as there are no quotations which could be verified, yet his doubts could not induce him to change his conclusions.

Then in 1939-40 M. Ramkrishna Kavi of Tirupati wrote a critical and exhaustive article on the date of Sāgaranandin[3], where on the basis of internal evidences and dramaturgy he opined that Sāgaranandin represented an earlier school than that of Dhanañjaya, Bhōja and Abhinava and he believed that the closer one studies Sāgaranandin the stronger grows the impression that he was prior to the Daśarūpaka school, yet no precise date was fixed for him.

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1. *Dūtah sandēśa harah yathā Dūtāṅgade Aṅgadaḥ.*
2. *See Gray, J. Am. Ori. Soc.* Vol. XXXII, p. 59.
3. New Indian Antiquary, Vol. II pp. 412 ff.

The Kārikās of the Daśarūpaka of Dhanañjaya are generally accepted[4] to have been composed during the reign of Pāramāra King Vākpatirāja (II) Muñja (A. D. 974-994), of Dhāra. Hence the date of Dhanañjaya would have been the later half of the 10th century and as his work has not been even indirectly referred to by Sāgaranandin so his date has to be sought somewhere earlier than the date of Dhanañjaya (i.e. later half of 10th century).

The *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* quotes Rājaśēkhara's dramas, the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and the *Karpūramañjarī* ; therefore Sāgaranandin should have flourished later than or at least was a later contemporary of Rājaśēkhara. About the latter's date we come to know from his own fragmentary play the *Bālabhārata* or the *Pracaṇḍa Pāṇḍava* where occurs a verse[5] in the introductory portion stating that the play was enacted before an assemblage of guests invited by a king of the lineage of Raghu, whose name was Mahīpāla and who was the son of a king, whose *biruda* or title was *Nirbhayanarendra*, 'literally, the fearless king' and who was the paramount sovereign of the Āryāvarta. It clearly shows that Rājaśēkhara was a court-poet of Mahīpāla and also of his father of whom, he calls himself a *guru* or upādhyāya[6], the spiritual preceptor or a teacher. It means that Rājaśēkhara was a contemporary of Mahēndrapāla I (A. D. 893 to 908) and of Mahīpāla. Further because Rājeśekhara has been referred to as an *Upādhyāya* of Mahēndrapāla, the former is likely to have been older than the latter, i.e., his time may be safely presumed to be the last quarter of 9th century and his two works, the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and the *Karpūrmañjarī* should have been written earlier than Sāgaranandin could have quoted from them in his work.

Now these two limits late and early, for Sāgaranandin, author of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* were surmised long back, the latter by Prof. Sylvain Levi and M. R. Kavi and earlier one partly by M. Dillon, though of course he committed a fallacy in taking the

4. Age of Imperial Unity, p. 195.
5. Cf. Bālabhārata ; i. 7.
6. Rājaśekhara in all his four extant plays, declares himself to be the spiritual teacher of a King Mahendrapāla or Nirbhayarāja. Cf. *Viddha*. i. 6. (Ed. Arte), *Raghukulatilakō Mahendrapālah Sakalakalānilayah sa yasyaśiṣya* ; Karpū. i. 5. Mahindavalassa ko a guru i. 9 *Nibbhararāssa, taha uvajjhao Bālara* i. 5 *Nirbhayaguruh Bālabhā* i. 11 *devō yasya Mahendrapālanṛipatih śiṣyō Raghugrāmanih.* (Karpūrmañjarī ed. Sten Konow p. 178).

Dūtāṅgada as a play of a certain Subhaṭa, the posterior date for whom was taken to be A. D. 1243, yet there was no objective evidence as we had not heard of Sāgaranandin from any other source by which his date could have been conclusively decided.

Recently a stone inscription[7] (being edited in the Epigraphia Indica of the time of Mahīpalā I was discoverd at Garh, district Alwar, Rajasthan. The epigraph is dated in Saṁvat 979, Vaiśākha badi 13, Bhaumavāra. which regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 15th of April A. D. 923 (f. d. t.) This inscription mentions a certain Sāgaranandin as its author along with a certain Lōkadeva. The inscription reads their names in verse 17 as follows : *Śrīmān Sāgaranandī vidvan apilokadevaity-asyā[ṁ]dvārāpyetan sukavī vikhyātāu sat-praśastāyām.* As this is a dated inscription the date of Sāgarnandin its author, is by far certain. The date of Sāgaranandin, the author of *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* as shown above also falls near this period, hence the two poets of the same name *Sāgaranandin* probably might be identical. If the identity is accepted then the date of *Sāgaranandin,* the author of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* would be the 1st half of the 10th century as is also evinced by the Garh Stone Inscription dated saṁvat 979 (A. D. 922)

Prof. Sylvain Levi has further drawn our attention towards a certain family of Nandins headed by Vāsudeva mentioned in the Gaya inscription [8] and considers Sāgarnandin as a descendant[9] of this family of Nandins. M. Ramkrishna Kavi further opined [10] that he was a Kṣapaṇaka on the ground that in his own work while referring to the appellations of dramatic characters, he recommends the names ending in *nandin* to *Kṣapaṇakas* and *Bhikṣus.*[11]

The Nandin family mentioned in the Gaya Inscription should have presumably been dwelling in some parts of eastern India. Kavi also holds that Sāgaranandin has been mostly quoted by the writers who inhabited Oḍhra, East Magadha, Gauḍa, Kāmarūpa and Dakṣiṇa Kosala countries. These poets probably belong to or were

7. *Ep. Ind*, Also noticed at Sl. No. 63 in the chapter on Epigraphy in Indian Archaeology, 1961-62, A Review.
8. Indian Antiquary, Vol. X, pp. 343 ff.
9. Journal Asiatique, Vol. cciii (1923) p. 212.
10. New Indian Antiquary, Vol. II, p. 418?
11. *Nandy-uttara-pada-vāchyā kṣapaṇā bhikṣavastathā* 1. 2221 of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* ed. by M. Dillon, Oxford, 1937.

the followers of the eastern School of rhetorics referred to have been prevalent by Daṇḍin.[12] Thus Sāgaranandin actually seems to have belonged to some part of eastern India, and as our inscription has come from the western part of India, the identity of the two Sāgaranandins may be questioned. This does not seem to be a very strong ground to set aside other conclusions reached above in regard with the date of the two Sāgaranandins, particularly because no particular place to which Sāgaranandin belonged has been mentioned in the epigraph and there is every likelihood of his not necessarily being a local man rather could have belonged to the eastern parts also as held by Kavi, in which case he might have composed the inscription and sent to Rājyapura or assisted the local co-author, Lōkadēva.

Now, since the date of Sāgaranandin has been fixed with some certainty, as the latter half of the tenth century, it can safely be surmised that the Dūtāṅgada mentioned in line 983 of the *Nāṭakalakshkaṇaratnakośa* is different from, rather earlier than, the one of Subhaṭa whose posterior date is referred to as A. D. 1243. But as there are no quotations from the Dutāṅgada, Myles Dillon in the preface of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* edited by him doubts the identity of the two Dūtāṅgadas and hence nothing can be said to have been decided conclusively regarding the date and authorship of the Dutāṅgada quoted in the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*.

12. *Paurastyāḥ kāvya-paddhatiḥ* ; *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin, Ch. 1. verse 50.

Chār Chaman of Chandra Bhān

DR. B. P. SAKSENA

CHANDRA Bhān who used the nom de plume Brahman was one of the well known literati of the second half of the seventeenth century. His father was Dharam Dās. His birth place was Lahore, where he became a pupil of Mulla Abdul Karim. Dharam Dās after serving as a mansabdar for some time turned a recluse. Udai Bhān and Rā'i Bhān were two other sons of Dharam Dās. Rā'i Bhān renounced the world ; but Udai Bhān took service with 'Aqil Khan, after whose death he also withdrew from the world. Chandra Bhān was patronised by a number of high dignitaries of the Moghal court, who utilised his services for drafting their private as well as official correspondence. He had excellent command over Persian language which he wrote in a very ornate and involved style, characteristic of the age in which he lived. Besides a number of pamphlates, replete with historical information, his *belleslettres* and *diwan* are also well known. His Chār Chaman (four gardens) has an importance of its own. It aims at describing events and incidents personally witnessed by the author.

The first Chaman opens with the narration of festivities and celebrations on the occasion of the recovery of Jahan Ara Begum who had been accidently burnt. Incidently he refers to the names of physicians who treated her *e.g.*, Hakīm Momina. Hakīm Fathullah Shīrāzī, Hakim Saleh, Hakim 'Abdur Rahīm. He adds that although there were others who came to the court from the various parts of the empire, but Muqarrab Khan and Masīh uz-Zamān were especially summoned by the emperor. Hakim Dā'ūd, who had recently arrived from Persia, was also consulted. Though these specialists strove hard, they could give no relief to the patient. It was sheer chance that a darwesh turned up and his treatment proved effective. Subsequently one 'Ārif Chelah (slave) prepared an ointment which heeled the wounds completely. This

gives a lie direct to the version of the princesses' burns having been cured by British surgeon Gabriel Boughton.

The doting emperor (Shahjahan) was extremely happy at the recovery of his favourite child and distributed gifts and alms with a free hand. Chandra Bhān has described these charities in detail. According to him the festivities continued for a week. Poets like Muhammad Jān Qudī, Tālib, Mir Kabīr, Mir Yahiya, Mir Bakhshi etc., including the author composed appropriate verses and laid them before the emperor who rewarded them lavishly. Musicians and artists from Iraq, Khurasan, Kabul and Kashmir, and Indian *Kalawants* (performers) and dancers by their performances added to the hilarity of the occasion.

The second celebration described has been named by the author as 'the Story of heightening of joy'. The narration proceeds to say 'once when the emperor (Shahjahan) was holding an audience at Lahore and among those present on the occasion were Āsaf Khan Khan Khanan and Musavī Khan, a command was issued to the effect that the relatives, friends and dependents of Afzal Khan be introduced into the royal presence. Chandra Bhān says that he was one of them. This he has done to emphasise that he was enjoying high patronage. It was the anniversary day of Begum Sahib's recovery. The poet did not let the occasion go, and he laid before the emperor a quatrain of his composition which received due meed of praise.

Having thus ingratiated himself into the emperor's favour Chandra Bhān exploited the advantage to the extreme limit. When the emperor was on his way to Kabul, he submitted a *ghazal* through Mu'hamid Khan. Its opening lines were :

رویت بآفتاب دہد آب وتاب را ÷ اے از تو صد شرف شرفِ آفتاب را

Thy face imparts brightness and glory to the Sun;
Thy person heightens hundredfold the greatness of the sun.

Similarly when the emperor was encamping at Sirhind enroute to the Punjab, the poet submitted a quatrain through Islām Khan : Its two lines are :

روز نو سالِ نو مبارک باد ÷ ملکِ نو مال نو مبارک باد

Congratulations on the new Day and new year ;
Congratulations on (acquisition of) new territories
and new properties.

The poet adds that this was followed by the subjugation of Balkh and Badakhshan, meaning thereby that his quatrain brought luck to the emperor. Later on when Shahjahan was on his way to Kashmir and was staying at Talwandī, the poet directly placed into his hands a quatrain of his composition. Another was presented at Lahore through S'adullah Khan on the return of the royal cavalcade from Kashmir.

The next episode referred to by the poet relates to the emperor's birth-day celebrations at Lahore which synchronised with the arrival of Alī Mardān Khan from Kabul and of an envoy from Trans-Oxiana. In the subsequent episodes he refers to the emperor's weighing ceremony at Agra when Hakim 'Abdul Khāliq presented a *ghazal* which was liked by the emperor. In another episode the poet has described the celebrations on the occasion of completion of buildings at Delhi. Then a delightful episode is followed by a painful episode relating to the emperor's illness.

In the episode of triumph is mentioned the emperor's return from the Doab to Delhi, and in the episode styled as 'generous lyric' is described the emperor's journey from Delhi to the new township of Faizabad. Here the poet Farūghī laid before the emperor a long Ode (Masnawi) in praise of the new town. Chandra Bhān rose equal to the occasion and presented a ghazal which opens as follows :

شرف امروز فیض آباد در ہندوستاں دارد ÷ زخوبی ہرچہ در اندیشہ گنجد بیش ازاں دارد

Today the importance of Faizabad excels
That of every other town in India.
Its excellencies surpass any which can stake imagination.

In the next episode is described the emperor's return from Mukhlispur (Faizabad); his solar weighing ceremony and the appointment of Jafar khan as the Diwan-i-Kul.

In the following section the poet has enumerated the names of the various *wazirs* viz. Bairam Khan, Mullā Mir Md. Jān, Tardi Beg Khan, Shihābuddin Khan, Ahmad Khan, Mun'īm Khan, 'Abdul Majīd Āsaf Khan. Ghiyāsuddin 'Alī Āsaf Khan, Fath Khan, Raja Todar Mal, Shah Mansūr, Khwaja Shamsuddīn Rāy Rāyān, Āsaf Khan, Jafar Khan, Wazir Khan. He refers to the story of misunderstanding between Bairam Khan and Pīr Muhammad. Then he boldly remarks, that among the wazirs, the greatest was Todar Mal who had rendered distinguished service in Gujrat and Bengal and had

earned the epithet of 'master of the sword and pen'. His regulations are even now current. He then refers to an interesting incident: 'Shahbaz Khan did not hold Todar Mal in much esteem, but on his return from the Gujrat and Bengal campaigns he embraced him publicly. When the emperor (Akbar) asked the reason for this radical change in his attitude. he respectfully submitted, 'In whichever part of the empire I went, I found current there the words and deeds of this Hindu, therefore impelled by the urge of justice I have eschewed partiality.' He (Chandra Bhān) adds that even Abul Fazal has remarked, 'Whatever problems he (Todar Mal) has solved, none has been able to solve.'

Chandra Bhān has reproduced an interesting letter from Shah Abbas to Khan Alam. After praising the letter, he writes to say, 'I had brought a special variety of opium from yezd. I am sending the same to my dear brother, the asylum of Khilafat Jahangir Padshah and some of it I have sent for you. Please eat it and give a little of it to the asylum of generosity, Mirān Sayid Ismā'īl. I am certain that the Mirān would not omit to pray for my good.' The significance of the words lies in laying bare the practice of the use of opium among the royalty and nobility both in India and Persia.

After enumerating the names of the Vakils of Akbar, the poet mentions the names of Irādat Khan (Ā'zam Khan) and Āsaf Khan. Then he describes some facts connected with the life of Afzal Khan. According to him he was the Mīr Sāmān of Jahangir, then he was appointed permanent Diwas of Prince Shahjahan to whom he rendered valuable services when he had rebelled against the emperor. On this occasion Shahjahan sent for him from Lahore and appointed him *Wazir-i-Kul* whereas Asaf Khan became *Vakil-i-Mutlaq*. Rā'i Makund Das was his *Katib* or writer. When once Afzal Khan fell ill, the emperor went to see him. He was very friendly to Mu'tamid Khan, the Bakhshi. Once it so happened that Afzal Khan was attakced with giddiness while he was transacting public business. He forthwith went to his retiring room. When he was able to regain composure, he dictated a letter to Āqā Rashīd. One day he received a pair of glasses from Mu'izzul-Mulk, the *mutsaddī* of Surat.

In the section on words of wisdom Chandra Bhān says : '(1) there are two types of Wazirs viz. (a) those who understand the sovereign correctly and act accordingly, (b) those who explain the position to the sovereign and let him act accordingly; (2) in the royal council chamber one should not open his mouth unless he be

asked, and when asked, he should fearlessly speak out the truth; (3) Kingship is different from Wizarat. In the science of Wizarat it is by no means permissible to practise deception on the sovereign because whatever reflects itself in the heart of this group (Kings) turns inevitably into real occurrence. In the science of Wizarat even if an iota of loyalty be in his heart, he should not care at all for his own prestige, but should prefer the discretion of the sovereign to that of his own. If a difficult situation crops up and it becomes impossible because of the immense fear or the pressure of the imperial dignity, to explain its implications, (that Wazir) should by way of seeking instructions should place his point of view at a proper time and in a manner as would not be displeasing to the sovereign so that he may become conscious of his inner feelings. It is at this time that the wazir should make his submission in the spirit of loyalty, if his suggestion is approved, well and good; otherwise he would be absolved of his responsibility; (4) in the council chamber all doubts and suspicions, weak or strong should receive adequate consideration. Nothing should be overlooked. Whatever is important, should be first taken in hand, the rest should be postponed for the future (5) a sovereign requires for supports for the preservation of his position, viz., (a) a full treasury; (b) a fully equipped army, (c) continuous conquests; (d) capable officers without whom there can be no happiness in the empire; (6) although an army can be assembled by spending money, but it is difficult to win the hearts (of soldiers) without a competent commander. He should be vested with absolute power of appointment, promotion and dismissal; (7) the sovereign should have a confidential adviser who should not care for reward or retribution. He should know all the secrets and should not divulge them.'

These are stray remarks, but they comprise rich and varied experience of the writer and throw a flood of light on contemporary political and administrative ideas and practices.

According to Chandra Bhān after the death of Afzal Khan, Islam Khan, then holding the post of Governor of Bengal, was summoned to take over as *Wazir*. Till his arrival Dayanat Rā'i Rāyān carried on the correct duties. But he was not liked by Rā'i Sabhā Chand. Upon the arrival of Islam Khan, the Rā'i Rāyān resigned, Rāi Sabhā Chand became *Diwan-i-Khalsa*. On the death of Khan-i-Dauran Bahadur Nusrat Jang in the Deccan, Shahjahan, who was informed of the sad event in Kashmir. directed Islam Khan to take over the charge which had fallen vacant. He went to the Deccan

where he died. It is in this context that Chandra Bhān has paid a tribute to the qualities of Islam Khan, because he had enjoyed his patronage.

Now S'adullah Khan was appointed as Diwan. Chandra Bhān has unfolded an interesting story. He says that S'adullah Khan was residing at Lahore, and though his name had already reached the ears of the emperor, it was Afzal Khan who had really introduced him, and it was Mūsawī Khan who presented him. He was enrolled into the imperial service and received the title of Khan, After the appointment of Islam Khan as the *Diwan-i-Khalsa*, Mulla Atā'ul Mulk Tūnī, Fazil Khan continued to hold the post of *Diwan-i-Tan*. But when the two could not pull on together, the latter was removed from his post and appointed *Mir-Sāmān*. S'adullah Khan now became the *Wazir-i-Āzam*. Later on he was promoted to the rank of 5000 *Zat*+5000 *Sawar* and led campaigns to Balkh and Qandhar. He had excellent command over Persian, Arabic and Turki languages and it was he who composed letters on behalf of the emperor to the rulers of Persia and Trans-Oxiana. 'In writing replies to letters dealing with financial and administrative matters, he did not require the assistance of *peshkars* and *mustaufīs*. This humble self, in accordance with royal instructions was constantly in attendace upon that Khan of high dignity, and occasionally enjoyed the pleasant company of that merit discussing Khan from morning till evening.' He died at Delhi on Thursday Jamadi II in the 28th year while he was still young. The emperor gave vent to his feelings on the tragic event in a letter addressed to 'Alī Mardān Khan.

Between the death of S'adullah Khan and the appointment of a new Diwan-i-Ā'la, Rā'i Raghunāth who for years had been serving in the *Khalsa* deparment was commissioned to carry on the current duties. Chandra Bhān adds, 'the same day the title of Rā'i was conferred on me who had now been in service for the last ten years and the responsibility of drafting the farmans was entrusted to me.' The Rā'ī, enjoying the status of *Wazir*, according to the instructions of His Majesty, leaving blank the space meant for the Diwan-i-Āla signed and sealed the sanads and after submitting to H. M's considerations matters administrative and financial, decided them finally. This practice continued till the arrival of Mir Jumlā Muazzam Khan from the Deccan. He was promoted to the rank of 6000 Zat+6000 Sawar and was appointed as *Diwan-i-Kul*. He was very shrewd and experienced.

Subsequently when he was deputed to the Deccan, the *Diwani sanads* were imprinted with the seal of Mu'azzam Khan and signature of Muhammad Amīn Khan. But when the absence of Mu'azzam Khan was prolonged in the Deccan, and the work of the *Diwani* department began to pile up, the emperor issued an instruction to the effect that, 'the Rā'i Rāyān should imprint his seal below that of the Diwan-i-A'la on the sanads; farmans and administrative and financial parwanas and the replies to audit rules should be drawn up in the same manner.' 'This humble self who since the time of the Wizarat of the late Afzal Khan had enjoyed the company of the great wazirs and been intimate in the service of the Ashraf-i-Al'a (Diwan) and after the demise of Sādullah Khan had been assigned the work of drafting the world-obeyed farmans, was sent along with the Rā'i Rāyān to the *Diwani* Department to acquaint Muhammad Amin with the royal instructions.'

Later on, when Muhammad Amin was appointed as Bakshi, the Rā'i Rāyān became the permanent *Diwan*. Wazir Khan being an expert in book-keeping was directed to sit in the Kutchery and act as *amin*. The order of precedence was fixed in this manner. On the margin of parwanas and audit notes the Rāi's Rāyān imprinted his signatures first, and then they were signed by Wazir Khan. On the Diwani sanads and parwanas only the seal of the Rā'i Rāyān was deemed to be enough.

On the appointment of Jafar Khan as the *Wazir-i-kul*. the Rā'i Rāyan was confirmed in his post as *Diwan*—but on the departure of Ja'far Khan to Malwa Rā'i Rāyān became the *Wazir-i-kul*, and in consideration of his meritorious services the title of Raja was conferred on him.

The above account of the succession of Wazirs from the pen of not merely a contemporary but a person intimately connected with the Diwani department deserves very careful and serious consideration. It raises several interesting issues, e.g. the distinction between *Diwan-i-kul* and *Wazir Mustaqil* relations between the *Diwan-i-kul* and *Diwan-i-khalsa* relation between *Vakil* and *Diwan-i-Ashraf Āl'a*. It is true that Chandra Bhān has not directly thrown any light on the subject, but we can arrive at certain conclusions by reading in between the lines.

The first Chaman concludes with the account of the conquest of Daulatabad; the numerous forts on the boundaries of Bijapur and Golconda, the rebellions of Khān Jahān Lodhī and Jujhār Singh,

suppression of the pirates of Hugli, campaigns to Balkh: Badakhshan and Qandhar; the conquest of Chittor and award of the title of shah to the ruler of Bijapur. In this long list of events two matters are deserving of notice. The first is the arrival of Khusrau Khan and the elaborate arrangements made for his reception, which incidently brings to light tho pattern in which the court was organised on such occasions. The second is the chronogram composed by Afzal Khan's Munshi Nand Ram recording the defeat and suppression of the Bundelahs :

آمد برد ملک مالی بندید بدست

In the second Chaman there is a description of the Subahs of Hindustan; of Delhi; of old Delhi, its saints, the tombs of Humayaun, Khan-i-Khanan and Mahabat Khan; and of Allahabad. In connection with Agra, he definitely states that the Taj Mahal was constructed under the supervision of Makrmat Khan and Mir 'Abdul Karīm. This evidence coming as does from the pen of a Hindu writer cannot be controverted. In the context of Lahore, he has described the *havelī* of Āsaf Khan and the mosque of Wazir Khan. He makes a special reference to the library having a large collection of manuscripts dealing with history, poetry and other subjects. Nor does he omit to mention the names of Miyān Mir and Mullā Shah.

The third Chaman is called 'colourful trees and sweet fruits'. It is partly autobiographical. The author has described his parentage and thus he makes a feeling reference to Afzal Khan who was so kind to him as to present his own pen to him, asking him to use it. On Afzal Khan's death his brother Amānat Khan resigned government service and took to retired life. His son Āqil Khan became *Mir Saman* and Bakhshi, but he died young at Kabul. The line of Afzal khan became extinct, but a brother of Āqil Khan survived the latter.

On the death of Afzal Khan, his nephew Āqil Khan led into the royal audience all the scrībes of his uncle. The emperor rewarded every one of them. 'When the turn of Chandra Bhān came, the emperor liked his *shikasta* handwriting immensely and praised the same. One of his ghazals also impressed the emperor who enrolled him as *Waqiatnawis,* and the duty of keepīng a watch over the personnel diary of the sovereign was assigned to this humble self. During the journeys to Kabul and Kashmir Chandra Bhān daily wrote a detailed account of the climate and produce of every region through

which he passed. He submitted it to the emperor for his perusal and he liked it very much. The emperor suggested to him to compose a quatrain on the occasion of every festivity or celebration and promised him due rewards and promotion. He was placed under Islam Khan, then under S'adulla Khan. He accompanied the latter when he went to Balkh; and he drew up reports of day-to-day events. After S'adullah's death, the title of Rā'I was conferred on him and he was appointed to the post of draftsman.

He concludes this Chaman with a letter addressed to his son in which he has prescribed a syllabus for his studies.

The last Chaman is essentially didactic but its ethical importance cannot be minimised.

This brief survey of the contents of Chār Chaman is sufficient to bring out the historical and literary importance of the work. Without aiming at writing history, the author has given numerous important facts, and without claimining literary skill he has left behind a work which should be a source of delight to those interested in the study of Persian literature. Chandra Bhān can rightly be placed on par with the leading authors and writers of his age.

Sanskritic Culture in the South-East Asia

DR. S. R. SEHGAL

ONE cannot fail to recall the influence which India, centuries ago, had wielded in shaping the culture, beliefs and religions of the countries of South-East Asia. It is true that this influence underwent a long period of decline when the destinies of the mother country came under the shadow of alien powers. But even today anyone visiting the countries of South-East Asia would be struck by the enduring signs of this influence in the facts of linguistics, semantics, common customs, dancing, costumes and religious beliefs. Perhaps Prof. Rawlinson, an eminent British scholar had this influence in mind when he said that India suffers today in the estimate of the world more through the world's ignorance of her achievements than in the absence or insignificance of her achievements.

Anyone visiting Bangkok today would be amazed by the multitude of words in everyday speech which are derivatives from Sanskrit. A popular word for greeting in Thailand is 'Sabaydi Khap' of which origin may be traced to the Sanskrit word 'Svasti'. This word of national greeting has a long history extending over three thousand years which finds its earliest expression in the Ṛigveda. The word Namaskāra in Sanskrit/Pali Namskar is another instance which proves our deep ties with Laos.

Similarly the words Velā for time as well as 'Bhāsa' are the same as in Sanskrit and Pali. These have been used in the same form with the meaning in both Thailand and Laos for a thousand of years. Anyone listening to the radio broadcasts of these countries will be struck by the frequent occurrence of these words. There are no

synonyms of these words both in Thai and Lao languages to express these ideas.

Buddhist monks of India had visited these countries to spread the Master's message in far off lands, across the wide seas, high mountains and vast deserts. They were successful in carrying out their selfless mission as evident from their impact on language, arts and architectures of this area. Today the extent of ancient cultural influences can be measured by a visit to the ancestral area in the North to tropical Indonesia in the South, and from the border lands of Persia to China and Japan. This visit will convince every one that ancient India was the radiating centre of a civilization which by its religious thought, philosophy, literature and traditions had left a mark on the races which were wholly diverse and scattered over the greater part of Asia.

There is also a visible impact of our heritage on the scriptures and everyday thinking of the people of this area. The more one stays and studies the material the more one feels amazed at the variety which the current vocabulary of these areas bear to Sanskrit words.

A familiar early morning sight in countries like Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos is that of Buddhist monks draped in orange robes and downcast eyes, walking along the streets of towns and villages begging food. They file past in perfect order before devotees squatting on the ground who kneel down before the profession of monks. They tip their bowls before the devotees as they move on. The leader of the monks blesses the devotees with the words 'Sukhī Hotu'—may you be happy. 'Sukhī' is a Sanskrit word meaning 'happy'.

All the rites and rituals connected with birth and death in most of these countries are akin to India. In marriages the white thread called 'Phukhain' or 'Maṅgala Sutta' is fastened to the wrists of the bride and bridegroom. They are blessed by elders. The dowry system prevelent in India is common to Laos and Thailand. Monks like the Brāhmaṇas in India administer all the religious rites. Men usually wear *dhoṭi* on these sacred occasions which is a relic of vedic times. Prayers said at the time of birth and death are the same as in the Atharvaveda. The ancient phrase 'May you have a house full of children and grand children' are commonly repeated in Laos, Cambodia and Thailand at the time of marriages. The word for wedding in Laos is called 'Vivāha'

The custom in Laos is that the bridegroom goes to the house of the bride for good. In few cases, however, they follow the Indian customs *viz*. the bride goes to the house of the bridegroom and such marriages are called 'Avah'. The cremation rite is also identical with India. Prayers are said for the peace of tne departed soul. The dead bodies are cremated. If an old man or a woman dies a big feast is held and shared enthusiastically by all relatives and friends. Even alcohol drinks are offered in which both men and women participate equally. Some persons throw coins over the dead body which are treasured as an aids to longevity. A peculiar custom in these countries is that sometimes dead bodies of some respectable people are preserved for a week or so which is injuncted to avoid bad smell.

'Hed the Bun' is a phrase used in Laos which is rendering of the well known proverb of Buddhist classic—'Punnam chet puriso Kayira'. The word Bun has a colourful history of 3000 years. It is a derivative from the Vedic word 'Puṇya' which inspires men to be charitable. In Buddhist times the word had already undergone a phonetic change and pronounced 'Punna'. Whenever there is a gathering for wedding or death or on festival occasions, the rhythm of this word is unmistakably heard. For sometime the foreigner may not appreciate the beauty of this word but soon enough he gets accustomed to its chanting. The pronunciation of this area is largely influenced by that of China. The initial letter 'P' of Sanskrit/Pāli is invariably changed to 'B' of the same labial gradation. The Sanskrit/Pāli words Pāpa (Sin), Pitā (Father) and Pūjā (worship) are pronounced as Bap, Bida and Busa respectively. The change of the letter 'B' is also common in the eastern parts of India like Bengal and Assam.

The word for Radio Station is Sthani Vithayu. Sthani means station which is a derivative of the word 'Stan' of Indo European origin. The Lao word 'Vithayu' is a phonetie change from Sanskrit 'Vidyut' which means literally, lightning. The letter 'L' is slightly changed to aspirated sound as we have preserved in final letter of the English word Path. The words for teacher and food in Laos are Achan and Ahan—derivatives of the Sanskrit words Āchārya and Ahar respectively. The final 'R' in Laos is changed to 'n'.

The names of days in a week are similar to ours. Sunday is called Van Ahita, Ahita is phonetically changed version of Āditya meaning Sun and so is Van from *Vara* signifying day. Monday is

known as Van Can. Can is an abbreviated form of Candra. Similarly Tuesday is Van Ankhan. Ankhan is anger a word for Maṅgala. Wednesday is Van Phut in place of the Indian word Budhawar. Thursday is called Van Phut which is similar to *Bṛihaspati-vāra* in Sanskrit. Friday and Saturday are known in Laos by Van Suk and Van Sao respectively. One is struck by the beauty of the colourful development of Sanskrit heritage. It may be a matter for great amusement to know that the national language of Thailand is influenced by Sanskrit while Lao derives influence from Pāli the language of the Buddhist sermons.

Both in monasteries as well as the Royal families the use of Sanskrit words and idioms is quite common. Monks when they have to ask 'How old are you' would say 'Ayu Thodai' in place of Lao expression 'chak pee'. The members of the Royal family also use the same expression. Whenever a common man refers to the parts of the body of Royal personage the parts are embellished with Sanskrit prefix 'Phra' which means excellent. The king is called Phra Rasa, the Queen is called Phra Mahesi, their head—Phra Siras and their face is termed as Phra mukh. The crown prince is called 'Ong Mukut' (Ang Mukut). This shows an amazing influence of Sanskrit/Pāli on the life of the Buddhist people. One is reminded of high characters in Sanskrit Plays who speak Sanskrit on the stage. The monks address themselves as Attma like the Indian monks who call themselves as 'Ātmārāma' *i.e.* delighting in spiritual heights.

These words are the heirlooms of thoughts, knowledge and feelings of all histories, all poetries, all our philosophical systems, all that we are and will be. It is the nutshell in the fairy tale out of which the endless web is forthcoming designs and matchless variety of colours.

Three Mongolian Buddhist Fragments from Turfan

HERBERT FRANKE

AMONG the Buddhist texts published in E. Haenisch, *Mongolica der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung* vol. II (Berlin 1959) there are two small fragments from a printed book showing a particular style of printing with a tendency to combine words graphically (Texts A 9 (TM 8) and A 14 (T II T 662) on p. 18 and 21 respectively). This angular style of printing is sometimes also met with in Uighur Buddhist works, see for example the extant leaves from a sūtra reproduced in Huang Wen pi's *T'u-lu-fan k'ao-ku chi* (Notes on the Archaeology of Turfan), Peking, Academia Sinica 1954, pp. 112—115. The two Mongolian fragments of the Berlin Turfun collection belong undoubtedly together. Recently a third fragment has come to light in Berlin and I wish to express my gratitude to the Institut fur Orient forschung of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, in particular to Dr. P. Zieme for having provided me with a photo-copy of this hitherto unpublished fragment (*see* fig. 4, on p. 471). This new fragment must, by its similarity in printing style, belong to the same printed Buddhist text from which also fragments A 9 and A 14 have come. Moreover. A 14 has on its upper margin a superscription in handwriting, *Nigen* 'one', whereas the newly discovered fragment T II 607 has equally on its upper margin a superscription in handwritng *qoyar* 'two'. This may have meant a provisional numbering of originally unnumbered pages of the printed text and gives at the same time a clue for the original sequence of the fragments.

Unfortunately the three fragments, A 9 and A 14 in Haenisch's publication and the unpublished fragment T II 607 are too short to allow an immediate identification. A romanisation and translation of these three short texts may, however, enable Buddhologists

to identify the original work. We begin with the fragment marked 'ong'.

1. T II T 662 (Haenisch, p. 21)

Only five lines and these moreover incomplete are preserved. They read :

1. kedüi bükün arban jüg ü (n)......
2. qurban čaq-un kümün......
3. oduqsad : qočurli üg (ei?)......
4. bügüde dür bi : bey (e)......
5. bisiren sögüdümüi......

A coherent translation is not possible because of the fragmentary preservation; the words mean something like.

1. Whoever are...of the ten cardinal points...
2. Men of the three times...
3. has gone. With nothing left (completely)...
4. I...to all...body...
5. Worshipping I kneel...

Notes :—*arban jüg* is the well-known expression for 'the whole universe' (skr. dasa diśaḥ).—The 'three times', *gurban čaq*, are past, present and future (tib. dus gsum, skr. tryadhvan), but this term may also allude to the three stages or periods of every Buddha's teaching (cf. W.E Soothill and L. Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* p. 67b).—For *qocurls* üg *(ei)*, lit. 'without anything left over' of, the expression *qačurli* üg*eküi* in the next fragment.

2. T II 607 (hitherto unpublised)

In this case five full lines have been preserved.

They read :

1. nigen toɣasun u deger-e toɣasun u kü
2. toyabar burqannuqud : bodistw-nar un
3. dumda raɣuči bükün ten mum iyar : num un
4. ele činar bügüde qočurli ügeküi e : qamaq-a
5. ilaɣuɣsad ivar dügürčü bükü yi küsemüi : :

A tentative translation would be :

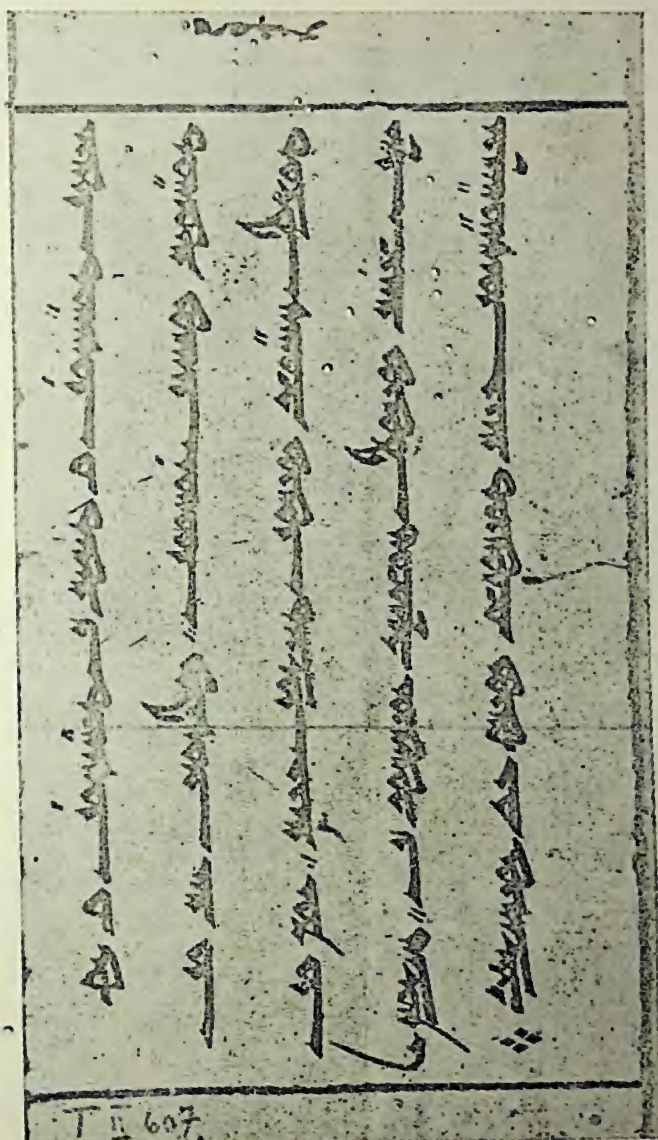
Through him he is sitting in the middle of number on top of numbers numbered (countless) Buddhas and Bodhisattvas I (we) beg that all the reality of Dharmas be filled without rest with those who have completely been victorious.

Notes : *toyasun* is perhaps a derivative from the verb *toya*— 'to count, to number' ; the suffix—*sun* forms nouns designating results

of actions (cf. N. Poppe, *Grammar of written Mongolian* § 180). *toyasun* therefore would mean 'that what has been counted, numbered.' The nomen simplex *toya* occurs in l. 2 with the instrumental suffix which must be here either the instrumental formae ('in the shape of', Poppe, *Grammar* § 532 d) or instrumentalistis mensurae ("the manner in which", § 535). The meaning of the words is certainly something like 'numbered, beyond all numbers countless'.—*sayuči* has been translated by 'sitting, he who sits'; the regular form would however be *sayuyči* (nomen actoris of sayu—'to sit, stay, dwell'.—The words *bükün ten mun iyar* are difficult. In middle Mongolian *mun* 'this one, he who' is a singular, plural : *mud* (cf. N. Poppe, *The Mongolian Monuments in hP' ags-pa script* p. 127 and note 23 on p. 90). *bükün* is the plural form of the nomen futuri *bükü* 'to be, being located'. *tan/ten* is equally a plural form, *sayuči* however a singular. *tan* is a suffix (pl. of the comitative—*tai*), but has also the meaning of an honorific, *see* F.D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary* p. 776 a. *mun* (classical Mongolian *mön*) has here the suffix—*iyar* and is, therefore, treated as a noun; normally it is only used as an pronomen, adjective or adverb, e. g. *mön činar* 'intrinsic nature, self-nature' (skr. svabhāva) or 'last reality' (tathatā), cf. Lessing p. 1176 b.—*nom um činar* corresponds, according to Lessing p. 1178b, to tib. c'os nyid, skr. dharmatā 'true nature, reality, the whole of the whole, the essence of essences'.—*Qamuq-a ilayuysad* is a plural of *Q-ilyyuysan* 'wholly victorious', a well-known epithet of Buddhas.—*dügürčü bükü* means verbatim 'the state of being filled.' A somewhat similar phrase occurs in the Middle Mongolian Bodhicaryāvatāra, cf. F.W. Cleaves in Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies vol. 17(1954) p. 44 (4-157) of the text, line 8-9 ; *Burqad kiged Bodistw-iyar dügürčü (boltuyai)*, transl. p. 74 'let (everything) be filled with Burqad and Bodistw (Bodhisattvas)'. The same idea is exprssed in line 4 and 5 of our rragment.

3. T M 8 (Haenish, P. 18)

Also this fragment has lost its lower half; only five lines are thus partially preserved. They read ;

1. ali tede qurban čaq-un......
2. yi : nigen ksan u qubi tu......
3. üiledsügei : qurban čaq-un......
4. kümün-ü arslan nuyud......
5. čaq-tur büged üjesügei......

Mongolian Buddhist Fragment from Turfan

Also here no coherent translation is possible; the single words mean something like

1. who of these three times......
2. (acc.). A part of one moment......
3. I want to do. Of the three times......
4. the lions among men (i. e. the Buddhas)......
5. at the...time I also want to see......

Notes : For the 'three times', *qurban čaq, see* our notes to the first fragment.—*ksan* is derived from skr. kšana (cf. Kovalevski, Dict. p. 2655 a).—*kümün*-ü *arslan,* lit. the 'lion of men', is an epithet for Buddhas, cf, the corresponding Chinese term *jen chung shih* 'lion among men', Soothill-Hodous, *op. cit.* p. 31b.—*büged* is originally the converb of the past of the verb *bü*—'to be, exist', but is often used in the sense of 'and, also', a usage already confirmed in the hP' ags-pa documents (cf. Pophe, *op. cit.* p. 121 : *bö'ed* 'and').

DR. ADITYANATH JHA
FELICITATION VOLUME

Education in the times of Pāṇini

DR. R.P. SINGH

PĀṆINI, one of the greatest of grammarians, lived between 750 B.C. and 500 B.C.[1] whose invaluable information regarding his contemporary period is as exhaustive as it is direct. Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī being a work on grammar contains references that are extremely helpful in giving knowledge about the education that was provided in those times. We are told that there is always a connection between "grammatical work and the standing language and literature and the established forms and usages of speech upon which it is based", hence grammatical works must always be a fertile source of social and political history, abounding in references to contemporary and pre-existing institutions, ways of life and conditions of culture."[2] Agreeing in principle with the above citation, we must look for references to the professional education in this famous work.

We are informed that Pāṇini's knowledge of his contemporary India is both wide and varied. Not only was he familiar with religious scriptures, he also knew a lot about secular works. His observations regarding grammatical formations connected with matters relating to the practices of actors and mendicants astound us by their pertinence. On the whole, his work shows clearly the degree of advancement achieved by this country both in the depth and width of human knowledge. But it must be acknowledged that all our inferences that are drawn from the social practices of the contemporary times lend only a partial view of the picture in as much as this picture is drawn on the basis of observations of a grammarian

1. Mookerji, R.K. *Glimpses of Ancient India*, p. 113, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, (Bombay, 1961).
2. Mookerji, R.K., *Ancient Indian Education*, (MacMillan, 1951), p. 232.

and not a social historian. Pāṇini's knowledge of the grammarians that preceded him is assuredly more exhaustive than his information about the secular sciences or their exact origin. This is something natural also. Therefore, Pāṇini takes pains to record the names of his predecessors in the field of grammar and quite a few schools of Grammar.[3] It would appear that grammar had by now come to acquire tremendous respect and mastery of it was regarded in itself a great achievement of a scholar's life.

Pāṇini's India was materially prosperous. It had large cities abounding in various comforts. Men and women wore silk, wool and cotton. Women used cosmetics to look attractive—a number of which are in use in their indigenous form even to this day *viz.*, antimony, powder and jewellery. Dr. V.S. Agrawal says that there are indications that town-planning and architecture had become regular trades.[4] Pāṇini in his *sūtras* gives not only the background but also the details of the land that was marked for construction of building and outer walls and ditches for fortifying the cities.[5] Cities had different kinds of roads such as king's way, god's way, roads, streets, lanes, by-lanes etc. Baked bricks were in use and there is a description of a road in North India which was the artery of trade in those times—in ancient counterpart of the National Highway no. 1.[6] Pāṇini also mentions about sea-trade in his great work.[7]

India remained, as in the earlier times, an agricultural country. Therefore, for irrigation purposes canals were dug and wells bored. Those who cleaned these wells were called Udagh.[8] Other common vocations connected with agriculture such as sowing, harvesting etc. also existed.

Pāṇini mentions the word 'Śilpi' both for those who were adept in fine arts and trades like that of a potter.[9] Some of these went round villages and cities selling their skill. But most of them had their own places of work. Potters, dyers, smith, carpenters, etc.

3. *Ancient Indian Education*, op. cit., p. 234.
4. Agrawal, V.S. *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 223, University of Lucknow, 1953.
5. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 5.1.16 ; 5.1.10.
6. *Ibid.*, 5.1.17.
7. *Ibid.*, 4.3.10.
8. *Ibid.*, 6.3.7.
9. Agrawal, V.S., *op. cit.*, p. 223.

were the common class of artisans. Besides these artisans who were neither highly trained nor did they always sell their skill for money (because barter was the common mode of making deals) ; there was a class of highly trained and sophisticated artisans who worked for money alone.[10] Pāṇini lets us into the business world by acquaintting us, through sutras, of the way markets were organised, business transacted and various types of coins and measures used. Indeed, so picturesque are the sutras that one has a feeling of moving about in the markets of the bygone times as if transported by the magic of words.

In the sutras of Pāṇini we are informed that there were two types of educational provisions common in those times. One was called vocational or professional education (Vṛitta)[11], and the other was given the appellation of classical education. Numerous vocations had come into being in response to a rising standard of living. Not only these skilled people command respect in the society but also among their own professional organizations. Sculptors, dancers, marksmen, musicians etc. had their own professional organisations for imparting instruction and securing lucrative poets. It is normally assumed that this training was based on the traditional teacher pupil pattern both coming from the same class and family, generation after generation.[12]

If there was a spate of specialists in various vocations and professions pertaining to secular arts and sciences especially in the field of animal husbandry, music, military arts and others, there was an equal rise in the number of scholars in the traditional classical education offered in the old Cāraṇas or schools. We need not go in the details of the nature of these schools, therefore, it would suffice to say that these schools had by now grown more specialized in selection and courses of study. If the former provided skill for maintaining a high standard of material comfort and sophistication the latter met the need of a rich spiritual culture and enabled the educated class to talk for a while of a world hereafter.

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10. *Ashtadhayayi*, 1.4.14.

11. *Ibid.*, 4.1.42.

12. Agrawal, V.S *Pāṇinikālīn Bhāratvarṣa*, p. 299, Motilal Banarsi Dass, Vikrami samvat 2012 (in Hindi) : Dubash, N.P., Hindu Art in Social Setting, p. 102. The National Literature Publishing Co., Ltd., Madras, 1936.

Pāṇini's period coincides with the growth of democratic institutions in the country. Conseqently, respect for the finer arts had grown considerably. An art like that of story-telling could also command respect. One who would tell the story of Vāsavadattā would not tell the story of Priyā Sundarī etc.[13] If music had different rāgas and musical instruments to master, sculpture and dramas had their own rigorous codes of conduct[14]. All of these came to be regarded as vocational subjects to be persued according to their tradition.

After Pāṇini has helped us prepare a rough picture of these specialized courses his interest suddenly dies out. We are not given the details of these courses of study, more particularly, their manner of training and period of study. We are left in the dark about the type of teachers who taught these various courses of study, except for the mention that they were respected members of the society. Of course, we know about the Caraṇas and the subjects they offered. But when we are so close to succeeding in obtaining a picture of the education of secular subjects Pāṇini holds us back a trifle peremptorily, as it were. The situation, therefore, remains for ever tantalising.

There is, however, one point on which Pāṇini is most obliging. Not only does he distinguish between a Ṛiṣi and a non-Ṛiṣi, he also makes a distinction between an original thinker and a writer of ordinary rank. He also refers to all possible types of literature (a) inspired literature (b) original works connected with traditional literature, sacred and profane (c) original works embodying new knowledge (d) commentaries, and (e) ordinary compositions.'[15] His fine sense of discrimination is displayed in other fields of learning and accomplishments too. For him there are three types of thinkers and two types of teachers. Thinkers are (a) believers in life hereafter (b) non-believers in life hereafters and (c) the fatalists ; and the teachers are, interestingly enough, teachers of their original works and passers-on of the knowledge learnt from some one else.

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13. Agrawal, V.S., op. cit., p. 299. *See* also Dubash. N. P., *Hindu Art in Social Setting*, op. cit., p. 102.

14. Mookerjee, op. cit., p. 245.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

APPENDIX

The curriculum in the times of Pāṇini (600-700 B.C.) as given by Sankalia, H.D. *The University of Nalanda*, p. 7, B.G. Paul & Company, Madras, (1934) :—

1. The Vedas.
2. Anuśāsana or the six Vedaṅgas, *i.e.* (a) Śikṣā (Phonetics), (b) Kalpa (Ritualistic knowledge); (c) Vyākaraṇa (Grammar), (d) Exegetics, (e) Chandas (Metric) and (f) Jyotiṣa (Astronomy).
3. Vidyā—Viśvavidyā.
4. Vākovākyaṁ, explained by Śaṅkara as the art of disputation.
5. Itihāsa—Purāṇas.
6. Ākhyāna.
7. Anvākhyāna.
8. Anuvākhyāna, interpreted by Śaṅkara as explanation of Mantras.
9. Vyākhyāna.
10. Gāthā.
11. Nārāśaṁśī.
12. Brāhmaṇa.
13. Kṣatra Vidyā, explained by Śaṅkara as the science of the bows.
14. Rāśi, Śaṅkara explains it as the science of numbers.
15. Nakṣatra Vidyā.
16. Bhūta Vidyā—the science of life.
17. Nidhi—some sort of divination.
18. Sarpa Vidyā.
19. Atharvāṅgirasa.
20. Daiva, explained by Śaṅkara as the science of portents.
21. Pitrya, the science of names.
22. Sūtra, in the sense of a book of rules for the guidance of sacrifices and other rituals.
23. Vedānāṁvedaṁ—explained by Śaṅkara to mean Grammar of old Sanskrit.

24. Ekāyana, according to Śaṅkara as science of conduct.
25. Deva Vidyā, according to Śaṅkara : Exegetics.
26. Deva-jñāna Vidyā, explained by Śaṅkara as making of perfumes, dancing, singing, playing on musical instruments and other fine arts.

N.B. : Not all studied it nor could all hope to learn all these subjects.

Crisis in Indian Education

PROF. UDAY SHANKAR

SINCE Independence there has been some expansion and a degree of reconstruction, if not great improvement, in this country, in field of education, at all levels. The problem of education in this country, in spite of certain changes and expansion, has assumed the shape of a crisis to which attention of not only educationists but of policy makers in this country is called for, for a serious consideration to devise ways and means to meet the challenge of this crisis. In this short write-up, an attempt is made to point out some of the important features of this crisis to enable the reading public, in this country, to be alive to these problems for whatever necessary action is called for.

In the first instance the crisis in education in this country is created by the explosion of population and by the lack of corresponding increase in national wealth.

India is a vast country and the present population is now about 512 million, when 21 million children are born every year with only 8 million deaths, and it is estimated that in another 20 years the population may be near about 750 million and the end of the century may see the population of India as 1000 million.

With this rapidly growing population, the food production and industrial production have not grown correspondingly. These, of course, increased by 62% and 15% respectively, yet the national income per capita is Rs. 250/- per annum, when the top 20% of the population has an income of Rs. 35/- p.m. on the average. The lower 30% has a monthly income of less than Rs. 15/- p.m. and the lower most 10% a monthly income of less than Rs. 10/-. This population explosion with such pathetic per capita income is one of the reasons of the educational crisis.

This population explosion with lack of production has led to the shooting of prices by which, for the people of ordinary means, it

has become almost impossible to make both ends meet. In such a situation when the means are limited, neither much educational expansion is possible nor is the building of standards so very practicable.

This educational crisis is both quantitative and qualitative. Quantitatively speaking in spite of some educational expansion, the literacy figure is only 29% which is expected to be 34.2% by 1971. The number of illiterates between the ages of 15 and 45 was 150 million in 1961-62 and will go upto 158 by 1971. Literacy has not and would not keep pace with increase in population. From 1951 to 1961 the percentage of literacy increased from 17 to 24% ; but the population increased from 357 million to 439 million and this pace is likely to continue.

The position with regard to literacy among females and in the rural areas is still more depressing. While in 1961 the overall literacy was 24% ; in the case of males it was 34.4% and in the case of females it was only 12.9%. In urban areas literacy was 41% against 19% in rural areas. Among the so-called literates, the really educated were very low, 92% being with Middle School qualifications only.

In such a big population, the students in institutions are only about 70 million, which number may be double by 1985, when it might be nearly 170 million.

The number of institutions is about 5 lakhs and the number of teachers about 2 million. But the number of qualified teachers is not what is required. In lower primary only 51% teachers are trained and in the higher primary, the percentage of trained teachers is only about 60. In Secondary Schools also the percentage of trained teachers is only about 65, though the figures differ from State to State ranging from 18% in Assam and to about 92% in Madras. There is still a large backlog of untrained teachers to the extent of about 2 lakhs.

For better education, the status and economic condition of teachers has to be commensurate with their social position and almost the same as in other professions. But the salaries of the teachers at all levels in this country is pathetically low. The average annual salary of teachers in India can be judged from the figures given below :

Average Annual Salaries of Teachers in India

		1965-66
1.	University Department	6500
2.	College of Arts and Science	4000
3.	Professional Colleges	6410
4.	Secondary Schools	1959
5.	Middle Schools	1278
6.	Primary Schools	1046
7.	Pre-Primary Schools	1083
8.	Vocational Schools	2887
9.	All Teachers	1476
	Cost of living index of working class	165
	National income per capita (at current prices 66-67).	424

Although, the recently set up education commission has suggested higher salary scales for teachers of all categories and various State Governments and Universities are trying to find means to implement those grades but still economic structure of the country is such that it cannot very much improve the economic status of teachers who in turn feeling dissatisfied cannot possibly take their jobs very sincerely. This is a vicious circle and has been playing havoc with the educational standards in this country. Otherwise also there is qualitative crisis in the educational standards with large failures, stagnation and wastage.

Qualitatively speaking it is surprising that a large number of students who enter the 1st Primary Class do not reach the 5th standard. Only 33 out of the 100 reach the 5th class after getting admission in the 1st Primary, although 8 out of every 10 children between 6 and 11 years are now said to be going to schools. A large number of students fail in High/Higher Secondary Schools each year. In 1961, for instance, out of a million such students .55 million failed giving only the pass percentage of about 49. In one State, Punjab the pass percentage of 1964 in Secondary Schools was as low as 33%. In B.A./B.Sc. and B. Com., the position is no better, as the failures in these classes also range from 50 to 54% and out of those who pass 70% are in 3rd class. Such large failures among other things are most probably due to the fact that a large number of the students to the extent of 1/3rd joining colleges have

no aim and a large majority of them have no aptitude or brains for higher education in colleges or universities.

In a recent survey conducted by the great authority in American education Dr. John B. Conant, former president of Harward University, it has been found that only 15 to 20% of the young people going to colleges are genuine college material and the rest should better find some other lighter work. Human nature being the same all the world over the same fact is applicable to this country, but here anybody who has the means can join a college whether he is fit for it or not. Such democratic ideal in education could be justified if there was a similar democracy in acquiring brains which unfortunately is not. Hence to avoid large scale failures in colleges, admissions have to be restricted only to those who could benefit by it and there thus has to be selection.

The rush for admissions in schools and colleges is only for white collar jobs in offices or firms but these jobs being limited there is the problem of the educated unemployed. It is estimated that about 10 million literate people are still out of jobs or have unsuited jobs what otherwise their qualifications could warrant them for while on one hand, there are so many educated unemployed, on the other hand the percentage of educated in various types of professions, is extremely low. For instance, the total number of workers employed in India in 1961 category-wise were as under :—

(in thousands)

Below Matric.	*Matric.*	*Inter*	*Degree-Holder*	*Total*
1,83511	3262	756	1147	1,88,676

The percentage of graduates in various types of professions such as Agriculture, Mining, Manufacturing, Construction, Trade and Commerce, Transport, Communications and services of all types ranged from 0.10% to 3.9% and the intermediate ranged from 0.10% to 2.70% and matriculates ranged from 0.03% to 10.5% One can easily imagine the fate of the various professions and services with such low percentage of the educated personnel manning the various jobs and no wonder that production in various fields is inadequate and low to meet the requirements of the increasing population.

Though literacy figures in the country are depressingly low and it would take quite some time to catch up with other advanced

countries in which the extent of literacy increased steadily and not suddenly, but expansion in education for more literacy should be in a planned manner according to the needs of society in this country and under the present condition of the type of education given in our schools, it may be worthwhile not to hurry with the opening of schools anywhere and everywhere and even to think seriously of the justification of enforcing compulsion even for primary education. Everybody knows that under the present system of bookish education once a boy passes his matriculation he finds himself unfit for his life in the village and hunts for white collar job in an office as a clerk, typist or some such job in any firm. These youngsters migrate to the town or city with the result that villages in this country are losing so many hands whereas population in cities and towns is swelling. With this mass migration due to faulty education, our agricultural production has suffered heavily. It may, therefore, be considered seriously that instead of compulsory education for the young in rural areas, at least, which results in mass migration, it may not be better to concentrate more on adult education, both for literacy and otherwise through mass communication media of radio, films, documentaries and such other means of adult education so that the village adult is better informed about agricultural production and utilizes his spare and leisure time in some craft work to augment his income apart from being able to read and write not only for his routine work but even to enjoy reading of light literature. Such a procedure will help in not only retaining the rural youth on the land for more production but would also enable him to be more productive and happily adjusted in life than being uprooted.

Our education has to prepare the young for life and for adjustment in the particular environment. There has, therefore, to be some flexibility in our course contents and curricula as is suited to the local needs of the particular society. The same type of set courses and rigid system of filling the prescription of a particular examination is to be replaced by the curriculum for a particular standard of education as is suited to the local requirements. In an agricultural society, for example, education should be more agriculture-oriented. I was surprised to find in the Illinois state in U.S.A. a high school in the rural area turning out graduates after high school education more oriented towards agriculture as in the surrounding community they wanted educated farmers who could

man the jobs of farmers for agricultural production. The brighter ones, however, after graduation from here could also go to college.

We in this country have to take a leaf from the book of such advanced countries in making our curricula more varied and more suited to the local needs than to have it so rigid for all children in any area, region or locality. Our thinking and practice in education is extremely rigid and uniform and we have to let in the fresh air of flexibility to suit education to our local needs to avoid so much wastage and almost a crisis in education in the country.

Another factor which has been the cause of lowering educational standards and to add to the number of educated unemployed is the starting of institutions indiscriminately without proper planning with regards to the vacancies available for the out-turns. For instance, in Engineering, it is estimated that about 14,000 graduate Engineers are unemployed and they have been agitating for suitable openings and means of livelihood. Such educational wastage could be avoided or lessened if such technical institutions could be started in a planned manner.

To remedy the stituation, it may be suggested as a summary that there should be control on population by applying strict measures. In the second place, production of both Agricultural and Industrial is to go up to improve the economy of the country. In the third place, expansion of educational institutions should be on a planned basis laying more stress on quality rather than quantity. For the present compulsion for the enrolment in schools should not be stressed, as it is no use sending children to schools when large numbers of them drop out. In the fourth place, admission in higher educational institutions should be restricted and should be based on proper selection so that only those go for higher education who have capacity and aptitude for it.

In the fifth place, the system of education in country is rather bookish and rigid and is not oriented to local needs. There should not be the set standards in education for all types of population. Education pattern should be more flexible as far as possible. In rural and agricultural areas, for example, instead of having schools of ordinary types as in towns and cities, the schools in these areas could be oriented towards agriculture.

In the last analysis, educational facilities should be provided keeping in view the man power requirement for the various jobs and

not to let students follow courses of study without having any idea whether they would find employment or not.

The crisis, therefore, in education is both quantitative and qualitative and could, to an extent, be averted by implementing some of the measures mentioned above.

Folk Movements in ancient India

OROON K. GHOSH

IN this brief essay the following stages of society will be generally covered, except the last one, which will be dealt with only as regards it earlier portion:

Food-gatherers
Advanced hunters
Matrifocal agriculturists
Pastoral nomads
Agro-theocracy
Agro-theo-aristocracy

The criterion for stopping is the appearance of comparatively adequate literary sources. In other words, the source material of this essay is largely, though not wholly, archaeological.

There are two broad types of Lower Palæolithic tools in India—the chopping tool culture and the hand-axe culture. At one time it was thought that the chopping tool-culture was mainly restricted to the Punjab (Soan culture) and the hand-axe to the South. Soan type tools have, however, subsequently been found all over India, though basically more in the north than in the south.[1] Similarly for the Madras hand-axe culture. The links of the Soan culture are with the Anyathian of Burma, the Tampanion of Malaya and the Patjitanian of Java.[2] The links of the hand-axe industry are with Africa[3]. There is astonishing similarity in hand-axes from as far apart places as the Cape Kenya. Madras and London.[4]

1. H.D. Sankalia—*Indian Archaeology Today* (Asia, 1962) pp. 34-39
2. Cf. Unesco *History of Mankind*, Vol. I (1963) pp. 65, 167-168.
3. L.S.B. Leakey—*Adam's Ancestors* (London 1933) p. 77.
4. Kennet P. Oakley—*Man the Tool-Maker* (London, 1961 edition) p. 43.

These cultures came into existence over 40,000 years ago and were those of food-gatherers and hunters. Racially they are supposed to be represented by the Negritos (Hand-axe culture) and the Mundas (Soan culture). The whole of South-East Asia, up to the Yangtse-Kiang, even as late as early Chou (1100-720 B.C.) spoke languages related to those of the Mundas.[5] They were subsequently forced south by Mongoloids of different types, who, inter-married with them. The Negrito type still exists in India in people like the Kadar, Malopantaran, Paliyan, Irula, Panyan, Kurumba, Yanadi, Ohenchu, Birhor, Korwa etc. tribes. But the peaple who spread out the most at that time were Austrics of the Munda type. J. Przyluski has given ample proof of the existence of Austric tribes like the Udumbaras in the Punjab.[6] They were probably the 'Dasas' of the Aryans and are mentioned as 'Dahal' in Iran. Herodotus (5th century B.C.). mentions their existence by the shores of the Caspian, and Soviet writers like S.P. Tolstov consider them to be of the Munda type. The Mundas, according to S.C. Roy, had a tradition of being pushed east from Delhi and Northern Rajasthan. A place known as "Munda-Sthala" existed in South Rajasthan in the 13th century.[7] In North Gujarat a town named Mundaka existed in the 11th Century.[8] A copper plate grant of a Pallava prince mentions the word "Muṇḍa-Rāṣṭra"[9] as existing near Nellore. And does "Mundigak" near Kandahar carry some memory of its original Munda inhabitants ? At present the Mundari speaking people are few, like Bondo, Gadaba, Korubu, Munda, Santhali etc. Ethnically Munda people like the Bhils now speak a Śanskritic tongue. In Sanskrit Literature the Kols, Bhils, Śabaras, Pulindas etc. are known as the Niṣādas. In Pālī Literature there is the story of Nāga-Munda, daughter of Mahanama, gives to Pasenadi of Kosala in marriage. Mrs Irawati Karve has given reasons to support the thesis that the Nagas were a branch of the Mundas.[10] They had fourteen ruling houses, the chief of which

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5. E.G. Pulieyblank—*J.R.A.S.* (1966, Parts I and 2) p. 35.
6. J. Przyluski—*Ancient Peoples of the Punjab* (Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1960 edition).
7. *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, 221.
8. *J.B.B.R.A.S.* Extra No. 49.
9. *Ancient India*, Vol. V, p. 48.
10. Irawati Karve, *Kinship Organisation in India* (Poona, 1953) pp. 279-83.

was Takṣaka in the West and Korkoṭaka in the East. Jwala, the daughter of a Takṣaka King, was married to a Kuru King of Hastinapura. There was a feud between the Takṣaka Nagas and Pāṇḍavas when the Pāṇḍavas took Naga forests, burnt them and built Indraprastha on the site. The Nagas ultimately killed Parikṣita, Arjuna's grandson, and peace was restored by the sage Āstīka, son of a Brāhmaṇa and a Naga princess. T.V. Mahalingam has given detailed references to the importance of Nagas in Indian history and culture.[11] Sylvain Levi has pointed out that names like Kosala, Tosala, Anga, Vanga, Kalinga are Austric. And so may be Ganga or Ma-Ganga, etymologically same as Me-Kong. Many of these names were Sanskritised later, like Kanakya from Ka-Mei-Kha.

The Austrics 40-50,000 years ago were, of course, food-gatherers and hunters. They became agriculturists and then important much later.

The Indian Middle Stone Age industry has now been found to be widely scattered and Prof. Boriskovsky thinks that they bear resemblance to those of Tajikstan and Kazakstan.[12]

Round about 5000 B.C. we have the microlithic culture, chiefly in Central and West India. The Langhnaj skull, excavated by H.D. Sankalia, has been thought to have Hamitic affinities (from East Africa).

The neolithic is generally associated with matrifocal agriculture. We do not yet have a complete picture of the neolithic in India. Sites have been excavated at Kili Ghul Mohammad near Quetta, Damb Saadat near it, Burxahon in Kashmir and various places in Madras. Mysore and Andhra, like Tekkalakota, Sanganakallu, Hallur, Brahmagiri, Utnur etc. The C-14 dates are a little before 3000 B.C. for Killi Ghul Mohammad, 3000-2500 B.C. for Damb Saadat and Kot Diji, 40 Milometres east of Mohenjo-Daro, 2500-2000 B.C. for the southern neolithic (pointed-butt-axe culture) and 2000-1500 B.C. for the Burzahom neolithic in Kashmir.

At present it is still difficult, because of the lack of evidence, to decide on the origin of neolithic culture in India. Dr Eugene C. Worman, on account of the comparative absence of cults in

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11. T.V. Mahalingam—*The Nagas in India, History and Culture Journal of Indian History* (April 1965), pp. 1-70.

12. *Ibid.*, (April 1967). p. 102

western and northern India, suggested a south-east Asian origin.[13] If this is correct, agriculture in the Indus Valley need not necessarily be post-Killi Ghul Mohammad and post-Damb Saadat. That is to say, it can well be before 3000 B.C.

So far as pastoral nomads go, we leave out the Todas, whose origins are obscure. But otherwise, pastoral nomads came into India from the grasslands of Central Asia and Iran—in the wake of conquerors like the Vedic Aryans, White Huns, Ahirs, etc. It may be mentioned, however, that the humped Zebu cattle (*Bos Indicus*) may be descended from the Pleistocene *Bos-namadicus* of India.[14] Mohenjo-Daro seals depict both the aurochs type, well-known in Europe and Central Asia, and the Zebu type. According to the well-known Rensch's rule, while arctic animals store fat all over their bodies beneath the skin, fat storers, who live in deserts, particularly warm deserts, carry it in humps. The Indian Zebu may have originated, therefore, in India itself, when due to climatic changes round about 9000-4000 B.C., the Thar region turned into a desert. Thus, both the agriculture and the bull of the Indus region possibly had origins within India itself, though the technique of agriculture was modified to grow wheat and barley, the most abundant grain in Mohenjo-Daro.

We now come to the Harappans. D. P. Agarwal's C-14 dating of 2300-1750 B.C. is well-known, although this has been denied by R. L. Raies, who would give it less time.[15] His reason is that tectonic movements created a great lake, and submerged Mohenjo-Daro at least two or three times at intervals of perhaps as many centuries. My friend, Shri K. C. Varma, has drawn my attention to an article by H. T. Lambrick, a civilian in Sind between 1927 and 1947, who controverts this.[16] Lambrick thinks that the Indus was, indeed, not constant, was capricious, did occasionally deny to Mohenjo-Daro the overspill on which its agriculture mainly depended. But his experience in Sind was that such short-falls in

13. Eugene C. Worman—'The Neolithic problem in the Pre-History of India'—*Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, 31, 1949.
14. Sonia Cole—*The Neolithic Revolution* (British Museum, London, 1961) p. 28.
15. R.L. Raikes—(a) *American Anthropologist* 66(1964) pp. 284-99 (b) *Antiquity* XXXIX (1965) pp. 196-203.
16. H.T. Lambrick—The Indus flood-plain and the Indus Civilization—*Geographical* Journal, Vol. 133, Part 4, Dec. 1967, pp. 483-495.

inundation were met by storage, by granaries, and this gives the clue to the great granaries of Mohenjo-daro. Also, if Mohenjo-Daro and other Indus cities were submerged half the time, the Harappan culture, covering the whole of North-West India (possibly, Afghanistan also) and Rajasthan and Gujrat, could scarcely have arisen, leave alone spread.

Who were the people who built the Indus civilization ? S. S. Sarkar has worked out the racial affinities of the Harappan people on the basis of skeletons examined by the Anthropological survey. Briefly, his conclusions are that the R-37 and cemetery H, Stratum II (Harappan) people with a cranial index of 71 are Indo-Aryan or Indo-Caspian, like the people of Tepe Hissar I and II. But cemetery H, stratum I and area G people of Harappa are meso-cephals, cranial index 76 with a weak strain of brachycephaly, as in Tepe Hissar III. 17 the Australoid strain in Harappa is well-known, but Kenneth A. R. Kennedy of California University denies the Mangoloid strain.[18] The Harappan civilization was, therefore, basically Austro-Mediterranean. Who were the Mediterranean people concerned ? Sir Leonard Woolley suggests that they were of western origin, and that certain elements in the Harappan civiliza-tion came to India already mature.[19] Although some elements must have come from outside as in all civilizations, the Harappan civilization is so distinctive that nobody now maintains that it is a branch of the Sumerian. Leaving aside this point, the question remains, where did this Mediterranean man come from ? In historic times (White Huns, Turks, Mughals) the invasions were from Central Asia, or Turan, not Iran. And the similarities with the Tepe Hissar crania suggests that the white element in the Indus Valley Civilization came from this area. What language did they speak ? At one time, it was thought that they spoke Dravidian. But Mrs Irawati Karve has cited a number of valid reasons against this hypothesis, as follows :—

(i) absence of any reference to Dravidian in Aryan literature.
(ii) Dravidians had no tradition of connection with the North, nor of being pushed out, as the Mundas.

17. M.K, Dhavlikar. *Indian Prehistory* (1964) (Deccan College Building Centenary and silver Jubilee Series No. 32) pp. 133, 141.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
19. UNESCO *History of Mankind* Vol. I, (London, 1963), p. 396.

(iii) When we first know the Dravidians they are vigorous, expanding people.[20]

From her kinship studies she concludes that the Aryans expanded from the North, and the Dravidians from the South, and we shall see that this is the conclusion from Archaeology also.

Mrs. Karve has also pointed out that there are few Dravidian words in the Veda. The Atharva Veda contains the Babylonian word, Tiamat, the primeval chaos. J. Bloch thought that no borrowing from Dravidian into Sanskrit could be proved with certainty.[21] Prof. D.D. Kosambi has found it impossible to imagine voluminous erudition, myth, tradition etc. unless the priests were literate.[22] And if such learning, even oral, was in Dravidian, it should have survived for thousands of years, as Sumerian did in Mesopotamia, and Latin, Greek and Sanskrit elsewhere. The only way out of this predicament is to accept the hypothesis that the white element in Harappan civilization originally spoke an Aryan tongue, which was also spoken in Tepe Hissar and other Turanian mounds. Then only can we explain the fact that no non-Aryan classics survive. Nor is this hypothesis incompatible with any theory about the original homeland of the Aryans. This was probably in the grasslands of western Siberia, Kazakstan and South Russia and Turan. They must have lived here from the earliest times and may have evolved into their present form, when, due to climatic changes, the steppes took shape there, possibly when the climate changed to Boreal, after the Allerod oscillation and the younger Drya, time round about 8000 B.C. According to Allen's rule, animals living in deserts and grasslands have longer extremities than those of the same, or closely related species, living in forests or mountains. Thus, the gracile greyhound, the desert Arab, the Mediterranean and Nordic men, with long extremities, the forests of Eurasia bred the Cro-Magnon type of man, broad and sturdy. And the mountains, as is well-known, broad-heads and mesocephals. The Harappans thus possibly came from Turan. It is also necessary to assume that the Harappan Aryans were without the horse and

20. Irawati Karve—*Op. Cit*, pp. 277-78.

21. J. Bloch—Sanskrit et Dravidian in "Bull Sol. Ling", (1924), pp. 10-21.

22. D.D. Kosamhi—*An Introduction to the Study of Indian history* (Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1958), p. 98.

the chariot, as M.K. Dhavalikar has done.[23] It is not necessary to make the assumption that Aryans always had chariots and horses. The Europeans and Americans did not always have cars, although they have them now. Such hypothesis would also fit in with K.D. Sethna's findings about the horse, the Aryans and the spoked chariot-wheel.[24] The early Aryans must have infiltrated into N.E. Iran, Afghanistan, Baluchistan and the Punjab. In this area the Dahae, Dasas, Mundas or Nagas, as we have seen, also lived. There may have been perpetual conflicts between the Dasas and the Aryans, but because of the racial composition, an Aryan coming into the Punjab from Afghanistan would not have thought that he was coming into a foreign country. Hence, in the Vedas, there is no mention of his coming from outside. This also squares with the occasional traces of horse-bones etc. in the Harappan civilization as at Rana Ghundai and Lothal. My friend, Shri K.C. Varma and I saw a clay model of an animal at Kalibangan in Jan. 1968, from layer 15 from the top of Kalibangan II, which clearly looked like a horse, specially the tail.

The Sibero-Central Asian-South Russian origin of the Aryans is also proved by the fact that the 'Karpan', the horse proper, according to Zeuner, was not found in West or Central Europe. And it is well-known that in historic times waves of Aryan speaking people have pushed westwards (a small group possibly also eastwards) and southwards from the Eurasian grasslands to Europe, India and Iran, due to climatic and political reasons. Their place has been taken by tundra and forest people, Tungusic-speaking in the former case and Turki speaking, out of Zungria (including the Mongols) in the latter. Eastward movements started only from the 17th century.

If then an Aryan-speaking folk, along with the Mundas, built the Indus Valley civilization, when did they do so? All the theories have been postulating people coming from border regions with a ready-made civilization, which was suddenly introduced in the Indus plains and which continued, unchanging, for over 1,000 years. But this goes against all evidence of the growth of river

23. M.K. Dhavlikar, *Indian Prehistory* (1964), p. 141.

24. K.D. Sethna—the Aryans, the domesticated horse and the spoked—chariot-wheel, *Journal of the Asaitic Society of Bombay* Vol. 38 (1963) (New Series) pp. 44-69.

valley civilizations of the Nile, and of Mesopotamia, of which the Indus Civilization is peer. In these cultures, the phases of development have been found along the river-banks, from where the civilizations spread. This must have been the case in the case of Indus Valley also, and the evidence of its origin has to be sought in the lower levels of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, and at low levels of future sites which may be found along the Indus and other river beds of the Indus system. From here the Indus Valley Civilization spread. According to Rushton Coulborn, who sees the origin of these three river-valley cultures in the desiccation which took place in the Boreal phase, (9000-4000 B.C. for Iran), the originators of the civilizations were refugees from hills and mountains, who tamed the rivers, thus begetting an agricultured surplus.[25] If the Iranian dates of desiccation apply to contiguous India, the Indus civilization could not have started later than 4000-3000 B.C.

In Kot Diji, Amri and Kalibangan there are pre-Harappan phases of the Baluchi-Iranian peasant type, and then suddenly, Harappan features, or full-fledged Harappan colonies. At Kot Diji there is violent destruction, indicated by a burnt layer, after which comes the Harappan settlement. The late level of Kot Diji culture is round about 2200-2100 B.C.[26] At Kalibangan, the late level of Harappan culture is about the same date.[27] These represent, therefore, the outward thrusts of a developed Harappan culture from Indus Valley sites. This is roughly contemporaneous with Sargon and Pepi I, and if the same life-span and the same originating climatic causes are assumed, which seems reasonable, then the dates of origin must also be the same. For Mesopotamia for Jemdet-Nasr or Ugruk III, the date is about 3000 B.C., as it is for Narmer. For the Indus Valley also this seems a probable date of origin. K.N. Sastri also comes to the same conclusion from a study of the Harappan script, which is nearest the Sumerian in its Jemdet-Nasr phase. (New Light on the Indian Civilisation (1957), pp. 79, 95, 96, 97).

According to Indian Pauranic tradition (Cf. P.L. Bhargava—India in the Vedic Age), when Yayati was ruling, a branch of the Aryans migrated from the Sarasvatī to Iran under Bhargava

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25. Rushton Coulborn—*The origin of Civilized Societies* (Princeton, 1959) pp. 9-16.
26. B.B. Lal in *Ancient India* Nos. 18 and 19, (1962 and 1963), p. 211.
27. B.B. Lal, *Op. Cit*, pp. 2-12.

Uśanas, while the former's sons Puru, Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu and Anu, spread to the south-west, south-east, west and north from the bank of the Sarasvatī. From this point Puru may have been responsible for the destruction of Kot Diji. If, however, the Ayodhya king list is taken, with Manu as 3100 B.C., and an average span of 30 years for each king, the king round about 2300 B.C. is Māndhāta.[28] And, perhaps, the memory of this western expedition survives in Kālidāsa's description of Raghu's march into Persian territories.

The Mesopotamian and Nile civilizations, as well as probably Hsia China, were theocracies. So must have, by all evidence, been the Indus Civilization. Who were the theocrats ? D.D. Kosambi thinks that they were the Brāhmaṇas. And Pargiter thinks that the earliest rulers mentioned in the Ṛig-Veda were Daityas. The Harappan rulers may, therefore, have been the Daityas or Asuras. The Aryans who streamed in after 1700 B.C. knew the Assyrians, and seeing the Harappans possessed of huge cities, and a fully developed urban civilization, probably equated the Harappans with the Asuras, and the name stuck. Even some Dasas, collaborators of the white Harappans, probably called themselves Asuras, and a Munda tribe answering to this appellation still exists in Chota Nagpur.

Here let us digress and state that the Vedas may well contain, as the American anthropologist Ralph Linton thinks, several layers of folklore. Thus, the struggles between the ancestors of the Harappans and the Mundas (Dasas) were confused with battles between the Vedic Aryans and the Asura Aryans. Thus, the enemies of Vedic Aryans became 'black', 'flat-nosed'. In Scottish folklore the Scots fought the Picts or Goidele who were depicted as small, dark, uncanny. Actually the Picts like the Scots, were tall, red-haired and freckled, and the memory of the Picts handed down in folklore was that of Neolithic aboriginals of Scotland, conquered many centuries before by metal armed cells or Goïdels.[29]

Following Ralph Linton it seems very likely that there are at least four layers in the Ṛig Veda :—

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28. Cf. King List in E.F. Pargiter--*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (Oxford 1922) pp. 145-149.

29. Ralph Linton—*The Tree of Culture* (Alfred Knopf, N.Y. 1961) p. 481,

Layer I—Earliest folk memory of Aryan priests going back to West Siberian days, including the astronomical observations used by Tilak.

Layer II—The Harappan Aryan v Dasas legends like the fight with Pipru, Sambara etc. "noseless", "blacks".

Layer III—Ṛig-Vedic Aryans v. Asuras (Harappans) legends.

Layer IV—Songs of the Ṛig-Vedic Aryans proper.

Coming back to Kośāmbi's theme that the Harappan priests were Brāhmaṇas, it may be observed that the relics mainly on the matriarchal traits in the Brahmanical heritage to prove his point. Like the other agro-theocratic river valley societies, the Harappan had strong matriarchal strains. Some of the Brāhmaṇas were matriarchal in that their father's names were not known. Agastya and Vaśiṣṭa were born in jars, *i.e.* out of wombs. Dīrghatamas took his mother's name,[30] as did Mahīdāsa Aitareya. Some of the Brāhmaṇas had Dasa affiliation. Thus, the Udumbaras among the Viśvāmitras and Kaṇvas. Kaṇva was a demon against whom exorcism was practised.[31] The Kasyapas and Kaṇvas were long excluded from sacrificial fees. Obviously they were originally pre-Aryans. Later on they became prominent in Brahmanising the Ganges. The Valasikha Gotra among the Vaśiṣṭhas is etymologically the Varasikhas destroyed by Indra at Hariyūpīya (Harappa). The Ṛig-Vedic seer Kavasa Ailusa was accused of being a Dasi's son. Pargiter points out that Agastya also was of *Kumbha-Yoni*, and had no geneology.[32] The Bhārgavas were purohitas to Hiraṇya-Kaśipu, whose gotra was Vaśiṣṭha.[33] The earliest Vedic hymns were associated with *rishis* attached to *daityas* and *dānavas*. The sacred place of Uśanas-Śukra, the *daitya* preceptor, was Kapalamocana on the Sarasvatī.[34] Uśanas was also an Atharvan, following the Atharva Veda.[35]

The earliest traditional kings were also of matriarchal origin, like Pururavas, son of Ila. Others were descendants of apsarases or water nymphs like Gṛitācī and Alambuṣā. Bharata himself was

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30. D.D. Kosambi—*Op. Cit*, p. 98.
31. *Atharva Veda* 2.25.
32. F.G. Pargiter—*Op. cit*, p. 238.
33. *Mahābhārata* iii, 102.
34. *Mahābhārata* iii, 83.
35. Pargiter—*Op. cit.* p. 319.

the son of Śakuntalā, daughter of Menakā. The *apsarās* were probably originally sacred priestesses-cum-prostitutes of a fertility cult, who rose, from the Great Baths attached to the temples, like Uśas, "fairer from the waves".

Some other kings like the Ikṣvākus were probably of non-Aryan origin (Ikṣu=sugarcane totem).[36]

The deities of the Harappan Brahmans were probably Śiva (Paśupati) and Śakti. The *daityas* believed in "tapas" or ascetic practices and *yoga*. The dānavas were noted for "tapas".[37] With Śakti worship went the tantras, which went underground when the patriarchal Ṛig-Vedic Aryans came. K.N. Sastri has shown convincingly that the Harappans had also the Atharva Veda for their scriptures.[38] An echo of the worship of the Great Goddess is found in Indra's long prayer to Lakṣmī in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (I. 117-133).

The Harappan civilization spread to areas linked with Yadava expansion.[39]

(i) To Mewar and Chambal valley—Banas culture—Black-on-red ware and later lustrous red ware (C-14 datings 1725-1275) B.C.

(ii) To central India Narmada chalcolithic *e.g.* Eran, Nevasa, Navdatoli etc.—Black-and-Red ware, coarse cream slipped wares etc. (2300-640 B.C.) Meeting of the Banas and southern Neolithic.

(iii) To Gujarat, *e.g.* Lothal Red and buff wares, black and red ware to lustrous red ware (2005-1810 B.C.)

(iv) Pandu Rajar dhibi (1900 B.C.)—Black and Red with white paintings inside the pot.[40]

According to Paurāṇic leged this is equivalent to Yadava expansion, along with the Haihayas, along the Narmada (The Haihayas may have been of Iranian origin, and Sankalia has seen

36. Pargiter. *Op. cit.* p. 119.
37. *Vāyu Purāṇa,* 68, 1-3.
38. K.N. Sastri—*New Light on the Indus civilization* Vol. II. (New Delhi 1967).
39. Cf. articles of S.R. Rao and B.B. Lal in *Ancient India.* Nos. 18 and 19. 1962 and 1963, pp. 1-221.
40. H.D. Sankalia—'Cultural Divisions of India' *Science Today,* August (1967), p. 18.

Iranian connections in the Narbada chalcolithic,[41]) and otherwise elsewhere to Malwa and Saurashtra. The finds at Pandu-rajar dhibi seem to be connected with a Yadava push across Bihar. Does the Mahābhārata story of Kṛiṣṇa and Arjuna's visit to Jarāsandha at Rajagriha enshrine this memory? B. B. Lal has also speculated that the Harappan culture may have reached Bengal via the Sone valley.[42]

Such assumptions, which seem archaeologically probable, would also solve several ethnic, cultural and linguistic questions. Linguistically, it would support Grierson's Outer Band theory. Ethnically, it helps to explain the existence of prevailing brachycephely in Gujarat and Bengal, if we assume that the Haihayas with Iranian & Central Asian affiliations, were mainly a brachycephalic folk. The cultural connotations are less clear because, unlike ethnic and linguistic traints, cultural features are more malleable and changeable. But the continued preponderance of goddesses in Bengal, a *cul-de-sac* of the Gangetic Valley, would seem to indicate an abiding Harappan legacy.

There is a widespread Gangetie culture covering what is now Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The material remains are anthropomorphs, antannae, swords, harpoons, hooked spears, axes, double-axes etc. in copper and bronze. At places like Bisauli in Budaun Dt. Bahadarabad near Hardwar, and Hastinapur and Alamgirpur near Meerut. B.B. Lal has found the copper hoard culture to be associated with an ochre-ware, along with a red-slipped ware with black designs. The pottery shapes and techniques of this ochre ware (Ochre-coloured pottery-OCP) are not clear. But it is clear that the Gangetic culture is different from the Indus culture. Some objects found in the former, but not in the latter are :—

(a) barbed harpoons ;
(b) spear-heads with basal projection ;
(c) bar-celts ;
(d) anthropomorphs
(e) antennae swords.

The distinctive Indus blade with the curved end is absent. Although the Gangetic culture has not been dated by the C-14 method, the occurrence of a fragmentary anthropomorphic figure

41. H.D. Sankalia—*Indian Archaeology today* (Asia, 1962), pp. 85-99.
42. Inaugural address, April 10, (1968), Patna Seminar on Ancient India Pottery.

(this is debated by some) at a late phase in Lothal would suggest that the copper hoard culture was in existence in the 19th century B. C. Indidentally, it may be said that the C-14 method can give only a late date line limit if only an isolated object is found, belonging to another culture or strata, but associated with objects different from it in culture or strata. That is to say, such an object as can pass down at an heirloom, for instance. Can the 19th century B. C. date, in this case, be correlated with, folk-movements ? We know at that time horse riding nomads were moving across Eurasia Kassites, Hurriang, Mitanni, Aryans, Thracians, etc. Heine-Geldern, as is well-known, has pointed out that the antennae swords are analogous to the antennae swords of the Kuban culture in the caucasus, but intermediate links are missing. B. B. Lal has pointed out that most of the implements (except the swords), are like those carried by primitive peoples, food-gatherers and hunters. Thus, the barbed harpoon, based perhaps on bone or horn prototypes, are similar to those shown in the cave paintings of Mirzapur for hunting rhinoceros. It is possible that the Gangetic culture was stimulated by the Harappan (Kroeler's stimulus diffusion) and was built up by Harappans and local Mundas, Later on, perhaps Vedic Aryans, carrying their antennae swords came into the picture. If 1800 B. C. is taken, the Ayodhya King List shows kings like Sagara, Asamanjas, Amsumant, Dilipa I, etc. These king lists are probably composite, Harrappan, Vedic Aryan and Munda (Naga) kings all shown in the same list. But Sagara was a conqueror and may have been an Aryan who found his way to the Gangetic Valley through the weak Harappan Empire, as the Kohillas did in the 18th century across the weak Mughal Empire.

The Harappan civilization fell probably round about 1700 B. C.[43] We need not go into the reasons for its decline here. It was succeeded by the Jhukar and Jhangar cultures, the Jhukar culture, according to Soviet workers, perhaps demonstrates the advent of agricultural tribes from Baluchistan whose culture is similar to that of the Bronze age of Iran and South Turkmanistān, while the Jhangar occupation denoted one by Indo-Europeans of steppe origin.[44] The Indo-European cultures in question could only

43. B.B. Lal in *Ancient India,* Nos. 18 and 19, (1962) and (1963), p. 219.

44. M.A. Itina, 1963 "*The Stepper Tribes of Central Asia*"—B.C. Pro. Twentieth Int. Cong. of Orientalists, Moscow, (1960), 15-22, Moscow.

be the Afanasilvo and Andronovo cultures, the names deriving from, places near Krasnoyarsh in West Siberia. Prof. Marija Gimbutas, on the basis of the discoveries of Soviet archaeologists, has convincingly put the Indo-European homeland in the Kūrgan culture, stretching from the Volga, through Turkestan, to the Yenisei in Siberia. The Kurgan, or Afanasilevo culture, moved out from about 2000 B.C. to the south-west into the Caucasus and westwards to the Black Sea. Later on, it moved into Europe as an invading, conquering force, with its horse and chariot. It was followed in the second half of the 2nd millennium B. C. by the related Aedronovo culture.[45] The expansion of the Afahasievskya culture into India is not; archaeogically very clear, but that of Andronovo is clearer. The Tazabagyab offshoot of the Andronovo culture, north of the Caspian and the sea of Aral shows constant expansion southward and eastward around the 15th-14th centuries B. C.[46] This hypothesis of Prof. Gimbutas fits in also with the linguistic evidence, and long existence of Tokharian on the Chinese border.[47] The rough date 1700 B. C. also fits in with Indian historical tradition. According to it, Yajña (the Aryan sacrifice) was instituted in the Dvāpara age, which began with Divodāsa and Sudāsa.[48]

Shall we try to speculate on the various tribes which entered India, in the manner that Turks, Moghuls and Kiztlbashes did from 1200 to 1700 A.D. ? However, before we do so, let us have a look at the question of Jhungar and Afanasievskaya potteries. The Jhungar pottery is well-known in India. The egg-shaped and other pottery of Afanasievo seems to bear little relationship with the Jhungar pottery.[49] The relationship with the Andronovo pottery[50] is distant, but probable. It looks as if the Aryan warriors came without the potters and used local pottery, which is quite likely.

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45. K. Jettnar—*Archaologische spureh ven Indogermanen in Zentralsien*—Paidenma, 5(1952) 236-54.

    Cf. also A.L. Mongait—*Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.* (Penguin, London 1961) pp. 145-149.

46. Marija Gimbutas—*Ibid.*, pp. 833-835.
47. E.G. Pulleyblank—*J.R.A.S.* Parts 1 and 2, (1966) pp. 9-39.
48. Pargiter, *Op. cit*, p. 315, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 57, 61, 86 etc.
49. Vseymirnaya Istoriya, *Tom.* I (Moscow 1955) p. 233.
50. A.L. Mongait—*Op. cit*, p. 147.

Now, for the speculation, backed by circumstantial evidence. The stages seem to have been as follows :—

(i) Fall of the Harappans due to floods, internal troubles and external invasions *circa* 1700 B.C. The Brāhamaṇas, like Vṛitrāsura and the Varasikhas (a Vaśiṣṭha clan) resisted. Indra killed Vṛitra and Namuci, and had to suffer from Brahmancide.[51] Of the original Brāhmaṇa Gotras of Bhṛigus Aṅgiras, Marici, Atru, Vaśiṣṭha, Pulastya, Pulsaha and Kratu[52] the last three became extinct. It is interesting to observe that, Rāvaṇa was a Paulastya Brāhamaṇa[53] and Rama in the King List, gives roughly a date of 1300-1200 B.C., within the Ṛig-Vedic Aryan interregnum. Later on, Rāvaṇa, who probably belonged to the North West, was by tradition put in Ceylon.

(ii) From 1700-1000 B.C. there was an interregnum and invasion by the Ṛig-Vedic Aryans from Afanasievo and Andronova via Tazabagyab. Among the first were probably the Kāśī, the same tribe as the Kassitas and the Mitann who ultimately moved east and gave rise to the city of Kāśī or Benaras. Then must have come the Pancualas, Śriñjayas and Bharatas, all originally Afanasievo people. The frightfulness of the Arayans was terrible, as seen in the Ṛig-Veda, far more than Turkish or Moghul frightfulness, or British frightfulness at the time of the Mutiny.

(iii) The theocratic Brāhmaṇa rulers fled to refuge places, to Rajasthan (like the Rajputs later) and to west U.P. The centres were probably Puṣkara and Naimiṣāraṇya. The poverty of Brāhmaṇas like Vāmadeva and others is well depicted in the Ṛig-Veda and elsewhere.

(iv) The Afanasievo Aryans adopted the concept of Rta/Arta unchanging law and Varuṇa, an all-seeing king, probably from the example of Hammurabi and his empire. But, at an ordinary level, they apparently also adopted the Harappan Vedic culture, the Atharva and Ṛig Vedas.

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51. Pargiter—*Op. cit*, p. 307.
52. Mbh xii 298, Vāyu Purāṇa, 9. 68-69.
53. Pargiter—*Op. cit.* p. 241.

(v) As the Moghuls followed the Turks, the Andronovo Aryans—Pauravas—followed the Afanaseviyans. The Pauravas fought with both the Iranians and the Bharatas, i.e. a war on two fronts. Ultimately the Pauravas and Bharatas were amalgamated as the Kurus.

(The E-W disposition of the Aryan tribes is in accordance with their known geographical distribution)

(vi) The Sura v. Asura theme has several layers :—

(a) Afanasievo v. Harappans (Asura)

(b) Mittani v. Assyrians (The Mitanni lost and may have fled to India, like many Iranians & others in the Muslim epoch in India)

(c) Pauravas v. Iranians for Afghanistan and Baluchistan. The Iranians won, and the Harappan Brāhmaṇas rejoiced at the victories of Parasu Rāma.

(d) Magians v. Zoroastrians. The Magians, defeated in Iran, fled to India and became Maga Brahmans contributing names like Mihira, Mitra etc.

(vii) The amalgamated Pauravas and Bharatas—Kurus—then fought the Nagas or Mundas and also intermarried with them. Dhṛitarāṣṭra, according to Buddhist tradition, was an Arya-Naga.

(viii) The Sythians (Sakas. Pāṇḍavas) started invading round about 1000 B.C. These were horse-riding nomads, typified by the love for horses of Nakul and Sahadev, and excellent archers, typified by Arjuna. Buddha himself may have come from Saka (Śākya) stock.

(ix) The Brāhmaṇās then returned from their hiding places some had already served the new Aryan masters and sided with the Pandavas against the Kuru Aryo-Nagas. (This was repeated after the 6th century A.D, when the Brāhmaṇas sided with the White Huns (Rajputs) and overthrew the remnants of the older Kshatriyas). The dasas were disarmed (Ekalavya story). There was a reduction of old lore—the Māhabhārata— by the Bhārgavas.

(x) After the Kurukṣetra war came a great deal of heart searching. The śānti-parvan teaching of Bhīṣma, son of the river-goddess, Gaṅgā, belonged to the older Harappan

stratum.[54] The Brāhmaṇas learnt of reincarnation from kings like Pravahana Jaivali, and Aśvapati Kaikeya and Janaka, who may have got it. In a primitive form, from the Mundas.[55]

(xi) The disquiet first led to a new ideational philosophy, passional and metaphysical, associated with the Ṛig-Veda solar cult[56] round about 1000 B.C.

(xii) This led, logically, to the Upaniṣads and Buddha, within the next 500 years. Archæologically, our later Aryans (Afanasiyvo Andronovo) have been associated, by B. B. Lal first, and then by others, with the Painted Gray ware people, G-14 tests of Atranji Khera in the Etah district gives a date of 11th century B.C. P.G. ware has been found up to Rupar and Jullundur in the west, Vaisali, in Bihar in the East, Ajmer, Jaipur, Bikaner, Ujjain etc. It seems to have been of local Provenance, agreeing with the thesis that the Afanasyevo and Andronyvo people came without potters.

At Hastinapura, B. B. Lal found the following sequence :—

I. Ochre ware

II. P.G. Ware (9th-6th C.B.C.)

III. N.B.P. (Northern Black Polished ware) with coined money (current on hill/sun).

IV. Mathura.

This is the sequence found elsewhere also. The N.B.P. ware marks the unification of the various cultures of India under the Aryans in the 6th century B.C. It is widespread all over North, West and East India, as well as central India. It has been found as far as the Swat valley in Afghanistan.

The neolithic culture of East India, the stone-shouldered hoe culture, has not yet been dated by the C-14 method. But the studies of Ahmed Hasan Dani and others indicate that it may pertain to 1000-600 B.C. Its provenance was apparently Szechuan and Yunnan, and it brought to India people like the Khasis, the Garos,

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54. Pargiter—*Op cit*, p. 120.
55. Pargiter—*Op cit*, p. 125.
56. V.S. Agrawala—*Vedic Symbolism—Journal of Indian History* August-1963.

the Bodos, the Kacharis etc., into Assam, with overspill to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. These were Paroean (broad-needed) Mongoloids.

There are also two types of megalithic culture in India. The North-East megaliths have been found in Bastar among the Bondos and Gadabas of Orissa, the Koyas and Raj Gonds of Hyderabad, the Khasis and the Nagas etc. The affinities of this megalithic culture, with single standing stones are, essentially, as he has been pointed out by Christoph Von Furer—Haimendorf, with South East Asia.[57]

The Southern Megalithic culture is essentially different. These megaliths have port-hole opening and are plentiful in South India, south of Hyderabad city. There are various cultural sub-types, as has been demonstrated by V.D. Krishnaswami.[58] Similar megalith lists, without the port-holes, have been found near Karachi, and also in Delhi, Mirzapur and even Srinagar, indicating perhaps stray, Itinerant groups.[59]

The burials, associated with the megaliths, are accompained by iron tools, and a distinctive type of Black and Red pottery. For Brahmagiri. Mortimer Wheeler has suggested 200 B.C.—100 A.D. for the megalithic occupation. At Chandravalli, not far away, the megalithic culture is followed by the Grey and Black rouletted ware, which Mortimer Wheeler atributes to the Romans (Italic Arrentine ware) and the Ist century A.D. Thus the south Indian Megalithic culture lasted, at the most, from 500 B.C. to Ist century A.D.

In Tamil Sangam literature, the megaliths are praised as *nadu-kal*. Vaiyapuri Pillai places the poets of the early Sangam literature at 2nd-3rd century A.D.[60] Nilakanta Sastri, at the first three or four centuries A.D.[61] Hence, archæology and expert literary and linguistic opinion coincide.

To South Indian megaliths are remarkably similar to the European megaliths, and also those found in the Jordan valley. But

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57. C. Won Furer—Haimendrof—*The Naked Nagas* (London 1939).
58. V.D. Krishnaswami—Megalithic Types of South India, *Aucient India* No. 5 (1949) pp. 35-45.
59. Mortimer Wheeler—*India and Pakistan* (London 1959) pp. 159-160.
60. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai—*History of Tamil Language and Literature* (Madras, 1956) p. 38.
61. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri—*A History of South India* (Ox. U.P. 1955) p. 110.

there is a 500-1000 years gap in between, the western megaliths being dated to about 1000 B.C. Missing links (via Sa'aba and Hādhramut ?) are not as yet known.

Von Furer Haimenorf thinks that the megalith buildings of South India brought the Dravidian tongue and pushed it northwards.[62]

This seems to agree with Nilakanta Sastri's hypothesis of a West Asian origin of the Dravidian tongue and Mrs Irawati Karve's researches on kinship similarities and their distribution among various linguistic groups in the Deccan.

The megalithic people, as elsewhere, were possibly matriarchal or with strong matriarchal traits. Later on the patriarchal Brahman priests from North India did away with this, but matriarchy survives—or did till the other day in the *cul-de-sav* country of Kerala, in their tharawords and their Maru-makka-thayam system of marriage.

The picture which emerges is as follows :—

(i) The earliest inhabitants were negnitos from Africa—the Hand-axe culture people—who roamed all over India.

(ii) They were largely displaced by the Soan people—the Mundas—who were also black.

(iii) There was probably a neolithic diffusion of the same kind of people from South-East Asia, bringing in agricultural techniques.

(iv) In N.W. India there was an infiltration of white horseless and chariotless Aryans from round about 8000 B.C. (Asuras).

(v) The shift of the wind-belts, and desiccation compelled the Asuro-Mandas to control the Indus system. They got an agricultural surplus and built up the theocratic Harappan civilization, with Śakti, Śiva, Yoga, Tapas, Tantras, and the earliest portion of the Vedas, specially the Atharva Veda. (3000 B.C.—1700 B.C.)

(vi) They spread to Rajasthan, Malwa, Gujarat. And reinforced by the Iranian Haihayas, to Central India, and then, across the Sone, to West Bengal (2300 B.C. onwards). They also spread to the West to Baluchistan, and possibly Afghanistan :

62. C-Von-Furer-Haimendorf, *Tamil Culture* II, 2(1953).

(vii) Due to floods, internecine troubles and outside threats they fell, and horse and chariot Aryans streamed in from Afanasvevo and Andronovo via Central Asia.

(viii) Bands of Harappans, from 2000 B.C. onwards, spread to the Gangetic Valley, and with the help of the Mundas or Nagas, gave rise to the ochre coloured pottery culture.

(ix) The South Indian neolithic (inspired apparently by West Asia ?) started from at least 2000 B.C. Later on, another wave came from West Asia, round about 500 B.C.—300 A.D., bringing the white Dravidian speaking megalithic people, whose speeches supplanted Munda and Negrito tongues.

(x) A Paroean (broad-headed) Mongolian group came to North-East India round about 1000-600 B.C. Like the megalithic people, they were matriarchal and left traces in Assam, Bengal and Orissa and possibly Bihar.

(xi) The horse-and-chariot Aryans wound North, East and West India into one General Society, incorporating all tribal elements. By the 6th century B.C. this was almost over. In the South, the megalith builders, the Dravidians, did the same. Ultimately, South India also came within the orbit of Indo-Aryan influence and a common culture spread all over India. Except in South-East Asia, where the mixture has been between black and yellow peoples, the mixing has been, bar India, between peoples of the same skin-colour. In India, the mixing has been between black and white, with some yellow in the North-East. The mixing process is well-known, concubinage if not marriage, in patriarchal areas, and visit marriages in matriarchal areas. We are in India thus, all of the same stock, including Muslims, whose foreign ancestors, where they have foreign blood, came from groups racially similar to the Aryans, though the proportion of the ingredients in us may vary from area to area and family to family.

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Kāma Through the Ages

U. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO

KĀMA appears for the first time in the Atharva Veda (ix-2) as an abstract deity ready to pierce the hearts of the lovers with his arrows. Macdonell translates one of the hymns addressed to Kāma (III-XXV-ii) thus :

"Tis winged with longing, barbed with love,
Its shaft is formed of fixed desire :
With his arrow levelled well
Shall Kāma pierce thee to the heart".

In the earlier Ṛig Veda (129-iv-5) Kāma had been treated as desire in general only.

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, according to the interpretation of the famous Indologist Dr. Coomaraswami, Kāma is referred to as *Kandarpa* and *Makaraketana* or Jhaṣaketana and associated with *Gandharvas* or *Yakṣas* for the first time. He is also referred to as the lord of all riches and sometimes even confused with Kubera, who in the Puranic age becomes the lord of wealth, becoming associated with Yakṣas as their master.

It is only in the Rāma epic—Bālakāṇḍa canto 23 (Kumbakonam edition) where he is referred to as *Kandarpa* again that the story of his being burnt to ashes because of his audacity or *darpa* before the God Mahādeva occurs for the first time. The Ādi Parva of the later Bhārata Epic[1] refers to his marriage with Rati and also to his being one of the three sons of Bhagavāna Dharma, the other two being *Śama* or tranquillity and *Harṣa* or joy. This is, as everybody can see, allegorical. The *Bhagavad Gītā* refers to Kāma or lust and Krodha or anger as doors of hell (or Narakadvāra), and the Lord indentifies Himself *Dharma Aviruddha Kāma* or disciplined Love. It is quite obvious that this conception also is allegorical ;

1. Chapter 67, Verses 32 ff.

excavations of the statues of Rati and Kāmadeva in Besnagar of about the 3rd century B. C. could be referred to as the presiding deities dwelling in trees responsibe for the fertility of agriculture.

The fact that this Kāma was originally conceived of as a god presiding over trees is remembered by our Paurānika poets when they made him the bosom friend '*Abhimata Sakhā*' of Vasanta or the god of spring. The Buddhists, particularly their Vajrayāna and Mahāyāna sects and the Jains[2] associated Kāma—whom they called Māra or Killer—With Yakṣas and Gandharvas and also provided him with a large army of Apsarastrās (or water nymphs) who helped him when he attacked the Buddha just before he attained Nirvāṇa or Supreme Bliss. This big army with wonderful missiles is graphically described by Aśvaghoṣa in his *Buddha Carita* XIII as being unable to move even a hair in the body of the Buddha. The second verse in the context describes Kāma as *Citrāyudha* or possessing wonderful weapons and what is more interesting from our point of view as *Puṣpaśara* or flowery arrowed. He is also described significantly as *Kāmapracāra adhipati*, as the leader of those who do erotic propaganda, as the hater of *Mokṣa* or Final Bliss and as Māra, the wonderful killer. The seventh verse also refers to his taking his flowery bow and the five *Jaganmohakara* or stupefying arrows.

This Kāmadeva, conceived of a god using flowery arrows is one of the grandest conventions in Sanskrit literature. If it is a fact (as I am tempted to believe) that Aśvaghoṣa perfected this convention taking his cue from Kālidāsa and exaggerating it to the fullest possible extent, then the entire credit of conceiving of them and leaving it as an inexhaustible legacy for future poets, should go to this prince of Indian poets, *Kavikulaguru* Kālidāsa alone. But if Aśvaghoṣa be the earlier poet as Cowell. Keith and other western Indologists assert, the credit for the same should be unreservedly Aśvaghoṣa's, though its perfection must be the result of Kālidāsa's genius. We are not concerned with this chronological facts at present, but we content ourselves with pointing out that the necessary mythology relating to Kāma, his immolation and later resurrection through Mahādeva's grace was provided first by Kālidāsa in his Kumārasambhava. The flowery background was prepared in his Ṛitusamhāra which, step by step, leads us to this grand conception

2. *Uttarādhyayana* Ṭīkā edited by Dr. Jacobi, p. 39.

of Cupid as an Archer king with his royal paraphernalia, mango blossoms serving as his arrows, the *Kimśuka* crescent flower as his bow, with its bowstring as bees, his state umbrella held aloft in the moon, his state elephant being the breeze blowing from the *Malaya* mountain, "the birds announcing different times of the day being the *Kokila* or cuckoo,—such a king, who though bodiless conquers the whole word and is the bosom friend of *Vasanta* or spring.

This conception, which started as an allegory in the beginning, enabled Kālidāsa and Aśvaghoṣā to weave many a poetic convention in the various stages of its evolution. Perhaps when Bhāsa's hero (Udayana) in his Svapnavāsavadattā who is smitten with Kāmadeva's five arrows even when he (Udayana) eloped with his heart's dearest, making him wonder bow there could be a *sixth* arrow in his quiver to attract him towards Padmāvati now, this earlier dramatist (Bhāsa) seems to have been satisfied with making Kāma possess only five arrows, not referring to their flowery nature at all. As though telling us that such poetic conventions are *ayathārtha* or not conforming to the facts of life—that is Rājaśekhara's definition of such *Samayas* or conventions—Kālidāsa tells us that both the conventions for which he has been responsible—the flowery arrows of Cupid and the moon's possession of cool rays—produce the reverse result in lovers separated from their beloveds as for Duṣyanta.[3]

Such attempts in the art of coining conventions reveal the power of analysis and subtle insight on the part of poets. These attempts might seem scholastic and formal from a speculative point of view, but they are based on direct experience and observation of facts. It is a pity that later poets seem to accept as unalterable conventions. The earlier poets actually produced fine poetic pictures from the stereotyped material at their disposal and succeeded eminently in presenting in their poems various aspects of love from its inception to its culmination. Some of these conventions for which Kālidāsa was responsible are

1. the blossoming of the Aśoka tree (delaying in flowering)

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3. Śākuntalā III—

तव कुसुमशरत्वं शीत रश्मित्वमिन्दोः
द्वयमिदमयथार्थं दृश्यते मद्विधेषु ।
विसृजति हिमगर्भैरग्निमिन्दुर्मयूखैः
त्वमपि कुसुम वाणान्वज्रसारीकरोषि ॥

when kicked by the left leg properly decked of a beautiful damsel. (Vālmiki simply puns on the name).

2. the appearance of the mango blossom and the bees swarming thereon heralding spring-time.

3. A lady's face being similar to the moon or her voice being as sweet as that of the cuckoo or sweeter still.

4. the pees swarming on the mango blossom being fancied to be Kāma's bowstring or more fancifully still as the black letters indicating the name of the archer (here Kāma himself).

These and similar conventions were first detailed in the Ritusamhāra and perfected in the later poems, Kumāra, Megha and Raghu. Dr. De who points this out[4] quotes from Rāmila and Somila, acknowledged by Kālidāsa himself as great poets a verse describing the effect of spring time on the separated lover. He translates it thus : Had he been ill, he would have been emaciated; wounded, he would have bled; bitten, he would have foamed with the venom. No sign of these is here; how then, did the unhappy traveller meet with his death ? Ah ! I see, when the bees wantonly greedy of honey, began to hum, the rash traveller let his gaze fall on the mango bud.

If similarly Vālmiki makes his forlorn Rāma wander in the forest in search of his lost Sītā and ask the *Aśoka* and other trees to give him some clue to find out his beloved, Kālidasā starts an altogether new convention of making his hero Purūravas ask tidings of his beloved from the peacock, cuckoo, swan, bee, elephant, dear and other animals in the forest also. The same hero imagines that she might have been transformed into a river as its ripples resemble Urvaśī's eye-brows, and its foam corresponds with her white *sārce.* In the Meghadūta the Yakṣa laments in the following way :

Her limbs resemble the *Priyaṅgu* creeper
Her glance is found in the startled fawn
The lusture of her face is robbed by the moon,
Her tresses can be recognised in peacock's plume
Her eyebrows are appropriated by river ripples,
—Alas ! these are all scattered, though they were
all found in you together so far :

Such are the poetic conventions woven imaginatively round lovers smitten by the flowery arrows of Kāma. This transition

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4. Dr. De, *Sanskrit Erotic Literature*, p. 51.

from Kāma to his flowers in quite natural and in the *Śriṅgāratilaka*, a highly imaginative lyric wrongly ascribed to Kālidāsa, we have a verse which can be rendered into English thus :

> Having made your eyes blue with blue lotus (or *Indīvara* flowers)
> Your face white with white lotus (or *Ambuja*)
> Your teeth white with white jasmine (or *Kunda*)
> Your lower lip red with tender sprouts,
> Your other limbs with the leaves of the *Campaka*
> Why did the creator fashion your heart alone from stone ?

We might, in connection, see how Jayadeva, the later eroticomystic lyricist in his *Gīta Govinda* carries this idea of his heroine fashioned out of these flowers to the extreme :

> This your lip is akin to the lustre of *Bandhūka*
> Your cheek rob the lustre of the *Madhūka* flower,
> Your eyes deprive the blue lotus of its lustre,
> Your nose imitates the *Tila* sprout,
> Your teeth are white like *Kunda* flowers.

Certainly the flowery arrowed god conquers the three worlds only after apprenticing himself to the service of your face : (Sarga X).

Having tried to analyse Kāma's form thus, it will be but natural for us to consider at least in outline, his bodiless form also. The myth created by Kālidāsa informs us that he was burnt by the fire issuing from Iśvara's third eye. The three eyes of the Great Cod symbolise His capacity to see the past, present and future. Kāmadeva had the audacity to tempt even the Highest God; the third eye symbolises the power of non-instrumental perception and action as described in the *vibhūti pāda* of Patañjali's *Yogasūtras*. These spiritual powers *Pratibhā* and *Vikaraṇabhāva* correspond to the *Jñānendriyas* or organs of knowledge and Karmendriyas or organs of action on the earthly plane and to ominiscience and omnipotence on the spiritual planes. Through this supersensory eye, the Lord visualises all things everywhere at all times, achieves instantaneously everything, burning up Kāma in a trice. The simile used in the eleventh chapter of the Gītā—like a moth entering fire only to destroy itself, has been conventionalised by our poet.

We might conclude that Love, if it is represented as highest Puruṣārtha (or value of life) has the power to overcome death as

envisaged in Sanskrit poetry. Love gives us facts, but it is only literature which enables us to realise their full values. That is why our writers often say that literature enables us to realise the ends of *Puruṣārthas* of goals of life (one of them being Kāma). Thus the poet by his selection or some facts and rearrangement of others throws light on the significance of life itself. Love, though an inner impulse in ordinary life, is objectified and presented to us in all its purity. In the words of Kālidāsa and other Indian poets, love is presented as one of the Puruṣārthas triumphant over through and in despite of death.[5]

5. The Vāmana Purāṇa which is rather late, has another lovely allegory which says that when Kāma was burnt to ashes, his bow fell on the ground and was broken into five pieces which later became his five arrows. Later still, he becomes the centre of an actual cult, with a festival celebrated in his honour, on the Phālguna full-moon day ; the next day he is burnt with all honour, allegorically symbolising the burning of impure lust.

Muslim Influence on Venkaatmakhī and his School

DR. K.C.D. BRAPASPATI

1. Introduction

It is highly gratifying to note that enlightened scholars of Karnatic Music have begun to concede that the so-called 'Śuddha' Mukhārī Mela of Rāmāmātya Raghunātha and Venkaṭamakhī is totally non-Vedic[1] and that it has no connection with the Vedic tradition of Bharata, Mataṅga and Śāraṅgadeva. Moreover, it has also become evident that the tonal structure of Vāgiśwarī (Bāgeśvarī) is identical with the original Ṣaḍjagrāma ; which is the basis of the other Mūrchanās of Ṣaḍjagrāma; and that this very tonal structure can be changed to the Madhyamādi (first) Mūrchanā of Madhyamagrāma by augmenting the Gāndhāra by two śrutis, which in turn becomes the basis of the remaining Mūrchanās of Madhyamagrāma.[2]

In spite of the above view being unmistaken, unassailable and authentic, there are still some persons who continue to say that the music of South India is traditional and that the music of North India has undergone distortion on account of Muslim contact and influence[3]. These persons fall in two categories : the first is comprised of the votaries of the views expressed by late Bhatkhande and the second is comprised of those who are not well-versed in the Sanskrit language, although their dress and demeanour suggest their being knowledgable in Sanskrit. The second category is also comprised of those who have acquired a working knowledge of

1. T.R. Srinivasa Aingar, *Saṅgraha-cūḍāmaṇi,* Introduction p. 12, 13.

2. *Ibid.,* p. 8, 9.

3. P. Sambamoorthy—p. 57 Souvenir, 1967, *All India Music Teachers' Conference,* sixth session, Hyderabad.

Sanskrit through Sanskrit—English dictionaries and who have no comprehension of 'Prakṛti-Pratyaya' (root and suffix) and do not give thought or pay attention to the 'Anvarthatā' (conformity to literal meaning) of technical terms.

The 'credit' of ascribing the authorship of the present non-vedic form of Mukhārī to Revered Mādhavācārya (Vidyāraṇya) goes to Govinda Dikṣita, the father of Veṅkaṭamakhī who is the real author of Saṅgīta-sudhā bearing the authorship of Raghunātha, the ruler of Tanjore[1]. The 'Vidyāraṇya-mata' which is mentioned in Saṅgītasudhā, was neither to any preceding author nor to any succeeding one, so much so that even the son of Govinda Dīkṣita viz. Veṅkaṭamakhī could not have a glimpse of 'Vidyāraṇya mata' This state of affairs should be full of concern for scholars. It appears that the text expounding 'Vidyāraṇya-mata' was perceptible only to the imagination of Govinda Dīkṣita and his patron. The mutual relationship of Mādhava and Sāyaṇa is well known. The following extract ascribed to Sāyaṇa[5] compares the Svaras current in Sāyaṇa's times with the Vedic Svaras :

लौकिके ये निषादादयः सप्त स्वराः प्रसिद्धाः, त एव साम्नि क्रुष्टादयः सप्त स्वरा भवन्ति । तद्यथा—यो निषादः स क्रुष्टः, धैवतः प्रथमः, पञ्चमो द्वितीयः, मध्यमस्तृतीयः, गान्धारश्चतुर्थः, ऋषभो मन्द्रः, षड्जोऽहिस्वार्यः ।

That is to say, the seven svaras beginning with Niṣāda current in 'Loka' (as contradistinct from 'Veda') are identical with the seven Vedic Svaras beginning with 'Kruṣṭa'. Niṣāda is Kruṣṭa, Dhaivata is 'Prathama', Pañcama is 'Dvitīya' Madhyama is 'Tritīya', Gāndhāra is 'Caturtha', Ṛṣabha is 'Mandra', Ṣaḍja is 'Atisvarya'.

Sāyaṇa is comparing the Svaras current in his time with the Vedic Svaras, consequently his exposition is naturally different from that of Nārada. Sāyaṇācārya's exposition given us the Svaras of the Kalyāṇī Mela. This becomes clear by putting the Svaras in the ascending order as follows :

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4. *Caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā*, *Vīṇāprakaraṇa*, Śloka 154.

5. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar in his article entitled 'Sāmagāna' (*The Journal of the Banaras Hindu University* Vol. II, No. I, 1937, p. 101) has ascribed this extract to Sāyaṇa's Bhāṣya on Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa without giving the exact reference. The present author has failed to locate this extract in the said Bhāṣya. Relying, however, on the testimony of Prof. Aiyar, the authorship of Sāyaṇa has been tentatively accepted here.

SĀYAṆA'S LAUKIKA SVARAS (Kalyāṇa Ṭhāṭa)

Sāyaṇa's Sāma-Svaras :

	Ati.	Mandra	Caturtha	Tritīya	Dvitīya	Prathma	Kruṣṭa	Ati.
Sāyana's Laukika Svaras	sa	Ri	Ga	Ma	Pa	Dha	Ni	Sa
The Gāndhāradi Mūrchanā of Ṣaḍjagrāma	Ga	Ma	Pa	Dha	Ni	Sa	Ri	Ga
No. of Śrutas	0	4	4	3	2	4	2	4
Mutual intervals in savarts	0	51	51	46	28	51	46	28
Interval from the tonic in savarts	0	51	102	148	176	227	273	301

Vijayanagar had come under Muslim influence by the time of Sāyaṇa. Emana, Kalyāṇa Ṭhāṭa. Mechakalyāṇī Mela and the Gāndhārādi Śudha Mūrchanā of Ṣaḍjagrāma present an identical tonal structure with a difference only in names. There is, therefore, no place in the time of Sāyaṇa (the contemporary of Vidyāraṇya) for the Mukhārī of Rāmāmātya, Raghunātha and Veṅkaṭamakhī.

Intervals of the 'Laukika' dha-pa-ma-ga of Sāyaṇa identical with the 'Prathama', 'Dvitīya', 'Tritīya' and 'Caturtha' used in Sāmaveda are found only in the Kalyāṇa Thāṭa or Mechaklyāṇī Mela. The Muslim musicians of North India derive all other Ṭhāṭas only from the Kalyāṇa Thāṭa.[6] Venkaṭamakhī himself has described 'Kalyāṇa ṭhāṭa' as Turuṣka-Priya' and thoroughly inappropriate for Gīta Prabandha.[7]

2. Origin of the Mukhārī of the South

The votaries of Mela and Thāṭa, ignoring the subtle interval of Pramāṇa-Śruti, accept twelve fixed tones each in the Mandra, Madhya and Tāra Sthānas. These twelve tones bear different names in North and South India. Really speaking, the twelve tones

6. For a detailed exposition, see '*Saṅgīta Cintāmaṇi*' p. 386-397, Publisher—Sangit Karyalaya, Hathras.

7. *Caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā*, Rāgaprakaraṇa, śloka, 107.

accepted by the Muslims have been given different names in North and South India by bringing about some modifications or additions in the traditional Svara-names. The reason for this difference in names lies in the fact that the Southern authors forcibly superimposed the Svara-names of Śārṅgadeva on the twelve tones fixed according to the Muqam system of the muslims. This superimposition alone was responsible for giving the illusory impression (to those who depend on texts alone) that the musical tradition of the South is connected with Śārṅgadeva and this illusion has persisted for centuries.

On the Southern Vīṇā, the 'Girkā' of the Muslims is located and similarly on the eleven frets beginning with the first are located their Hijāz, Newā, Hisāra, Husaidī, Aganū, Nīma-mānura, Rāsta, Śāhanawāz, Dokā, Kurda and Sīkā respectively. The fixed nature of Sārikā (fret is opposed to the literal meaning of the word Sārikā and the acceptance of twelve tones each in the Mandra, Madhya and Tāra-sthānas is to bid adieu to the well-known Mūrchanā-system and Pramāṇa-śruti of India.

This fatal iufluence of the Muslims affected Indian svara-śastra (science of scales), but Baijū, Tānasena, and even Satāranga (the last in eighteenth century)—these neo-muslim musicians continued to have an understanding of the Mūrchanā-system and they used to label as 'Gupta' (secret) the svara-names falling in accordance with the Mūrchauā-system and as 'Prakaṭa' (manifest) the Svara-names following the 'Mela' system. But the Southern Vainikas went astray from the 'tattva' (fact), because they had thoughtlessly superimposed the Svara-names of Śārṅgadeva on Muslim svara-names and in order to obviate the natural contradiction arising from that had coined svara-names like 'Varālīmadhyama' which had no tinge of 'Madhyamatva' (the state of being middle-point) in it[8].

The subtle but very useful interval 'Pramāṇa-Śruti' is the gift of India to the whole world. The acceptance of Ṣaḍja and Pañcama as 'Acala' implies the denial of the existence of Pramāṇa-śruti' and the funeral of the Grāma-mūrchanā system of Vedic origin. This happened as a consequence of Muslim impact and southern authors took their 'Varālī-madhyama' to be indentical with the 'Madhyama-grāmika Pañcama' or 'Cyuta Pañcama' of Bharata. The Northern tradition never got into such an unseemly error. The interval

8. For a fuller account see *'Saṅgīta-cintāmaṇi'* p. 367-385.

between Varālī Madhyama and 'Pañcama' is two-śruti, just like the Dhaivata-niṣāda of Bharata, because in accordance with the above-quoted exposition of Sāyaṇa, the 'Dha-ni' of Gāndhārādi Mūrchanā have become 'Ma-Pa'.

The 'Ri-Ga-Dha-Ni' used in Vāgīśwarī (Bageśri) are lower than those of Bhīmapalāsī by one 'Pramāṇa-śruti' each. The votaries of 'Mela' and 'Ṭhāṭa' ignore this difference of 'Pramāṇa-śruti' and force both Bhīmapalāsī and Bageśrī into one and the same 'Thāṭa', but the tradition of skilled practical musicians of the North tunes the first left string of the Tanbūrā to Madhyama for Vagīśvarī and Pañcam for Bhīmapalāsī. They may not be able to explain the reason behind this tuning today, but their practice follows the injunction of those elites who knew the purport of 'Sapta gupta' (seven secret) and 'Sapta Prakaṭa' (seven manifest).

Really speaking, the 'Kharaharapriyā Mela' of the South or the 'Kāfī Ṭhāṭa' of late Bhatkhande is the Ṛiṣabhādi Sādhāraṇī Mūrchanā of Madhyamagrāma as shown below :—

Svaras of the Mūrchanā	Ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa	(ri)
Svaras of the Ṭhāṭa or Mela	Sa	ri	*ga*	ma	pa	dha	*ni*	sa
Mutual note-interval (in śrutis)	0	4	2	3	4	4	2	2
Do (in Savarts)	0	51	28	46	51	51	28	46
Interval from the tonic (in śrutis)	0	4	6	9	13	17	19	22
Do in Savarts)	0	51	79	125	176	227	255	301

Muslims of mixed blood like Amir Khusro struck a compromise. They gave the name 'Sa' to the first tone of the Muqam-system and 'Pa' to its eighth 'Saṁvādī' (roughly 'consonant') tone. The second tone was called 'utarī (lower) 'Rikhabha', third 'Carhī (higher) Rikhabha', fourth 'utarī gāndhāra', fifth 'carhī Gandhāra', sixth 'utarī Maddhama', seventh 'Carhī Maddhama', eighth 'Pañcama', ninth-' utarī Dhaivata, tenth—'Carhī Dhaivata', eleventh—'utarī Nikhāda', 'Twelfth 'Carhī Nikhāda'. Thus 'Sa' and 'Pa' became 'Acala' (fixed) and Ṛiṣabha, Gāndhāra, Madhyama, Dhaivata, Niṣāda came to have two varieties each.

'Ṭhāṭha Lauṭanā' (*Inverting the Ṭhāṭha*). Lowering of the higher tones in a 'Ṭhāṭha' and augmentation of the lower tones was also

accepted as a means of obtaining new scales. In the eighteenth century this process was called 'Svara-vyatyāsa' of 'Mela-bhedana' in the South and 'Ṭhāṭha Lauṭanā' in the North.[9]

Obtaining the 'Pūrbī Ṭhāṭha' from Kafī Ṭhāṭha : The 'Pūrbī Ṭhāṭha' was thus obtained by inverting the 'Kāfi Ṭhāṭha' :

Kāfi Ṭhāṭhā	Sa ri, *ga* ma pa dha *ni* sa
Pūrbī Ṭhāṭha	Ṣa *ri* ga *Ma* pa *dha* ni sa

Consequently Rāgas like 'Śrī' and 'Vasanta' shifted to the 'Pūrbī Ṭhāṭha' from Kāfī Ṭhāṭha.

The origin of Mukhārī Mela from the Pūrbī Ṭhāṭha : The Niṣāda-Mūrchanā of Pūrbi Ṭhāṭha is the mother of Mukhārī Mela :

Niṣādādi Mūrchanā of Pūrbī	Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni
North Indian names of the Mela Svaras of Mukhārī	Sa *Ri* Ri Ma Pa *Dha* Dha Sa

This process was called 'Surabheda' (change of 'Sura' or tonic) in the Sadarang tradition and 'Śrutikaraṇa' in the South.

This is the history of the origin of Pūrbī from Kāfī Ṭhāṭha and of Mukhārī from Pūrbī. Pūrbī or Mukhārī cannot be obtained directly from any Mūrchanā of Bharata or Mataṅga.

Bhairava Ṭhāṭha or Māyāmalavagauḍa Mela from Kāfī Ṭhāṭha

Bhairava Ṭhāṭha is obtained by lowering the Ṛiṣabha-Dhaivata and augmenting the Gāndhāra-Niṣāda of Kāfī. The Rāga 'Bhairva' of this Ṭhāṭha was called the first among all other Rāgas in the 'Indraprastha-mata' founded by the Muslims. Through Muslim impact this Rāga reached Vijayanagar and became the foremost basis of instruction since the time of Purandaradāsa.

Siṁhendramadhyama from Bhairava : Siṁhendramadhyama is born of the Madhyama-Mūrchanā of Bhairava and it is the 57th Melakartā of Veṅkaṭamakhī.

Madhyama-Mūrchanā of Bhairava-Ṭhāṭha	Ma Pa *Dha* Ni Sa *Ri* Ga (Ma)
Svaras of Siṁhendra Madhyama	Sa Ri *Ga* *Ma* Pa *Dha* Ni (Sa)

Rasikapriyā from Bhairava : The 72nd Melakartā Rasikapriyā is born of the 'Ṛiṣabhādi Mūrchanā' of 'Bhairava Ṭhāṭha' :

Bhairava	*Ri* Ga Ma Pa *Dha* Ni Sa (Ri)
Rasikapriyā	Sa *Ga* Ga Ma Pa *Ni* Ni (Sa)

9. For a fuller account see, '*Saṅgīta Cintāmaṇi*, p. 398-409.

The present 'Bhairava Ṭhāṭa' can never be found in Saṅgīta Ratnākara, because according to the school of Bharata or Śārṅgadeva, two consecutive Svaras can have a maximum interval of 4 Śrutis, called Udātta. The 'five-śruti' intervals like *Ri*-Ga, *Dha*-Ni, or *Ga-Ma* cannot, on any account, be taken to represent the interval between two svaras in any musical tradition having its origin in Vedic music.

Māravā from Āśavarī : The 'Āsāvarī Ṭhāṭha' gives rise to the 'Māravā Ṭhāṭha' by the process of 'Svara-vyatyāsa' or 'Ṭhāṭha Lauṭanā'.

Āsāvarī	Sa Ri *Ga* Ma Pa *Dha Ni* (Sa)
Māravā	Sa *Ri* Ga *Ma* Pa Dha Ni (Sa)

Jhankāradhvani from Māravā : The 19th Melakartā Jhankāradhvani is derived from the Gāndhārādi Mūrchanā of 'Māravā Ṭhāṭha'.

Gāndhārādi Mūrchanā of Māravā	Ga *Ma* Pa Dha Ni Sa *Ri* Ga
Jhankāradhvani	Sa Ri *Ga* Ma Pa *Dha* Dha Sa

Todi Ṭhāṭha from Khamāja Ṭhāṭha : The Khamāja Ṭhāṭha is transformed into the Toḍī Ṭhāṭha or Pantuvarāli Mela as a result of 'Svara-vyatyāsa' or 'Ṭhāṭha Lauṭunā'.

Khamājā Ṭhāṭha	Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha *Ni* (Sa)
Toḍī Ṭhāṭha	Sa *Ri Ga Ma* Pa *Dha* Ni (Sa)

The Northern Toḍī or the southern Pantuvarālī has been called 'Turuṣkapriyā' (dear to the Turks) by Veṅkaṭamakhī.[10]

Calanāṭa from Toḍī : The 36th Melakartā Calanāṭa (the first Mela of the so-called 'Vidyāraṇya mata') is derived from the 'Dhaivata-Mūrchanā' of 'Toḍī Ṭhāṭha'.

Thus, we see that Bhairava Ṭhāṭha or Māyāmālavagauḍa Mela, Toḍī Ṭhāṭha or Pantuvarālī Mela, Pūrbī Ṭhāṭha or Kāmavardhanī Mela and Māravā Ṭhāṭha or Gamanaśrama Mela do not have their origin in the tradition of Bharata and Śārṅgadeva, but in the tradition of the 'Indraprastha-mata' founded by the muslims, which is an Indian form of the non-Indian Muqam-system. The Muqām system has been called 'Samrthāna Paddhati' by Locana. 'Muqām' and 'Saṁsthāna' are synonymous.

10. *Caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā*, Rāgaprakaraṇa, śloka, 108.

3. Change in the viewpoint of the Southerners on account of Muslim Impact.

The Indian Musical tradition is based on 'Saptaka' (group of seven tones). The 'Madhyamatvā' (middle position) of 'Madhyama' is possible only in 'Saptaka', not in an 'Aṣṭaka' (octave). The 'Mandra', 'Madhya' and 'Tāra' 'Sthānas' extend to one 'Saptaka' each. In 'Sa-Ri-Ga-Ma-Pa-Dha-Ni-Sa' the last savara is the initial savara of the next 'Sthāna', but that is indispensable in the "Aṣṭaka'. The concept of 'Aṣṭaka' or octave is non-Indian and all deliberations based on it are totally different from the Indian Grāma-Mūrchanā-system.

A 'Sampūrṇa Rāga' has seven Svaras according to the Grāma-Mūrchanā-system, but Veṅkaṭamakhī, the upholder of 'Aṣṭaka' says that a 'Sampūrṇa Rāga' has eight Svaras. The word 'Ṣāḍava' literally means that which does the 'Avana' (holding) of 'Ṣaṭ' (six), but Veṅkaṭamakhī, counting the 'Sa' of the next 'Sthāna', says that 'Ṣāḍava rāgas' have seven Svaras. 'Uḍuva' stands for 'Ākāśa', in which the 'Uḍu' (Nakṣatras or constellations) do 'vana' (movement), 'Ākāśa' is the fifth in the five primary elements (Pañca-mahābhūtas) ; hence 'Uḍuva' represents the number five. The Rāgas that use five Svaras are called 'Auḍuva', but Veṅatamakhī says that 'Auḍuva Rāgas' have six Svaras.[11] It is a very interesting fact that some people gave the epithet 'Pāṇini of Karnatic music' to Veṅkaṭamakhī, who is an enemy of the Anavarthatā' (conformity to literal meaning) of technical terms.[12]

Rāmāmātya superimposed the Svara-names of 'Ratnākara', without understanding the purport of Śārngadeva, on the twelve tones in one Sthāna located by the foreigners. Raghunātha derisively mentions the names of Keśava and Kallinātha, the commentators of Saptādhyāyī (Saṅgīta Ratnākara) which is branded by him as 'incomprehensible' and 'obscure'.[13] Somanātha also says that the purport of the exposition of ancient authors is not clear or comprehensible. (*vide—Ragavibodha*, author's commentory on 14) The reason behind this state of affairs is that these Vaiṇakas

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11. भवन्त्यष्टौ स्वरा रागे सम्पूर्णे, सप्त षाडवे ।
औडुवे षट्..........................॥
Caturdaṇḍīprākaśikā, Ālāpaprakaraṇa, Sl. 13.

12. English introduction to *Caturdaṇḍīprākaśikā*, p. 4.

13. *Sangīta Sudhā*, Rāgādhyāya, Ślokas 407-409.

were obsessed with a desire to classify the Rāgas according to the viewpoint of Melas, on account of the impact of the Muqām system; and all of them had given up paying attention to the 'Anvarthatā' of technical terms. None of them had any definition of the 'Śuddhatā' of 'Svaras'; without any reason they had begun to accept the absurd scale of 'Mukhārī Mela' as the 'Śuddha Svaras' of Bharata and Śārṅgadeva whereas 'Mukhārī Mela' was the product of the 'Niṣāda-Mūrchanā' of 'Poorbi Ṭhāṭha' derived from 'Kāfī Ṭhāṭha' through 'Svara-vyatyāsa'.

Tānappā the Paramuguru of Veṅkaṭamukhī: Veṅkaṭamakhī has said: "The learned Śārṅgadeva has described 264 Rāgas in his work Ratnākara, but those Rāgas are not to be found anywhere in current usage; hence on account of *their obscurity I shall describe fifty-five Rāgas reconstructed by my* Paramācārya Tānappācārya and having conformity of Lakṣya-Lakṣaṇa".[14] He further says—"Thus I have described fifty-five Rāgas, in which Ārya Tānappā has composed or introduced Gīta, Ṭhāya and Prabandha.[15] "The definition of Ālāpa given by me should be applied to the fifty-five Rāgas construcred by Tānappā".[16] "My Paramaguru Ācāryaśekhara Tānappā has composed Ṭhāyas in all these Rāgas according to current usage".[17]

The following conclusions can be derived from the above and similar other statements of Veṅkaṭamakhī.

(i) Veṅkaṭamakhī's Guru's Guru was Tānappā, who was the founder of a special school, radically different from the

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14. तत्र रत्नाकरग्रन्थे शार्ङ्गदेवेन धीमता । चतुःषष्ट्यधिकं रागशतद्वयमुदीरितम् ।
लक्ष्यन्ते तेन कुत्रापि लक्ष्यवर्त्मनि सम्प्रति । ततः प्रसिद्धिवैधुर्यात् त्यक्त्वा रागांस्तु तान् पुनः ॥
सर्वत्र लक्ष्यमार्गेऽत्र सम्प्रति प्रचरन्ति ये । तानस्मत्परमाचार्यतान्प्यार्यसमुद्धृतान् ॥
रागान्निरूपयिष्यामि लक्ष्यलक्षणसम्पतान् ।

Catur. Rāga, Śloka, 22-25.

15. लक्षिताः पञ्चपञ्चाशदिति रागाः स्फुटं मया ।
गीतठायप्रबन्धा हि तानप्यार्यैः प्रवर्तिता। ॥

Ibid. Rāga, Śloka, 105.

16. तानप्याकृतपञ्चाशद्रागालायेषु मत्कृतम् ।
आलापलक्षणमिदं लक्ष्यतां लक्ष्यकोविदैः॥

Ibid., Ālāpg, Śloka, 32.

17. परमो गुरुरस्माकं तानप्पाचार्य्यशेखरः । सर्वेषामपि रागाणामेतल्लक्ष्मानुसारतः ।
ठाय न्प्रकल्पयामास लक्ष्यमस्य तदेव,सः ।

Ibid., Thāyaprakaraṇa, Śloka, 7.

exposition of Rāmāmātya and others of the same times ; he had a peculiar viewpoint in Rāga-classification and held a different view on this matter.

(ii) The School of Veṅkaṭamakhī's father Govinda Dīkṣita was different from that of Tānappā and Veṅkaṭamakhī was not a follower of his father's school but of that of Tānappā. On many points, Veṅkaṭamakhī has a sharp difference of opinion with his father, just as he has with Rāmāmātya. The only difference between the treatment meted out by him to these two lies in the fact that he has openly abused Rāmāmātya but has excused his father by keeping quiet over the points of difference with him.

(iii) Tānappā has composed or introduced Gīta, Ṭhāya and Prabandha in fifty-five current Rāgas.

4. Muslim influence on Tānappā-School

Veṅkaṭamakhī says that lands (Deśas) are infinite and infinite are the human beings residing therein. Rāgas already created, in the process of creation and to be created in future by high-class and mediocre musicians are used in these lands by men.[18] This statement obviously implies that in Veṅkaṭamakhī's purview of knowledge there were many Rāgas of non-Indian origin and many Rāgas were being created in his own times according to some non-Indian method. This method was that of the Muslims which had got intermingled in Karnatic music. He has evolved the scheme of 72 Melakartās, according to his own viewpoint, for the sake of classifying all possible Rāgas.

Veṅkaṭamakhī clearly says that singers use the Ṛiṣabha-Gāndhāra of 'Tāra-Sthāna' while singing Karṇāṭa Padas (compositions in the Kannada language) Āndhra Padas (compositions in the Telugu language) and Turuṣka Padas[19] (compositions in Dakkhini Hindi used by the Muslims). This statement clearly indicates that the singers of Karṇāṭa, Āndhra and Turuṣka Padas

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18. अनन्ताः खलु देशास्तद्देशस्था अपि मानवाः । तेषु साङ्गीतिकैरुच्चावचसङ्गीतकोविदैः ॥
ये कल्पयिष्यमाणाश्च कल्प्यमानाश्च कल्पिताः । अस्मदादिभिरज्ञाता ये च शास्त्रैकगोचराः ॥
ये च देशीयरागास्तद्रागसामान्यमेलकाः । येन्त्र पन्तुवरूल्याख्यकल्पाणिप्रमुखा अपि ॥
नानादेशीयरागाः............

Ibid., Melaprakaraṇa, Śloka, 82-85.

19. कर्णाटान्ध्रतुरुष्कादिपद्गानेषु संग्रहम् । तारस्थानरिगाद्रीनां कुर्वते खलु गायकाः ॥

Ibid., Vīṇāprakaraṇa, Śloka, 150-157.

belonged to one and the same school and their style of singing was similar. After the fall of the Vijayanagar kingdom, some musicians went to Tanjore and others took refuge in the Bijapur court. The musical compositions of Ibrahim Adil Shah II, the Sultan of Bijapur are in Dakkhini Hindi and are compiled in Kitāb-i-Naurās published by the Sangit Natak Akademi.

Veṅkaṭamakhī has reckoned Rāgas like Kalyāṇī and Pantuvarālī among non-Indian Rāgas and has branded them as 'Turuṣka-Priya'. These two names deserve attention.

'Emana' is an Arabic word, meaning 'Kalyāṇamaya' which is an exact Sanskrit rendering of 'Emana'. The 'Gāndhārādi Śuddha Mūrchanā' of Ṣaḍjagrāma gives us the Svaras of 'Emana'. On account of Muslim influence 'Kalyāṇī' (Kalyāṇa) gained prominence, hence Veṅkaṭamakhī called it 'Turuṣkapriya'.

'Pantu' is an Apabhraṁśa of 'Paṇḍita' in Marathī and in Kumayuni (the dialect of Kumaun region) this very word is 'Panta'. 'Pantuvarālī' means the Varālī of Paṇḍits (Muslim Pandits). Pantuvarālī is obtained from Khamāja Ṭhāṭha by inverting the svaras according to the 'Svara-Vyatyāsa method of the Muslims. For this reason Veṅkaṭamakhī has branded Pantuvarālī also as 'Turuṣkapriyā'.

Sometime before Veṅkaṭamakhī, Somanātha clearly said in Rāgavibodha that twelve Rāgas of 'Paroda' (Persia) were current in his times. He says that there is resemblance between Husainī and Toḍi, Julufa and Bhairava, Musli (Busalika) and Rāmakriyā, Ujjvala and Āsavarī, Navaroja and Vihangaḍā, Bokhreja and Deshakāra, Hijeja and Saindhavī, Pañcagraha and Kalyāṇa-Yamana, Puṣka and Devakrī, and Sarparda Velāvalī, Karṇāta and Irākha.

It is a fact that Indian Muslims and other Hindu musicians influenced by them had created new Rāgas by mixing up Svaras of different Ṭhāṭhas according to non-Indian method, but had given by Indian names to those Rāgas. The origin of mixed Rāgas created by Khusro, Husainshah Sharki, Tansen, Rāmdas etc. cannot be traced in Bṛihaddeśī, Ratnākara or Saṅgītarāja. The current Rāgas that are classified under Bhairava Ṭhāṭha, Pūrbī Ṭhāṭha, Māravā Ṭhāṭha and Toḍī Ṭhāṭha may be bearing names of Indian languages but their origin lies in the Muqām system.

Those who hold the Southern musicians to be inventors of the Mela system have no argument to support their belief.

Somanātha has clearly said that Melas are represented on the Vīṇā. Those 'Svara-Saṁsthāna-Viśeṣas' are 'Mela's from which Rāgas are obtained or under which Rāgas are classified. In 'Bhāṣā they called Ṭhāṭa (Ṭhāṭha)[20] Somanātha has given the name 'Vajrath' (Acala-ṭhāṭa) to the Ṭhāṭha of the Akhila-rāga-mālā vīṇa having fixed frests.[21]

Somanātha has thus clarified the position by using the words 'Samsthāna' 'Ṭhāṭha' and 'Mela' as the synonyms of 'Muqām'.

Thus it is self-evident that the Ṭhāṭha-system or the Mela-school is the result of Muslim influence.

Delhi was the capital of India and the changes taking place in the Delhi court had countrywide influence.

All the Vaiṇikas of the medieval times declared that only Ṣaḍjagrāma had survived in their times. It is an interesting fact that these people had no definition of their so-called Ṣaḍjagāma and the characteristic feature of the original Ṣaḍjagrāma-murchanās spoken of by Bharata, Mataṅga and Śārṅgadeva does not appear in any Mela or Ṭhāṭha of theirs.

Bharata says that the interval of Madhyama and Niṣāda is identical with that of Sadja and Madhyama. The Sādja-Madhyāma of Ṣaḍjagrāma become the Madhyama-Niṣāda of Madhyamagrama. Madhyama cannot bear this name unless it is in the middle of the first and the last 'svara' of the 'Saptaka'. In no Mela of the South, the interval of Ṣaḍja-Madhyama and Madhyama-Niṣāda is identical Bharata's Gandhāra-Madhyama, Madhyama-Pancama and Niṣād-Sadja is identical. No Mela of the South bears this characteristic feature. Puṇḍarīka, Śrikaṇṭha, Akobala, Srīnivāsa, Rāmāmātya. Somanāth, Veṅkaṭamakhī and Bhatkhande—all fall in this category, *viz.*, of the votaries of a system which has no affinity with Bharata's tradition.

The Southern authors are silent about the geographical region or lineage to which Tānappā belonged. Probably he was a North Indian scholar. Some people guess that he was Tansen and others surmise that he was Tānabhaṭṭa, the grandfather of Bhāvabhaṭṭa.

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20. एवं श्रुतिस्वरादिनिरूपणानन्तरं रागाणां निरूपणस्यावसरः प्राप्तः । ते तु मेलैः प्रकाश्यन्ते, मेलाश्च वीणया अभिव्यज्यन्ते···मिलन्ति वर्गीभवन्ति रागा येष्विति तदाश्रयाः स्वरसंस्थानविशेषाः, 'थाट' इति भाषायाम् ।

Rāgavibodha, Viveka II Vṛitti on Sl.-1.

21. *Ibid.*, Viveka II, Vṛitti on verse, 13, 16.

A 'Dhrupada' of Tensen containing the exposition of a secret is available as follows.[22]

धैवत पंचम, मधिम, गंधार, रिखब, खरज सुर साधि साधि साधि गुनि निषाद रे ।

तेरौ अलंकार, बाईस श्रुति साधि बांद उचारि 'सरेगमपधनिस' सुघर सनिधप-मगरे ।

त्रिविध त्रिविध सुरनि मधि तृतीय तृतीय तृतीय र वितंत जानत विदमान सप्त सुर तीनि ग्राम इकईस मूरछिनां छत्तीस भेद नाद वाद तानसेन-विधान रे ।।

Tānsen has said in this 'Dhrupada' "Practise Dhaivata, Pañcama, Madhayama, Gāndhāra, Ṛiṣabha, Ṣadja and Niṣāda. Practise I3 Alaṅkāras and 22 Śrutis on the basis of this. Having this, say the above-noted Svaras in the ascending order as 'Ra-Ri-Ga-Pa-Dha-Ni'. This means that the ancient "Dha-Pa-Ma-Ga-Ri-Sa. Ni" is, in the ascending order, the Sa-Ri-Ga-Ma-Pa-Dha-Ni" of the Bilāval of the Bilāval of Akbar's times. Next, the above text goes on to say that each Svara, has its 'Saṁvādī' with Ṣadja-'Madhyama-Bhāva' in the next third Svara (excluding the initial Svara) or a representative of such a samvādī. This may be shown as follows :

First Mūrchanā of Ṣadjagrāma	Sa-Ri-Ga(Antara)-Ma-Pa-Dha-Ni	
First Mūrchanā of Madhyamagrāma	Ma-Pa-Dha-Ni	Sa-Ri - Ga

"The learned ones know this principle. The exposition of Tānsen has seven Svaras, three Crāmas, twenty-one Mūrchanās and thirty-six, (Rāgas and Rāginīs) in the context of 'Nāda-Vada' (discussion of Nāda)."

The Bilāvala of Akbar's time, the Dhīraśaṅkarābharaṇa of South and the Busurag Muqām of the Muslims is one and the same thing. In Buzurg Muqām, however, the lower Pancama (of Madhyamagrāma) is also included, but that has been dropped in Bilava and Dhīra Śaṅkarābharaṇa.

This 'Dhrupada' proves it beyond doubt that Tansen understood the 'Grāma-mūrchanā—system and he knew fully well the rule expounded by Bharata that the first 'Sāntarā Mūrchanā of 'Sadja-grāma" becomes the first 'Śuddhā Mūrchanā' of 'Madhyamagrāma'

22. *Rāgamālā* (Ms.) of the Gwalior tradition, p. 186.

and he also understood that the Niṣādādi Śuddhā Mūrchanā of Ṣaḍjagrama is Bilāvala or 'Dhīraśankarābharaṇa Mela'. Alongwith this he knew the Muqam system and the method ot 'Svara-Vyatyāsa'. It is just possible that he might have derived the present form of 'Mian Kī Toḍī' by inverting the Svaras of 'Khamāja Thāṭha'. The musicans of Rampur belonging to the Sadaranga tradition were well-versed in the method of 'Svara Vyatyāsa'.

Anyhow, the 'Dhrupada' under reference undoubtedly proves Tansen to be the founder of a special tradition or exposition although Tansen might have concealed the principle of the 'Mūrchanā' system according to the motto 'he who finds, does conceal'.

Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala was well connected with the court of Akbar. He must have been influenced by Tansen. Faqrullah, the author of 'Rāgadarpaṇa' informs us that a text entitled 'Rāgasāgara' was composed in Akbar's court. It is just probable that Puṇḍarīka made his own contribution to this work. The principle of North Indian Rāgas must have been explained by Tansen to Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhal.

While describing the Vīṇā, Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala does not give any scientific method of fixing frets on the Vīṇā, but says that one should take a Viṇā manufactured by an artisan knowing the 'Lakṣya' (current practice)[23].

The same statement has been made by Veṅkaṭamakhi[24]. Thus both Puṇḍarīka and Venkaṭamakhī have left to the artisan conversant with the 'Lakṣya' the important task of fixing the frets.

Venkaṭamakhī has time and again referred to his Paramaguru Ācāryaśekhara Tānappā, but he is completely silent about his 'Guru'. It is quite possible that Puṇḍarīka was the 'Guru' of Veṅkaṭamakhī.

The Vīṇā section in Rasakaumudī of Śrīkaṇṭha is similar to

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23. लक्ष्यप्रवीणेन विनिर्मितायां सुवीणिकायामुपरिन्नदेयाः ।
तन्त्र्यश्चतस्रोऽस्य स एव पार्श्वेऽधो दक्षिणे तिस्र इमा निवेश्याः ॥

Sadrāgacandrodaya, Vīṇāprakaraṇa, 10.

24. लक्ष्यज्ञेन प्रवीणेन निर्मितायां तु शिल्पिना ।
वीणायामुपरिस्थाने चतुस्तन्त्रीः प्रसारमेत् ॥

Catur. Vīṇā., Śloka, 13, 14.

that of Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala. The editor of Rasakaumudī has proved it beyond doubt that Puṇḍarīka was the 'Guru' of Śrīkaṇṭha[25].

If Tānappa was Tansen and Puṇḍarīka was his pupil, in that case Venkaṭamakhi was the Praśiṣya (grand-pupil) of Tansen. This simply a surmise, which has a reasonable possibility of being true. Tānabhaṭṭa, the grandfather of Bhāvabhaṭṭa could also be the 'Paramaguru' of Veṅkaṭamakhī. No Southern author other than Veṅkaṭamakhī has made a reference to Ācāryaśekhara Tānappā.

Śrīkaṇṭha cites the evidence only of his Guru and not of any text in the context of twelve fixed tones in 'Mandra-Madhya' and 'Tāra Sthānas'.

Rāmāmātya's Svaramelakalānidhi is the first extant text mentioning twelve fixed tones in one 'Sthāna'. but Śrīkaṇṭha speaks of his Guru and not of Rāmāmātya.[26]

The Vaiṅikas of the South were swallowing the twelve tones of Muqam system with great hardship and were indulging in self-deceit by giving traditional Indian names to those tones—names which had no conformity of their literal meaning with the tones with which they were associated. When this new arrangement could not be reconciled with the Saṅgīta Ratnākara, the Southern authors found self-gratification by calling themselves the pioneers of Mela system.

5. Neglect of Pramāṇa-Śruti

The subtle interval of Pramāṇa śruti is the unique contribution of Indian seers to the musical science of the world. The votaries of Mela ignored this. Somanātha gave a clear injunction that the less or gain of one śruti did not make any difference or did not entail any discrepancy[27]. All votaries of Mela and Thāṭa belong to the class which bade adieu to the Vedic tradition by ignoring Pramāṇa-śruti, the distinguishing feature of two Grāmas.

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25. *Rasakaumudī*, G.O.S. Introduction, p. 5.

26. स्वीयकल्पनया नोक्ताः प्रामाण्यं तेषु दिद्यते ।
गुरुणा मे यथोद्दिष्टा वीणायां सुप्रपञ्चिताः ॥

Rasakaumudī, Ch. II, Śloka, 46.

27. श्रुत्यैकयाधिकत्वं न्यूनत्वं वा न दोषःय ।

Rāgavibodha, II, 34.

6. **Historical Evidence of Muslim influence on the South.**

Arab travellers and merchants have old associations with the sea-coasts of India dating back to thousands of years. Arab travellets used to go to China via the sea-coast of India.[28]. In 815 A. D. i.e. 175 years before the attack of Mahmūd Ghazanavi, the ruler of town Kadanganoor in Malabar had become a convert to Islam; with his orders muslim colonies were established in South India.[29]

During the reign of Jalāluddin Khilji, Karomandâl was under full influence of the muslims. The chief minister of the famous Sundar Pāṇḍya was a muslim known as Malik Taqiuddin[30]. In the last decade of the 14th century when Malik Kafoor invaded Sundar Pāṇḍya, South Indian Muslims had fought on the side of Sunder Pāṇḍya.[31]

7. **The Indraprastha Mata and its country-wide influence.**

In the Chishtia tradition of the Sufis, music was held to be a means of God-realization. Khwāja Moinuddin Chishti Ajmeri was very much devoted to listening songs. Kutubuddin Aibak was his devoted admirer.[32]

Khwāja Kutubuddin Bakhtyār Kāki was the disciple of Khwāja Moinuddin Chishti. Sultan Shammuddin Altamash was his devotee. Khwāja Kutubuddin died while listening to Qawwālī.[33]

Khwāja Fariduddin's disciple was Bābā Fariduddin Ganjashnar: when the latter became the disciple of Khwāja Kutubuddin, at that time the famous saint Sheikh Bahauddin Zakaria Multani (1182-1267) also had gone to meet Khwāja Kutubuddin. Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria is the inventor of Rāga Multānīśrī and he is counted among great musicians.[34] He created many mixed Rāgas on the basis of the Muqam system. In those times the muslims held music to be a branch of mathematics.

Sheikh Nizamuddin Chishti was the disciple of Bābā Fariduddin and Amir Khusro was the favourite of Nizamuddin Chishti.[35]

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28. *Arab Aur Hind Ke Talluqat*, p. 6-7.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 266-267.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 271-273.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 275.
32. *Nizami Bansari*, p. 110.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
34. *M-ā-danul-Musiqī*, p. 151, 152.
35. *Nizami Bansari*, p. 78-81.

Khwāja Saiyed Muhammad Imam, the granson of Bābā Fariduddin Ganjashakar and his younger brother Khwāja Saiyad Moosā were highly learned musicians, singers and great patrons of the singers of Hindi and Persian compositions.[36]

Nizamuddin Chishti had proved the efficacy and acceptability of devotional music from the devotional viewpoint in a debate (Śāstrārtha) in the court of Gayāsuddin Tughlak. Sheikh Bahauddin Suhrawardi, the grandson of Sheik Bahauddin Zakaria had given his judgment in favour of Sheikh Nizamuddin Chishti in the same debate.[37]

The above facts obviously indicate the strong conviction of Sufi Muslims with music. As for the impact of Sufis on the South, one fact may be cited here. Sheikh Nizamuddin Chishti had sent four hundred Sufis to the South for religious propaganda. Among them was Raju Qattal (the father of Khwāja Bandanawas Gesudaraz the famous sufi of the South) who went to the South with Sheikh Burhanuddin.[38]

The maternal grandfather of Amir Khusro was a Hindu chieftan who had accepted Islam i. e. Khusro's mother was an Indian and his father was a Turk of Lachin. Khusro was born in Patiali, in Eta district, which falls under the Braja-bhāṣā region.[39] Khusro got Indian 'Saṁskāra' (culture) from his mother's side and Braja-bhāṣā as his mother-tongue. From his father's side he got education in Islam. Sufism and Turkish, Persian and Arabic languages.

Khusro was a pupil also of Brahmins. He has highly commended Indian music. He has equated Indian Brahmins with Aristotle and has proclaimed the superiority of India over other countries in many respects.[40]

Grāmarāgas were related to the Vedic tradition and their use far secular entertainment had been prohibited. Someśvara (period

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36. *Ibid.*, p. 446, 447.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 289-292.
38. *Dakkhini Hindi*, p. 65.
39. *Dhruvapada Aur Hindi Sāhitya*—by the author of this paper (unpublished), p. 68.
40. *Kilji Kālīn Bhārat*, p. 198.

of reign 1127—1134 A. D.) has mentioned this prohibition.[41] Hence it can be safely inferred that Khusro did not have knowledge of the Grāma-Mūrchanā system, but he knew in accordance with the educational system of his times, the subtleties of the four 'Usūla'-s (principles), twelve frets and the like of Iranian music.

Frets fixed on string-instruments are called 'Pardā' in Persian. The sound produced on these instruments by pressing the string with the left hand and striking with the right hand with a 'Mizrab' (special ring) is called 'Naghamah' (Svara).

The twelve tones accepted in Iranian music have been spoken above. The various groups of frets representing the groups constructed out of the twelve tones, necessary for rendering the proposed Rāgas, were called Muqām (Samsthāna) and as a result of this method of grouping 'Muqām' reached the South and was called 'Mela' there.

In 1296 A. D. Ulug khan and Nusrat khan, the military commanders of Alauddin Khilji invaded Gujarat. Karṇavati, the princess (queen) of Gujarat was captured by them and sent in the harem of Alauddin. Karṇa, the ruler of Gujarat took refuge in Devagiri along with his daughter Deval Devi.[42] In this invasion, a number of men and women of a class or caste called 'Parvār' gifted with exquisite beauty and adopting music as a means of livelihood, were sent to Delhi.[43] During the same invasion, a very handsome eunuch was also purchased in one thousand Dinars and sent to Delhi. He was later known as Malik Kafur, the famous military commander.

The 'Parvār' class captivated Delhi with its beauty and artistic skill. This is an indication of the musical contact of Gujarat and Delhi.

In 1306 A. D. Malik Kafur was sent for invading the South. He succeeded, Deval devi was captured and brought to Delhi and was married to Khijrakhan, the son of Alauddin Khilji, in 1307. Ramachandra Rai the ruler of Devagiri came to Delhi for accepting his subordination to Allauddin Khilji. It is a fact that on this

41. नामतो गदिताः सवे रागा मुनिसमीरिताः ।
विनोदे नोपयुज्यन्ते तस्माल्लक्ष्म न लक्ष्यते ।।

Mānasollāsa Vol. III, p. 13, Śloka, 132.

42. *Khilji kālīn Bhārat.* p. 160.

43. *Nizami Bansari*, p. 228.

occasion the musicians of the South also came to Delhi and most probably Gopāla Nāyaka was one of them.

The following 'Dhrupad' bearing the 'mudra' of Gopāla Nāyak and praising Alauddin Khilji is available (in an unpublished manuscript).

धक दलन रे प्रबल्ल नाद सिंघनाद बल अपबल वक्कवर।
कुंडान धीर अडान मिलवत चपल चाप अचपल अक्कअर।
गीत गावत नायक गोपाल विद्यावर।
साह्निसाहि अलावदीं तपै ढ़िली नरेस जाके वसुधा सुचित तुग्र तक्क धर।।

Khusro had lived in Multan, Awadh and Bengal ; Braja was his birth-place and Delhi the centre of his activities. The 'Paravārs' of Gujerat had settled in Delhi and the musicians of the South also joined. This situation gave rise to the 'Indraprastha-Mata' which included (i) Rāgas of Indian origin, but classified in accordance with the Muqam-system on the model of Iranian music, (ii) Rāgas created by the mixture of Indian and Iranian melodies and bearing Indian names and (iii) Rāgas which had old names, but which had shifted from one 'Ṭhāṭa' to another as a result of 'Svara-Vyatyāsa' (inversion of tones—e g.'Vasanta' and 'Śrī' came from Kāfī Ṭhāṭa into Poorbī Ṭhāṭa. This new school of Indian music, was known as the tradition of 'Qauwal-Bacchas'. In course of time this tradition came to be known as 'Indraprashta Mata'.

8. The Foundation of Vijayanagar Empire and Muslim Influence on it.

Harihar and Bukka, the founder of Vijayanagar empire were under confinement in Delhi for a considerable time. They were released on political grounds and under the guidance of Śrī Vidyāraṇya the two brothers founded the Vijayanagar empire in 1336 A.D. In 1347 A.D. Muhammad Shah I founded the Bahmani dynasty ; he was a great devotee of Nizamuddin Chishti.

There was inbred animosity betwen the Vijayanagar and Bahmani lineage.

There were three hundred singers in the court of Muhammadshah I. Khusro's compositions were profusely sung in his court. Once he was highly delighted to hear Khusro's compositions rendered by his musicians and sent an order to Bukka, the ruler of Vijayanagar that he should grant prizes to those musicsans from the

Vijayanagar treasury. Bukka, being an independent ruler with self-respect, affronted the envoy of Muhammadshah. As a consequence a fierce battle was fought, there was horrible bloodshed and Bukka had to enter into a treaty on the conditions stipulated by the Bahmani Sultan and he had to pay the prizes to musicians.[44]

In 1398 A.D. the Bahmani Sultan Feroze opened a battle with Harihar, the ruler of Vijayanagar. Feroz was mad after music and his Qāzi named Sirāj was so skilled in dance and music that he danced alongwith his party in feminino garb in the presence of Harihara's son and in disguise assassinated the latter.[45]

The above incident reveals the extent to which the music of the Bahmini court bearing the influence of Khusro, had gained ground in the Vijayanagar court.

The climax was reached in 1403 A.D. and Devaraya I the ruler of Vijayanagar had to give his daughter to the Bahmani ruler Feroz ; she was married to Hasan, the son of Feroz. On this occasion Feroz was a guest in Vijayanagar for three days. The articles of Vijayanagar entertained the bridegroom's party with their performances.[46]

Devaraya II sent two hundred slave-women from Vijayanagar to the court of Alauddin II, the then Bahmani Sultan, after having been defeated by the latter.[47] Ahmadshah I, the father of Alauddin II was favoured with the blessings of Sheikh Gesudaraz.

In 1442 A.D. Devaraya gave land gifts to the Muslims serving under him ; in order to please them, he constructed a mosque in Vijayanagar and ordered that nobody should interfere with the religious practices of the Muslims. He ordered that the Holy Qurān should be kept on a high and valuable pedestal in front of his throne, so that the Muslims could salute him without violating their religious decorum. Devaraya encouraged the Hindus to learn archery and general military discipline from the Muslims. Consequently sixty thousand Hindus and two thousand Muslims became skilled in archery.[48]

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44. A forgotten Empire, p. 33-39.
45. *Ibid*, p. 53, 54.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 60-61.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

Having been impressed by this attitude of Devaraya II, the Shah of Iran sent Abdur-Razzak as envoy to Vijayanagar, and the latter lived in Vijayanagar till 1443 A.D. Devaraya used to invite Abdur-Razzak twice a week to his court and used to honour him.[49]

Kallinātha wrote his commentary on Sangīta Ratnākara in these times when the impact of Muslim contact had been fully felt in the South. He was the only scholar of his time who was competent to understand the Sangīta Ratnākara.

The following words of Kallinātha (vide his commentary of S.R. II 158-159) reveal the influence of the Muslim Muqām-system on the music current in his times in Vijayanagar :—

(i) In my times every Rāga is started with 'Sa'.

(ii) The Pañcama having 'Samvāda' with 'Sa' has survived (on account of the disappearance of the Pañcama having Samvāda with Ṛiṣabha) the Rāgas of both the grāmas have now come to use the Ṣadja-Samvādī Pañcama.

(iii) In Śrī Rāga, Ṛiṣabha, Gāndhāra, Dhaivata and Niṣāda have become augmented by one śruti from their original positions.

(iv) In the Kriyāṅga Rāga 'Rāmakrī', Madhyama has become augmented by two Śrutis (That is to say, the Madhyamatva has been lost and the seed has been sown for names like Varālī Madhyama, Pata Pañcama or Tīvra Madyama).

(v) In Rāgas like 'Naṭṭā' and 'Devakrī' Ṛiṣabha and Dhaivata have taken two Śrutis each of Antara Gāndhāra and Kākalī Niṣāda (That is to say the *Ga* and *Ni* of Sa-*Ga*-Ga-Ma-Pa-*Ni*-Ni-Sa are called Ṛiṣabha and Dhaivata respectively). Thus (non-vedic) names like Pañcaśruti Gāndhāra and Pañcama śruti Niṣāda have come into existence.

(vi) In Karṇāṭa-gauḍa Niṣāda has become the Graha and Aṁśa in the place of Ṣadja (i.e. the Ṭhāṭha of this Rāga has changed).

(vii) In Hiṇḍola the omission (lopa) of Ṛiṣabha-Pañcama has taken the place of that of Ṛṣabha-Dhaivata.

(viii) Sometimes the Omitted (lopya) Svaras are used in Auḍava (penta-tonic) Rāgas.

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49. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Medieval India*—p. 431, 432.

(ix) In some places, the Melana (grouping) of 'Janya' and 'Janaka' (Rāgas) has become different.

(x) There is violation of rules in the use of Rāgas according to Rasa.

It obviously follows from these remarks that one hundred years after Mādhavācārya and one hundred years before Rāmāmātya the music of Vijayanagar has become non-Vedic. The Mela-system of Rāga-classification had become acceptable to all concerned.

Kallinātha has deemed it proper to keep quiet on the reasons of this radical change affecting the fundamentals of traditional music and has simply said that as these Rāgas are Deśī, the irregularities mentioned by him do not entail any blemish. But this statement is just an attempt to veil the cultural defeat of his times ; it is neither scientific nor rational.

The medieval authors counted upon the following statement ascribed to Āñjaneya, for the sake of resolving the contradiction in their current musical practice :

येषां श्रुतिस्वरग्राम-जात्यादिनियमो नहि ।
नानादेशगतिच्छाया देशीरागास्तु ते स्मृता: ।।

(Quoted by Kallinātha in his commentary on S.R. II 2. 158-159)

"Those Rāgas which have no regulations regarding Śurti, Svara, Grāma, Jāti etc., which bear the 'Chāyā' and airs of different regions, are called Deśī Rāgas."

If this statement is interpreted to mean that 'Deśī Rāgas' have no regulation whatsoever, then there would be no ground or necessity of any rationalisation about Deśī Rāgas. If one starts shouting at will, taking liberty from the above statement of Āñjaneya, he cannot be called an artiste.

Kallinātha was a Paṇḍita patronised by a royal court. How could he write the chronicle of the defeat of his patron dynasty.

It is a remarkable fact deserving attention that till Kallinātha's time, the music of Mewar had not come under Muslim influence, because Mahāraṇā Kumbhā's Saṅītarāja is a work contemporary to Kallinātha and this text does not make any mention of the irregularities and vicissitudes spoken of by Kallinātha.

Kallinātha did not speak of the Mela system anowhere because he was writing a commentary on the Saṅgīta Ratnākara, in which he has made a casual reference to the current music of

his times. He refers to 'Melana-Bheda' (difference in 'Mela') in 'Janya-janaka Rāga' which is ample evidence of the influence of Muqām-system in that region and time.' Every Rāga starts from 'Sa' and only the Pañcama having Samvāda with Ṣadja is used in all Rāgas" by this statemen Kallinātha has clearly declared that the import of 'Grāma-Mūrchanā' has fallen into oblivion.

Nearly fifty years after Kallinātha Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, who was patronised by the Vijayanagar court has defined 'Ghazal' and 'Qaul' in his work 'Saṅgīta Sūryodaya', which means that in those times 'Ghazal' and 'Qaul' were well in vogue in Vijayanagar. This situation was responsible for giving rise to musicians who sang the Āndhra Pada, Karṇāṭa Pada and Turuṣka Pada in one and the same way; Veṅkaṭamakhī has referred to such musicians.

In extant works the Svaramela-Kalānidhi of Rāmāmātya is the first text expounding the southern Mela-system.

9. **Rāmāmātya's Muslim contacts And Muslim Influense on Him :**

Rāmāmātya has referred to himself as the son of Timmāmātya in the colophons of Svaramela-kalānidhi. Both the names are compound, in which 'Rāma' and 'Timma' are proper names and 'Amātya' is a title implying that they were royal ministers. Rāmāmātya is identical with Aliya Rāmarāya known to historians. The author of 'A Forgotten Empire' Robert Sewell has given the name of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya's minister as Timma and has mentioned 'Rāmarāya' as Timma's son. 'Rāya' in 'Rāmarāya' stands for 'king'. Rāmāmātya was the son-in-law of Kriṣṇadeva Rāya. In 1542 A.D. Sadāśiva became the king of Vijayanagar but he was just a puppet in Rāmāmātya's hands. Rāmāmātya was the actual ruler. Hence Muslim historians took 'Rāma' as the 'Rājā' (ruler) and mentioned him as 'Rāmarāya'.

Rāmāmātya entered into alignment and disalignment on different occasions with Burhan Nizāmshāh, Jamshed Kutubshah, Ibrahim and his son Ali Adilshah etc. He once kissed the hand of Hussain Nizāmshāh.[50] Rāmāmātya's wife declared Ali Adilshāh to be her 'Dharmaputra' (adopted son). In 1565 A.D. the Muslim rulers of the South en-bloc fought against Rāmāmātya and he was killed in that battle at the age of 96.

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50. A Forgotten Empire, p. 196.

After this incident Rāmāmātya's brother Tirumal established his capital in Penukoṇḍā. In 1568 A.D. Tirumal assassinated Sadāśiva. Tirumal died in 1575 A.D. and Tirumal's son Ranga II became the ruler. In 1586 A.D. his brother Veṅkaṭa I became the successor and in 1614 A.D. Veṅkaṭa I died.

During the reign of Veṅkata I, in 1602 the rulers of Tanjore and Madura declared their independence.

Veṅkaṭamakhī was patronised by Vijayarāghava, the ruler of Tanjore whose predecessors were subordinate to the successors of Rāmāmātya and had become independent, revolting against Veṅkaṭa I, the lineal descendant of Rāmāmātya. The venomous bitterness of Veṅkaṭamakhī against Rāmāmātya seems to have its roots in lineal animosity.

Prof. Ramakrishna Kavi has said that Rāmāmātya was the grandson (daugher's son) of Kallinātha,[51] but he has not cited any evidence in support of this statement. Rāmāmātya did not feel the necessity of studying Kallinātha's commentary on Saṅgīta Ratnākara, otherwise he would not have (given the adjective 'Grāmarāga' to Hijuji (Muslim Hijej) and would not have cited the approval of Śārṅgadeva in that context and he would have done justice to the Svaras of Śrī Rāga current in his times.

If Rāmāmātya had understood Kallinātha's words he would not have said that Cyut-Pañcama—Madhyama (Varālī Madhyama) was three śrutis higher than Śuddha Madhyama. Kallinātha has clearly said that in the Kriyāṅga Rāga Rāmakrī, Madhyama has taken śrutis of Pañcama i.e. Madhyama is two śrutis lower than the ṣaḍja-Samvādī Pañcama.

Really speaking, the votaries of Mela grossly ignored Kallinātha and created an illusion that their utterly non-Vedic Mukhārī born out of the Niṣādādi Mūrchanā of the Poorbi Ṭhāṭha of the Muslims or (Kāmavardhanī Mela) was the Śuddha scale spoken of by Śārṅgadeva.

Rāmāmātya has classified his Rāgas as 'Uttama', 'Madhyama' and 'Adhama' and has branded 'Adhama' Rāgas as 'Pāmara-Bhrāmaka' (illusive to the foolish or base). Venkaṭamakhī has labelled 'Pantuvarāli' as 'Pāmara-Priya'. The class of persons implied by the epithet 'Pāmara' of Rāmāmātya and Veṅkaṭamakhī was at the root of the Mela system.

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51. *Bharatakośa*, p. 550.

The school of music which did not care for the Southern scholar Kallinātha and took all license with the words of Śārṅgadeva, the scholar from Kashmir, can ill afford to boast of being 'ancient' and 'Vedic'.

Venkaṭamakhī has referred to Gopāla Nāyaka with reverence. It is a well-known fact that Gopāla Nāyaka had come in the contact of the Delhi court and Amir Khusro. Gopāla Nāyaka was a savant who founded a school of music. He had founded a special school of 'Caturdaṇḍī *viz.*, Ālapa, Ṭhāya, Gīta, and Prabandha :

चारों डाँड़ी बाँध आए नायक गोपाल ।

words like these occur in Dhrupad texts and they prove that Gopāla Nāyaka was the founder of the Caturdaṇḍī School. It is impossible to say that Delhi had no contribution to this new school. Veṅkaṭamakhī's Paramaguru Tānappā must have been acquainted with some secrets of this school.

Whosoever Tānappā might have been he was not a votary of Grāma Mūrchanā, Granting that he was acquainted with Grāma-Mūrchanā, the way he classified Rāgas, the names he gave to svaras, the explanation he offered for Grāma or ṣaḍjagrāma they were all non-Indian and influenced by the Muslims.

The Mukhari of Locana is quite different, it is the Dhaivatādi Sāntarā Mūrchanā of ṣaḍjagrāma and is like Āsāvarī Ṭhāṭha or Naṭabhairvī Mela.

10. Conclusion

Thus we have seen in short that contrary to current belief, Karnatic Music is not immume from Muslim influence. The Mela and Ṭhāṭha systems have a common origin and the Mūkhāri Mela has no connection whatsoever with the tradition of Bharata. Incidentally, we have also had glimpses of the process of the uprooting of the ancient Grāma-mūrchanā system in the medieval times.

❦

Attitude of Muslim Mystic Toward Society and State During the Sultanate Period

PROFESSOR K.A. NIZAMI

COMMENTING on the role of mystics in the growth of civilizations, Professor Toynbee remarks : "It is through the inward development of personality that individual human being are able to perform those creative acts, in the outward field of action, that cause the growth of human societies."[1] One is constantly reminded of this remark while assessing the role of Muslim mystics in the social and cultural history of our country, India, with her multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-lingual pattern of society, has always stood in need of and has always welcomed men imbued with high moral ideals who could, in the words of Rabindranath Tagore "set at naught all differences of men by the over-flow of their consciousness of God."[2] The Muslim mystics of the Sultanate period belong to this category of 'God-conscious' men who rose above all narrow and parochial divisions of society and strove to find a unity for the heterogenous elements that make up its totality.

Long before the establishment of Turkish rule in India many Muslim saints entered this country and set up mystic centres at a number of places. Systematic organization of *silsilahs*, however, began almost simultaneously with the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi when two of the most important mystic orders—the Chishtiyya and the Suhrawardiya—were introduced in India. In the century that followed they spread out far and wide, built up their organizations and established themselves in their respective zones. Within a short span of time the entire country, from Multan

1. *Study of History,* (Ab. ed.) p. 212.
2. *Nationalism,* p. 6.

to Lakhnauti and from Panipat to Deogir was studded with *khanqahs*, *jama'at khanahs*, *daeras*, and *zawiyahs*. Early in the 14th century a traveller informed Shihabuddin al-'Umari at Damascus : In Delhi and its neighbourhood are *Khanqahs* and hospices numbering two thousand."[3] These *Khanqahs*, numerous and extensive as they were, soon wove themselves into the complex culture-pattern of India and contributed some of the essential elements to the growth of cosmopolitan tendencies in Indian society. The attitude of the Muslim saints towards society and state was sharply in contrast to that of the Muslim governing classes and the orthodox sections of the theologians. Greater dynamism, better appreciation of other people's point of view, and a desire to remove the contradictions between static theology and the rapidly changing conditions of life characterized their approach in all matters. They threw open the doors of their *Khanqahs* to all sorts of people—rich and poor, citizens and villagers, Hindus and Muslims, free born and slaves, men and women, scholars, politicians, merchants, artisans, peasants and others and in no time their hospices became veritable centres of cultural synthesis where ideas were freely exchanged and a common medium for this exchange was evolved.

Mysticism, it is said, has no geneaology. It is the eternal quest of man, in all ages and under all climes, to have direct communion with the infinite and the external and to use the power so gained by nearness to the Absolute for the well-being of man. "The soul of great mystic," remarks Bergson, "does not come to a halt at the (mystical) ecstacy as though that were the goal of a journey. The ecstacy may indeed be called a state of repose, but it is a repose of a locomotive standing in a station under steam pressure, with its movement continuing as a stationary throbbing while it waits for the moment to make a new leap forward......The great mystic has left the truth flow into him from its source like a force in action. His desire is with God's help to complete the creation of the human species...The mystic's direction is the very direction of the *elan* of life."[4]

The pivotal point in the thought of the early Indo-Muslim mystics was their concept of religion which also constituted the basis

3. *Masalik al-Absar fi Mamalk al-Amsar*, English translation by O. Spies, p. 24.

4. *Les Deux Sources de la Morale et la Religion*, pp. 246-51, quoted by Toonbee, *Study of History* (Vol. I-VI), pp. 212-213.

of their attitude towards society and state. When asked to explain the highest form of religious devotion (*ta'at*), Shaikh Mu'inuddin Chishti the founder of the Chishti order in India, remarked : "It is nothing but feeding the hungry, providing clothes to the naked and helping those in distress."[5] Elaborating the same view, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya once observed : "Devotion to God is of two kinds : *lazmi* (Intransitive) and *muta'addi* (Transitive). In the *lazmi* devotion, the benefit which accrues is confined to the devote alone. This type of devotion includes prayer, fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca, recitation of religious formulae, turning over the beads of rosary etc. The *muta'addi* devotion, on the contrary, brings advantage and comfort to others ; it is performed by spending money on others, showing affection to people and by other means through which a man strives to help his fellow human beings. The reward of *muta'addi* devotion is endless and limitless."[6] This identification of religleon with the service of humanity had revolutionary dimensions and while extricating religion from the narrow meshes of ecclesiastical formalities and ego-centric religious practices, invested it with tremendous responsibility to strive for the moral and spiritual culture of man. Salvation, for a medieval Muslim mystic, was not something to be obtained in the world beyond ; it was to be attained here and now by the healthy development of cosmic emotion—an emotion which drew its sustenance from sympathetic identification with the problems of the misery-stricken and the down-trodden mass of humanity. God is not so much a creator to be acknowledged as an existence to be felt—felt not as an abstraction but as a reality embodied in the living and in animate creatures around us.

"Performing prayers day and night," remarked an eminent mystic of medieval India, "is a work more befitting an old widow than a mystic." A mystic's work was to strive day and night to bring happiness to the hearts of men by alleviating their miseries. The *lietmotif* of his life was :

دل بدست آور کہ حج اکبر است
زہزاراں کعبہ یک دل بہتر است

(Bringing solace to a human heart is like Haj-i Akbar,
One heart is better than a thousand Ka'bas.)

5. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 185.

Every visitor to a saint brought some problem with him. "My brother is ill", "My officer is harsh to me," "I am worried about the marriage of my daughters," "I have a big family but have no means of livelihood." "My profession brings no profit to me", so on and so forth. To attend to these mulsifarious problems must have put a heavy pressure on the nerves of a Shaikh, but the seldom allowed anybody to leave the *khanqah* dissatisfied. In fact, immediate material solution of all these problems was something beyond the means of the mystics, but with their deep insight into human character they assuaged the wounds of their visitors and gave them that unshakable faith in God and moral values which sustained them in the midst of the severest tribulations of life.

During the days of Sultan 'Alauddin Khalji some people, in an after-dinner conversation, referred to enormous gifts and presents that constantly flowed into the *khanqah* of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and remarked that the saint's life was free of all worries and was one of affuluence and plenty. A disciple of the Shaikh who happened to be there, reported this conversation to his master. Tears trickled down the cheeks of the Shaikh when he heard him. "Azizuddin !", he turned to his disciple, "It is not as they think. True, enormous gift come to me unasked, but every one who brings a gift also brings with it a problem. They think that through my prayers their problems can be solved. How can a human heart listen to hundreds of worries and problems every day and yet remain free from anxietes ? Their problems put my own heart on the rack. When I pray to God for them my heart feels the pangs of their worries as if I am myself the sufferer." The Shaikh's life bears out every word of what he said. He would often refuse to eat in the small hours of the morning when those who fast throughout the day eat something. "This morsel sticks in my throat when I think that in the streets of Delhi and on the balconies of shops some people are sleeping who have not taken any thing last night. It was this deep and genuine concern for men in distress which made the mystics cynosures of public eyes. A heart that beats in sympathy with others commands universal respect.

The early Muslim mystics had to apply their ideal of human welfare to three distinct social situations in India (1) the caste-ridden structure of Indian society, (2) the narrow and racially conditioned ideology of the Muslim governing class and (3) the rigid and

orthodox thinking pattern of the '*ulama*. Their reactions to these situations reveal the nature and extent of their impact on the processes of social change in India. Since people belonging to the lower starta of society were precluded from the programmes of all these three, the Sufis turned to them and gave them the self-confidence and courage they needed in their struggle for existence Their work in this respect was organized on the bedrock of the principle that all people are the children of God (الخلق عیال اللہ) and that in doing good to a man no discrimination of any type should be allowed to blur the vision. A man, said Shaikh Mu'in-addin Chisti of Ajmer, should develop, river-like generosity sun-like affection, and earth-like hospitality—as the river, the sun and the earth extend their benefits to all and rundry, so also a man should rise above all narrow considerations in dealing with his fellow human beings. Inspired by this ideal of human service the early Muslim mystics applied their energies to the problems of contemporaty society.

(1) Alberuni has described in detail the social condition of India in the 11th century. It appears from his account that the principle of caste, which formed the basis of the Indian social system at that time, had eaten into its very vitals. Whatever the circumstances under which the system originated, it had resulted in the total annihilation of any sense of citizenship or of loyalty to the country as whole. The principle of caste, as Dr. Beni Prasad has observed in his *The State in Ancient India*, "strikes at the root of individuality and amounts almost to a denial of personality." Added to this was the idea of physical contamination. Alberuni who, as R. C. Dutt remarks, "took pains to study Indian civilization and literature in a catholic spirit", has noted with disgust and amazement the working of this idea in the social life of the people. The workers and artisans—known as Hadis, Domas, Chandalas and Badhatus—and the non-descript mass of humanity known as Antyajas had to live outside the cities, deprived of all amenities of civic life. If a careful survey is made of the sites where the earliest Muslim saints built their hospices in India, it will be found that they existed outside the caste-cities. A statistical analysis of the earliest Indian entrants to the Muslim mystic fold would likewise reveal that many of them belonged to the Antyaja group—sellers of curd, rope-makers, etc.

(2) The Turkish Sultans of Delhi drew their inspiration from the Sassanid social and political ideals and looked down upon any contact with the common man. Balban would not talk to the low-born, would not approve the appointment of even an Indian born Muslim to any post in his government. He is even reported to have contemptuously rejected the request of a merchant of Delhi who offered his whole wealth if the Sultan condescended to honour him with a single audience. Perhaps Amir Khusrau had Balban in mind when he said :

غرض ورای امکاں چہ خیال فاسد است ایں
ہوس جمال سلطاں بدل گدا نشستہ

(What an impossible desire has taken roots in the heart : the desire of a beggar to have a vision of the Sultan).

The distinction between *sharif* and *razil* so persistently emphasized by the governing class—as one finds elaborated in Barani's *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*—was gall and wormwood to the mystics. They demonstrated the working of the principle of social equality in their *khanqahs* and *jama'at khanahs*. In fact the *Palace* and the *khanqah* assumed during the Sultanate period the significance of two distinct symbols, representing two diametrially opposed approaches to life. Though within the political confines of the Sultanate of Delhi, the *khanqahs* did not form part of the Delhi Empire. A penniless pauper was received there in the same way in which the Sultan of Delhi was received. An incident cited in the *Fawaid-ul Fu'ad* very neatly illustrates the nature of this attitude. A ruler visited a saint who was busy putting patches on his frock (*khirqa*) with the tattered garment spread over his legs. The wazir in attendance of the ruler quickly stepped forward and thrice asked the saint to fold his legs. The saint ignored his request and when the ruler had come close to him, he turned to the wazir and said : "Look here ! I have closed my hands ; I can, therefore, stretch my legs." By their superb indifference towards rulers, the mystic registered their disapproval of and disgust against the parochial ideologies of the governing classes. At a time when the country was resounding with the din and clatter of the arms of the Turks, the atmosphere of the *khanqahs* acted as a

corrective to the political hysteria of the period. They sat cool and collected in their tumbling huts, teaching lessons of human love and equality while the armies of the Sultans sought solution of their problems with sword and fire. Only one instance will suffice to show how the governing class attitude stirred the conscience of certain people who repaired to the *Khanqahs* to integrate their shattered personalities. Hamid was in the service of Malik Tughril, a slave-noble of Sultan Balban. One day while standing before his master, Hamid's conscience pricked and said : "Hamid ! Why are you standing before this man ?" Hamid tried to calm the qualms of his conscience by saying : "Why should I not stand before him ? I am his servant. He is the master. He gives me my pay. Why should I not stand before him ?" His conscience refused to be satisfied and said : "You are a scholar ; he is an ignorant man. You are a free man ; he is a slave. You are a pious man ; he is a sinner." Hamid could no longer compromise with his conscience. It was not a good bargain to surrender one's self-respect for a few pieces of silver. He left Tughril and spent the rest of his life at the *khanqah* of Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar at Ajodhan. Tughril later rebelled against his master at Lakhnauti but could not achieve the freedom he longed for ; the rebellion of Hamid's conscience relieved him from the bonds of a whole social order.

(3) The orthodox, formal and externalist attitude of some *'ulama* never met with the approval of saints. They disdained entering into acrimonious debates or casuistical controversies with them but in their own lives demonstrated the working of more dynamic principles. They did not ask for abrogating the religious law ; they demanded the fulfilment of its main purpose : the culture of man's inner life. They were quick to appreciate the spirit of the milieu and quicker still to adjust themselves to it. When they found that festive element was an inalienable part of Hindu religious life, they also adopted audition parties and despite the objections of *'ulama* who compelled Iltutumish and Ghiyasuddin Tughluq to convene *mahzar* meetings to consider its legality, continued to hold *qawwalis* in their *khanqahs*. Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi who later came to Bengal and settled here, criticised a qazi of Badaon for mere mechanical performance of religious practices which had no meaning unless accompanied by a genuine religious spirit born of cosmic emotion (*ishq*).

The *'ulama* insisted that the door of *ijtihad* (*i.e.* fresh interpretation of problems) had been closed and that instead of going to the two basic sources of law—the Quran and the *Sunna*—the Muslims had to follow the law as it had been codified centuries ago by the founders of the four schools. The mystics believed that a recourse to the basic sources of law was necessary in order to enforce the principle of movement in the structure of Islam. The discussions that took place between the *'ulama* and the *sufis* at a *mahzar* meeting in the court of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq bring to light a sharp conflict between the rigid and the flexible trends of thought during the Sultanate period.

Thus the energies of the early Indo-Muslim mystics were mainly directed towards undoing, in their own unobtrusive and uncontroversial manner, the evil consequences of caste, racial prejudices and religious exclusivism. This attitude articulated a deep and genuine spirit of humanism in their day to day life. (1) They looked upon all men as members of a common human family. Theological categorization of men into 'Believers' and 'non-Believers' was of little or no significance to them. Shaikh Hamiduddin Nagauri, a distinguished *khalifa* of Shaikh Mu'inuddin Chishti of Ajmer, admonished one of his disciples for addressing a Hindu as *Kafir*. "You never know," he told the erring disciple, "what the inner spiritual life of this man is !" Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi, a distinguished Chishti saint of the 16th century, declared in unequivocal terms:[7]

این چه شور واین چه غوغا کشاده، کسی مومن، کسی کافر،
کسی مطیع، کسی عاصی، کسی در راه، کسی بی راه، کسی مسلم،
کسی پارسا، کسی ملحد، کسی ترسا، همه در سلک است

(Why this meaningless talk and clamour about the believer, the Kafir, the obedient, the sinner, the rightly guided, the misdirected, the Muslim, the pious, the infidel, the fire-worshipper. All are like beads in the same rosary).

7. *Maktubat-i-Quddusi*, p. 205.

(2) They rejected all ideas of social and racial superiority. "A mystic does not recognise slavery"—says the *Fawa'id ul Fu'ad.* Even the slightest expression of assumed or implied superiority by a disciple was resented by the mystic teachers. Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya expelled from his *khanqah* a senior disciple, Maulana Burhanuddin Gharib, when the Shaikh came to know that he used to sit in an arrogant way, leaning on a pillow while supervising the preparation of food in his *langar khanah.* (3) They rejected completely the idea of physical pollution through contact with any human being. There are instances of saints dining with low-caste people. Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh had no hesitation in mixing even with the lepers.

This humanism helped the Muslim saints in understanding India and the basic character of her composite society. For them India was neither *dar-ul-harb* nor *dar-ul-Islam.* It was God's earth with variety of men and stores of wisdom......a land where Adam and Eve first walked and where the prophets Shis and Ayyub lay buried. Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari Makhdum-i-Jahanian once said :

چندیں انواع نعمت ها و الوان رنگ ها بنی آدم
وکنوز حکمت ها کہ مخصوص بزمین ہندوستان است
در بحر و بر جہاں نیست ۔

(So many gifts of God and such a variety of men and treasures of knowledge as one finds specifically in India are not to be found anywhere else in the whole world.)

Amir Khusrau so closely identified himself with the milieu that he looked upon all Indian historical heritage as part of his own historical self. In his Nuh-Sipihr he declares :

نیست ہندو ارچہ کہ دیندار چوما
ہست بسی جائی باقرار چوما

(Though a Hindu is not a believer like me, he nevertheless believes in many things in which I do.)

The mystic concept of religious tolerance, rooted as it was in their ideals of humanism, needs some elucidation. The spirit of toleration, remarks Gibbon, may arise from very different attitudes of the mind of man. There is the toleration of the philosopher to whom all religions are equally true; of the historian to whom all are equally false; and of the politician to whom all are equally useful. There is the toleration of the man who tolerates other modes of thought and behaviour because he has himself grown absolutely indifferent to all modes of thought and behaviour. There is the toleration of the weak man who, on account of sheer weakness, must pocket all kinds of insults heaped on things or persons whom he holds dear. Oviously these types of tolerance have no ethical value. On the other hand they unmistakably reveal the spiritual impoverishment of the man who practises them. True toleration is begotted of intellectual breadth and spiritual expansion, and it is the toleration of a spiritually powerful man who while following his own faith in all sincerity, can tolerate and appreciate all forms of faith other than his own. It was this spirit of tolerance which inspired the lives of the Muslim mystics of the Sultanate period when they declared :

ای که طعنه زنیت به هندو بری
آموز هم زوی پرستش گری

(O you who sneer at the idolatry of the Hindu, learn also from him how worship is done.)

The two most important spheres in which their ideals of tolerance found the fullest expression were Religion and Language. They refused to accept them as divisive factors in society. One morning Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya went up to the roof of his house near which flowed the Jumna. He found a large number of Hindus busy worshipping the idols......a sight which would have brought derisive comments from the orthodox theologians. He, however, remarked :

هر قوم راست راهی دینی و قبله گاهی

(Every people has its own path, its own religion and its own Mecca.)

A deep and genuine spirit of appreciation for the multi-religious character of Indian society underlies this remark. The Sufi Saints honestly believed in the essential unity of all religions and wanted to make their pantheistic thought......whose earliest exposition in the history of human thought is found in the *Upanishads*...an ideological bridge between Islam and Hinduism. They could discern elements of truth in diverse forms of religious behaviour and could see beneath a plethora of variegated images some quest for truth and some search for reality. They admired the Hindu devotional songs in the early hours of the morning and could not withhold their appreciation for the spirit which carried a Hindu widow to the burning pyre of her husband.

In the matter of language the mystic attitude has been neatly epitomised in this verse by the famous Sanai :

سخن کز بہر دیں گوئی چہ عبرانی چہ سریانی
مکان کز بہر حق جوئی چہ جابلقا چہ جابلسا

(What matters it whether the words thou utterest in prayer are Hebrew or Syrian or whether the place in which thou seekest God is *Jabalqa* or *Jabalsa*.)

In a multi-lingual society this attitude was a guarantee against all types of tensions and conflicts. Wherever the mystics settled in India, they adopted they local languages and dialects for communicating with the people. It is for this reason that in the growth of Indian vernaculars the role of Muslim mystics was the most outstanding. They invested the local languages with the dignity they deserved and prescribed devotional practices in them. Their aim was emotional integration and they did not consider language an impediment in the realization of that objective. Their motto was

ہم دلی از ہم زبانی بہتر است

(To be of one heart is better than to be of one tongue.)

What causes the disintegration of a society and what guarantees its well-being ? They believed that a schism in the soul of

human beings underlay the tragedy of social disintegration. The only way to check it was to awaken moral responses in man. A spiritually integrated and morally autonomous personality was an effective bulwark against fissiparous tendencies. Through him alone the moral equilibrium of society could be maintained or restored.

In the wake of the establishement of Turkish power in India came a revolution in the character of the cities and urban life and very naturally an aggrevation in the evils and vices associated with this type of culture-growth. A cursory glance through the pages of the *Qiran-us-Sa 'dain* of Amir Khusrau and the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Barani gives us an idea of the atmosphere that prevailed in Delhi after the death of Balban and before the advent of 'Alauddin Khalji. The Sufi Saints acted as a counterweight in maintaining the moral equilibrium of medieval society.

Two pictures from contemporary life bearing on the theme, can highlight the impact of saints on medieval society. Ziauddin Barani thus describes life in Delhi during the reign of Muizzuddin Kaiqubad :

> "Voluptuaries and convivialists, seekers of pleasure, purveyors of wit, and inventors of buffooneries, who had been kept in the background, lurking, unemployed, without a customer for their wares, came into request. Courtesans appeared in the shadow of every wall and elegant forms sunned themselves on every balcony. Not a street but sent forth a master of melody or a chanter of odes. In every quarter a singer or a song-writer lifted up his head......The Emperor, his nobles, their children, and all the sensualists and epicures who lived under his rule, one and all gave themselves up to gluttony and idleness, and the hearts of high and low alike were engaged in wine and love, song and carnival......Distilleries appeared everywhere. For the men of title, the men of letters, there was nothing left to do but to drink wine, to make the assemblies sparkle with their wit, to vie with each other in repartee, to resign themselves to mu ie and dice and largess, and the zest of the passing hour, anything to prop up life against the insidious sapping of time, and give night and day their fill of pleasure and repose. Notorious rufflers and gray sinners trained beautiful girls......irresistible with their bright glances and radiant wit......to sing and strike the lute, and chant canzonets and to play at drafts and chess."

The same historian thus discribes the impact of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya on the lives of the people in the same Delhi during the time Alauddin Khalji :

"The Shaikh had opened wide the doors of his discipleship, admitting people to his discipline, confessing sinners and pervadiug with religious habits all classes of men-nobles and commoners, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, citizens and villagers, soldiers and warriors, free men and slaves; and these persons refrained from many improper acts because they considered themselves disciples of the Shaikh; if any one of them committed a sin, he confessed and vowed allegiance a new. The general public showed an inclination to religion and prayer ; men and women, young and old, shop-keepers and servants, children and slaves, all came to say their prayers. Many platforms with thatched roofs were constructed on the way from the city of Ghiyaspur (where the Shaikh had established his *khanqah*), wells were dug water-vessels were kept, carpets were spread, and a servant and a hafiz were stationed at every platform so that people going to the Shaikh should have no difficulty in saying their prayers on the way. And on every platform a crowd of men could be seen saying their supererorgatory prayers. Owing to regard for the Shaikh's discipleship all talk of sinful acts had disappeared from the people. There were no topics of conversastion among most people except inquiries about prayers......They inquired about fasting and prayers and about reducing their food. Many persons took to committing the Quran to memory. The new disciples of the Shaikh were committed to the charge of the old. The older disciples had no other cccupation but prayer and worship, aloofness from the world, and the study of books and of lives of saints......There was no quarter of the city in which a gathering of the pious was not held every month or every twenty days with mystic songs that moved them to tears......Owing to the influence of the Shaikh, most of the Muslims of this country took an inclination towards mysticism,, prayers and aloofness from the world and came to have faith in the Shaikh. This faith was shared by Alauddin and his family. The hearts of men haying become virtuous by good deeds, the very name of wine. gambling and other forbidden things never came to anybody's lips. Muslims out of regard for one another refrained

from open usury and monopolistic practices (*ihtikar*), while the shop-keepers, from fear gave up speaking lies, using false weights and deceiving the ignorant. Most of the scholars and learned men who frequented the Shaikh's company, applied themselves to books on devotion and mysticism."

In bringing about this atmosphere in society, the mystics were guided by certain basic principles of conduct :

(1) They believed that only by doing good to all, a solid base of human relationship can be built up.

A man's relation with another man, they used to say, may be of any one of the following three types : (a) He may be neither good nor bad to another. This is what happens in the non-living world (*iamadat*). (b) He may do no harm to another but only what is good. This too is not enough. (c) A man should do good to another, and even when good is returned by evil, he should not hesitate in doing good to the wrong doer. It is the course which, according to Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, a mystic was expected to follow. Retribution and revenge were laws of the animal world, 'If A puts a thorn in my way and I also put a thorn in his way, it will be thorns everywhere.' If wrong is returned by good, it saves conflict and tension and creates healthy atmosphere in society. Do not suppress your anger; forgive the offender. Suppression leads to psychological complications; forgiveness eliminates all such tensions.

(2) They belied that crime cannot be eliminated through punitive laws. What was needed was not punishment, but sympathetic persuasion......an understanding of the 'sources' where 'crime' has its 'retreats' and a determination to demolish those 'retreats' through patient and sympathetic understanding of his problems. The first requisite to achieve this was to hate the sin and not the sinner. Whoever started hating the sinner closed for all time the doors of his reform.

(3) Use of force aggrevates human problems. Pacificism and non-violence is bound to move the conscience of the aggressor. Non-violence is not a surrender to the strong but an expression of determination to stick to one's principles bravely breasting all misfortunes and calamities that it might entail. Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh Dehlvi refused to go to Devagiri at the order of Muhammad bin Tughluq and silently bore all the tortures to which is emaciated frame, already rendered weak by constant vigils and penitences,

was subjected. Muhammad bin Tughluq was over-stepping the limits of a medieval government when he demanned the transfer of his *khanqah* from a place entrusted to him as his *wilayat* by his deceased spiritual master and he demonstrated that he could be tortured but could not be made to yield.

With this brief survey of the attitude of the Muslim mystics towards society and its problems, we might turn to their relations with the state. It may be pointed out that in this respect the attitudes of the two early silsilahs.........the Chishtiya and the Suhrawardiya.........were diametrically opposed to each other. The Suhrawardis visited the courts of the Sultans; accepted gifts and *jagirs* from them, amassed wealth and had no hesitation in taking up government service. The contemporary mystics often objected to this as a negation of the mystic ideals but the Suhrawardis ignored this criticism and said; "Poison does not harm me who knows the antidote." The Chishtis rejected contact with the state in every form. Their attitude was in keeping with the accepted tradition of Islamic mysticism.

There were historical, legal and psychological reasons for this attitude of the Chishti saints. The state, they thought, after the fall of the Khilafat-i Rashida, had become a symbol of materialism and had negated the true spirit of religion. To the mystics Islam stood for things nobler and purer than what the rulers conceived it to be. It had come not to establish empires which perpetuated differences between man and man but to bring them liberty and equality and give them the opportunity of self-realization. That ideal being relegated to the background, they turned their back on the state. They declined to serve class interests and direct the energies of a moral force into the parochial channels of dynastic ambitions.

Besides, there were legal objections to the service of the state. Imam Ghazzali thus explains the position: "In our times, the whole or almost the whole of the income of the Sultans is from prohibited sources. The permitted income is only *sadaqat*, *fay* and *ghanimah* and these have no existence these days. Only the *jiziyah* remains but it realized through such cruel means that it does not continue to be permitted." Consequently all services paid from these sources of income were illegal. To these legal and historical reasons for adjuring contact with the sate were added some

pragmatic considerations. God and Mammon could not be served alike and simultaneously. Government service distracted a mystic from the single-minded pursuit of his ideal—'living for the Lord alone.' If a mystic associated with the rulers and the governing class, he was cut off from the main sphere of his activity—the masses. There can be no gift without a corresponding obligation. When one accepted a gift from any ruler, he could not refuse to fall in line with government policies. And the governing class ideologies contradicted mystic ideals of life. "There are two kinds of abuses among mystics," Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh once told his audience, "...*Muqallid* and *jurt*. *Muqallid* is a mystic who has no spiritual guide. *Jurt* is a mystic who asks people for money, who wraps himself in a costly cloak, puts on mystic cap and goes to kings and high officials."

With some such notions the early Muslim mystics of India severed all contact with the rulers and the government of the day. When Sayyidi Maula sought Bābā Farid's permission to leave Ajodhan and to go to Delhi, he half-heartedly permitted him saying, "Sayyidi ! You go to Delhi. But keep in mind my one advice. Do not mix with Kings and nobles. Take their visits to your house as calamities. Every durwesh who opens the door of association to kings and nobles is doomed."

But the mystic teachers did not ask everyone of their *murids* to sever his relations with the state and eschew *shughl* (government service). While there was no interdict against government service for ordinary *murids*, those who were asked to enrol disciples were definitely warned against consorting with rulers or accepting government service. The *Khilafat Namahs* given by Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya to his senior disciples definitely enjoined upon them.

می باید کہ تارک دنیا باشی - بہ سوئ دنیا وارباب
دنیا مائل نشوی ودیہ قبول نہ کنی - وصلہ بادشاہان نگیری [8]

(You) ought to reject the world. Do not be inclined towards the world and the worldly men. Do not accept any village. And do not take any gift from Kings).

8. *Siyar ul Auliya*

If a senior disciple (*Khalifa)* was not allowed to take up government service, what was he to do to earn his livelihood ?[8] The medieval Muslim mystics believed in two means of livelihood : cultivating the fallow land or living on *futuh*, unasked for charity. But *futuh* was preferred to cultivation because the latter brought the mystic into touch with the revenue officers. Elaborate rules were, however, laid down for the acceptance of *futuh*. (a) It became illegal if one aspired for it, (b) it could not be in the form of a guaranteed payment or immovable property ; and (c) it had to be utilised and distributed as soon as it was received. It would be wrong to think that it was easy to live on *futuh*. Every one who decided to live on it had to undergo great hardships in the initial stages, and sometimes even subsequently. Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar's family and the inmates of his *jama'at khana* had very often to starve. "It was a Eid day for us when we got a saltless dish of *pelu*"—they used to say. "In the days of Balban," Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya used to say in his later years when *futuh* flowed into his *khanqah* as continuously as the Jumna, "melons were sold at the rate of one *jital* per *maund* but very often the season passed without my tasting a slice. Two seers of bread could be had for one *jital*, but out of sheer poverty I was unable to purchase it in the market. My mother, sister and other dependents suffered with me, "Nizamuddin! We are the guests of God today !' (نظام الدین! ماجہان خدایم) my mother used to say when we had no food left in the house."[9] Despite this poverty, he refused to accept the gift of a few villages offered by Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji.

It is not possible to refer here to the large number of incidents that one finds in contemporary literature regarding the refusal of the early Muslim saints to accept government service, visit courts or accept *jagirs*. But three or four typical cases may be mentioned to convey an idea of their attitude in the matter. (1) Iltutmish asked Shaikh Hasan to accept the post of a *qazi* which the Shaikh declined. The Sultan insisted and the saint feigned to have become mad in order to evade his appointment. When Shaikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki came to know of this, he remarked : "Shaikh Hasan is not mad, he is *dana* (wise)." The saint afterwards

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9. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*,

came to be known as Shaikh Hassan Dana. (2) Balban requested Maulana Kamal uddin Zahid, a teacher of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, to accept the office of the royal *imam* (leader of the congregational prayer). The Maulana sternly replied: "Our prayer is all that is left to us. Does the Sultan wish to take that too" (3) Once Balban sent a tray of *tankas* to Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar who accepted the offer after considerable reluctance and ordered his disciple Maulana Badruddin Ishaq to distribute it at once among the needy and the poor. The sun had already set and it was getting dark but the Shaikh would not wait for the day. In obedience to his wishes Maulana Ishaq doled out all the money. Then he brought a candle just, to see whether anything was still left. He found one coin which he put in his cap to give it to some poor fellow in the morning. Soon afterwards Shaikh Farid went to the mosque to lead the night (*Isha*) prayer. Three times he began but he could not finish it. There was something which disturbed his mind. He asked Maulana Ishaq if he had distributed all that money. The Maulana replied that he had given away all excepting one coin. The Shaikh angrily took back that coin and threw it away and then peacefully led the prayer. The author of *Jawahir-i-Faridi* says that throughout the night the Shaikh lamented why he had touched that coin.

With the advent of Muhammad bin Tughluq, a great crisis developed in the hitherto cool relations between the saints and the Sultanate. Muhammad bin Tughluq, with the zeal and impatience of an idealist, asked the saints of Delhi to migrate to Daulatabad and persuaded others to take up government service and move from place to place at his bidding. The saints believed that their areas of work were determined by their spiritual preceptors and that the Sultan had no right to interfere in them. The Sultan on his part claimed total allegiance of the people and sought to buttress his position by the claim that state and religion were twins. In the tussle that ensued the forces of the state succeeded in getting things done in its own way, but the government of Muhammad bin Tughluq forefeited the confidence and loyalty of the people the day his authority prevailed upon the wishes of the saints.

The reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq constitutes a turning point in the history of Islamic mysticism in India. It was after him that many of the saints abandoned the policy of keeping aloof from

the state and, when provincial government came to be established, the local saints accepted endowments from the founders of the provincial dynasties *jagirs* became almost an integral part of many of the *khanqahs*.

The mystics had their own views about the government and their own assessment of the role of rulers. They believed that a government in its ultimate analysis, reflected the basic strength and weakness of a people. People get the government they deserve. "If a tyrant is placed as a ruler over your head," a great mystic once told his audience, "Do not curse him. Repent for your sins and mend your ways." This, however, does not mean that they exonerated the rulers of all responsibility in this respect. Usually they advised the Sultans indirectlyl but if circumstances so demanded they did not hesitate in giving a blunt advice to them and warning them against their misdeed. Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya told Mubarak Khalji that he would be questioned about his company on the Day of Judgement. Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh told Muhammad bin Tughluq to get rid of his beastly anger. But occasions for such direct admonitions were few and far between. Generally they advised the rulers and the governing classes in indirect ways guised in stories and fables, wrapped in traditions of the Prophet and hidden in maxims of saints. The following tradition of the Prophet was often quoted to bring home to them their responsiblities. "If in any kingdom an old woman goes to bed unfed, the ruler shall be held responsible for this on the Day of Judgement."

How the medieval Muslim mystics looked at the history of the Sultanate and the role of the Sultans? Only two instances would suffice. In his own peculiar way Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya one day told his audience that what led to the salvation of Iltumish was his construction of the Hauz-i Shamsi—the famous water - reservoir of Delhi. Neither the ceaseless military campaigns of the founder of the Delhi Sultante which some would be inclined to interpret in terms of religion, nor his constant vigils and continuous penitences which theologians would have considered enough for his salvation, had any real significance in the eyes a medieval mystic. It was an act of public welfare—a *ta 'al-i muta 'addi*, which won their approbation. There can be no better comment on the spirt of Khalji Imperialism than the following verse that

Amir Khusrau wrote in his elegy on the death Alauddin Khalji :

چرا باید گرفت آں کشور و شہر
کزاں ندہند بیش از چہار گز بہر

(Why conquer so many realms and cities when you cannot get more than four yards of land after your death!)

Ārya Tārā

H.H. THE DALAI LAMA

OM NAMO ĀRYA TĀRE

ĀRYA Tārā attained Nirvāṇa (Buddhahood) in the very start. But she came to this world as a Bodhisattva (Byang-chub-sems-ma) to promote the welfare of all living beings. Many mantras contain stories and prayers of Tārā. Among the various manifestations of Buddhas Avalokiteśvara is the manifestation of the god of Mercy. Many mantras of Tārā were recited by Avalokiteśvara.

Tārā is the goddess of success who grants fulfilment to the desires of people. There are a hundred million mantras and thousands of prayers of Tārā. A long time before Lord Buddha came to this world, there lived a princess named YESHE DAWA. She was a devotee of Lord Buddha (Buddha rNga-sgra). She prayed fervently and meditated devotedly on rNga-sgra Buddha and finally attained spiritual enlightenment or Bodhicitta. Pleased with her efforts rNga-sgra Buddha and his disciples told her she should pray for the fulfilment of her desire, and promised that whatever she asked for in prayers would be granted. Prior to this there were many Bodhisattvas who attained spiritual enlightenment, but they all attained this in the bodily form of men. She, therefore, expressed her desire to do good to all living beings, just as she was, for all time to come. After a prolonged practice of discipline and prayers she attained a very high stage of meditation. Thereby she could do immense good for all living beings by saving them from worldly sorrows. As such she was given the title of Tārā, or sgrol-ma (Do-ma) which literally means "she who saves souls from transmigratory existence." rNga-sgra Buddha fulfilled her desire and said that she would be known in this world as sgrol-ma (Do-ma) for ever. Tārā, while undergoing penance in pursuit of religious merit and also while attaining Nirvāṇa (Buddhahood) remained a woman through all the cycles of rebirth. It is said, many tantras

and sūtras of Tārā were there long before Lord Buddha came into this word.

In Lord Buddha's life time on earth, a celestial white glow radiated from His forehead (mdzod spu, the point of meeting of the two eye-brows significantly indicated in all paintings of Lord Buddha) and this light spread over the devils' land. The devils immediately came to fight with Lord Buddha.

It is said that, at that time Tārā laughed loudly eight times, and this frightened the devils and they could not do anything. They thus were defeated .

After the passing away of Lord Buddha, three grand Buddhist convocations were held where the precepts of Buddha were promulgated. During the third Buddhist convocation, a huge collection was made of the mantras of Tārā.

King Hariścandra from Bengal and his courtiers are said to have had their wishes and prayers fulfilled by reciting the mystic charms (mantras) of Tārā. Also, King Bhoja and his courtiers from Malabar (the western coast of India) and King Haribhadra of Konkona (south India) and many others are said to have attained realization, by reciting the mystic charms (mantra) of Tārā. Tārā's mystic charms are said to have performed miracles such as saving men from 16 great fears, e.g., the fears of fire, of water, of snake-bites, etc. There are many stories about these miracles of which only a short account has been given here.

In India, from the time of Buddha to Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga and Dīpaṅkara Śrī jñāna (Ati' sā) and Tsong-khā-pā till to-day the prayers, meditations and vows of goddess Tārā are continuously being practised throughout the Buddhist world.

दाराशिकोह के विवाह का दृश्य

PL. IV

Madanamañcukā and Naravāhanadatta

The Fair '*Town-Crier*' from Jalasaṅgavi

PL. VI

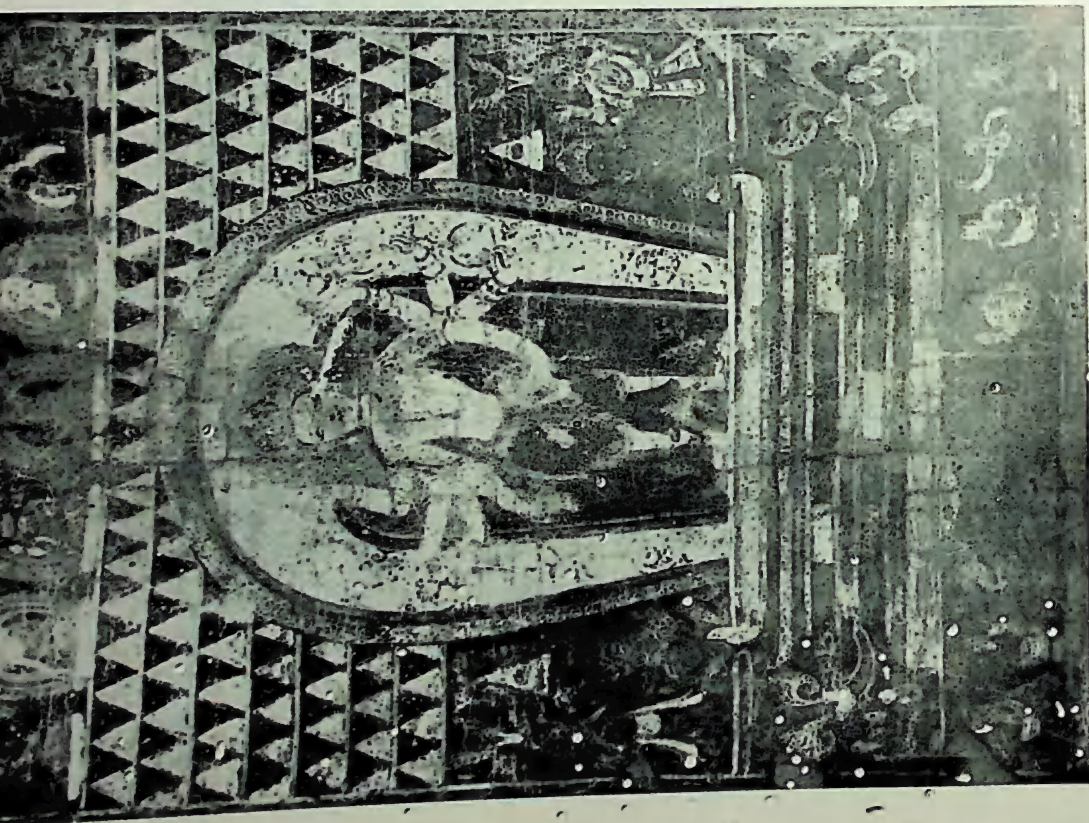
Dancing Gaṇeśa from Khajurāho

Ekapāda Śiva from Hīrāpur

PL. VIII

A Unique Catuṣcakra Liṅga from Baijnath in the Kumaun Hills

Hayagrīva, polychromated wooden Sculpture
(*Bhaktapur Museum, Nepal*)

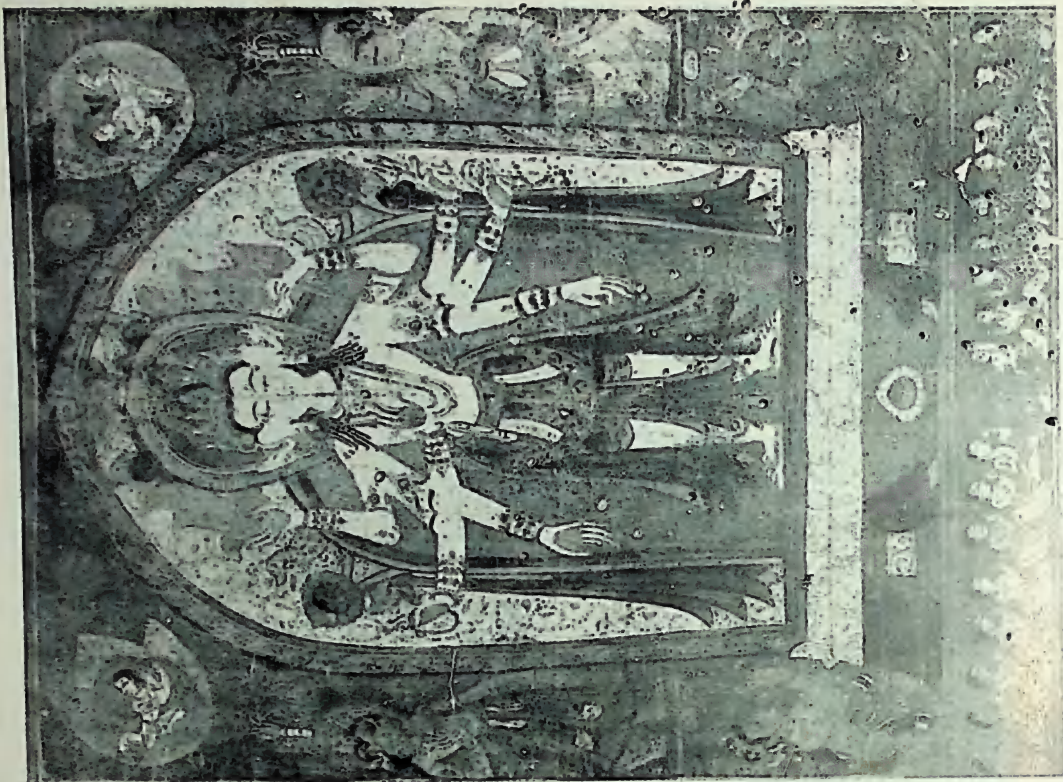
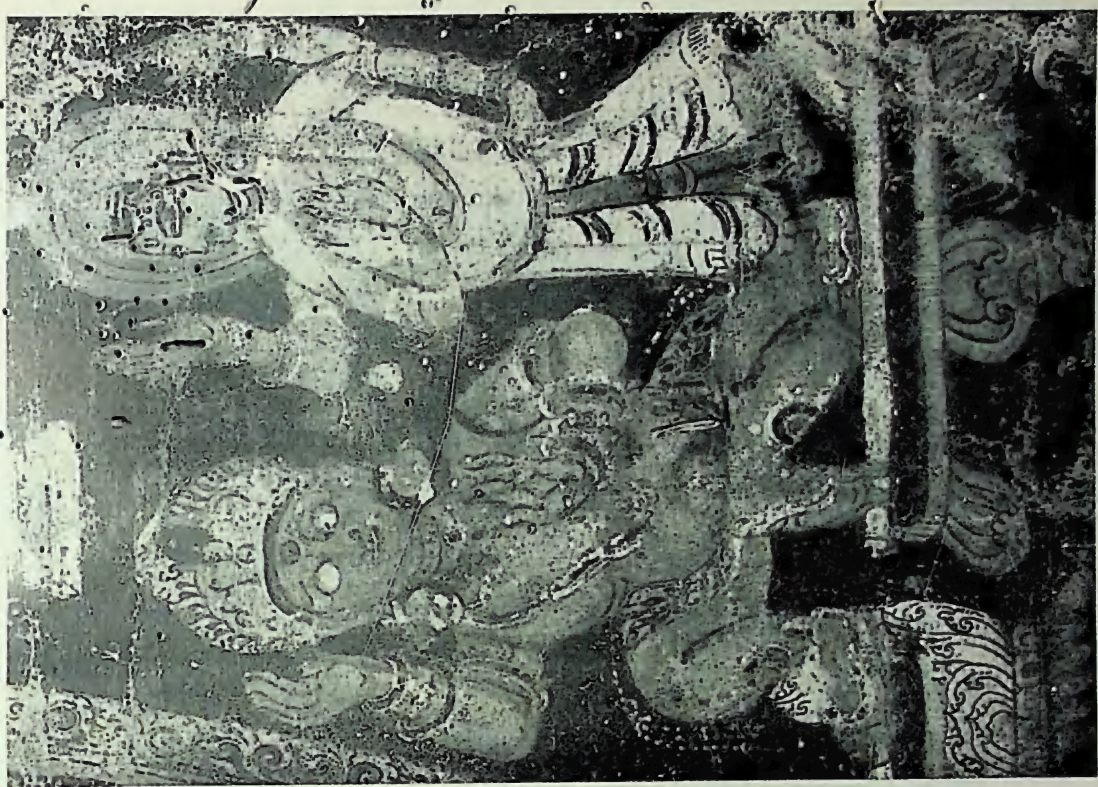
PL. X

(a) Inv. 1943-3

(b) Inv. No. Br. 79-195

Nepalese thankas representing Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara of Bhātagāon and his parivāra

(*Ethnological Museum, Leiden, Holland*)

(b) Hayagriva, detail of 79-195

PL. XII

(*a*) Vajrasatva or Surya ?
from Dandan-Uliq
(*Khotan*)

(*b*) Śiva-Avalokiteśvara
from Dandan-Uliq
(*Khotan*)

Nāginī, a yakṣī from Nandan Uliqi Khotan

PL. XV

'Life-tree, painting on paper, C. 18th Century, A.D. (Rajasthan)
(Personal Collection of Mr. Ajit Mukerjee)

Hevajra and his Śakti, Stone, Bengal Pāla style,
C. 11th Century A.D.
(Ashutosh Museum Collection, Calcutta)

PL. XVII

Mola Ram's self portrait

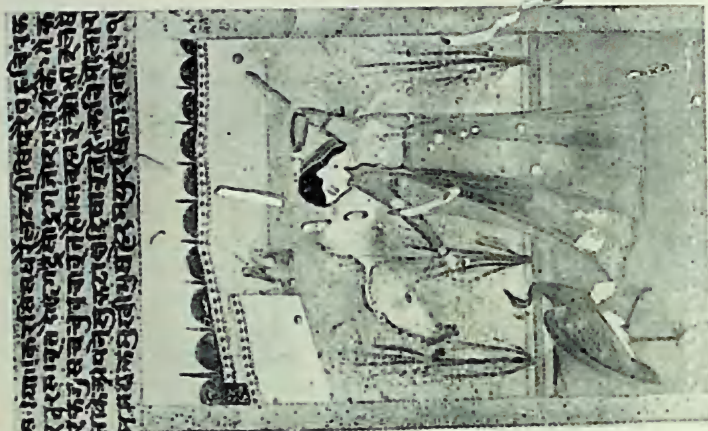
Tiyā jhulen piyā ke Saṅga

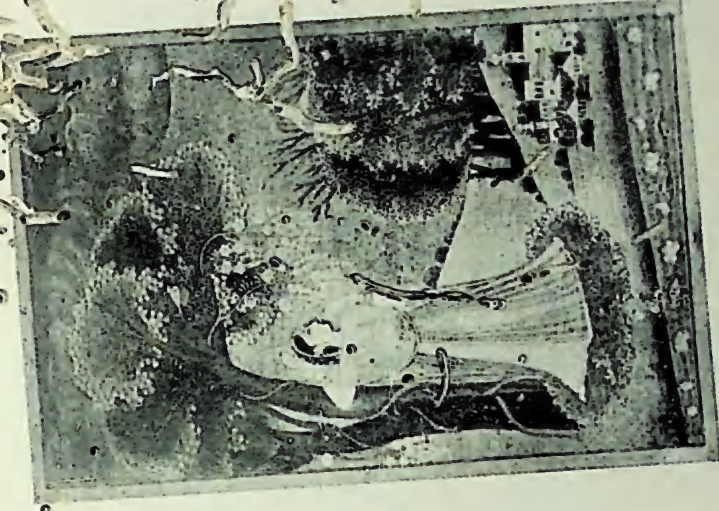
PL. XIX

Portrait of Jaideva Wazir

PL. XX

Consoling the Queen

PL. XXI

(*a*) Cakora Priyā

(*b*) Mayaṅka Mukhī

(*a*) Utkaṇṭhitā Nāyikā,
(*Unfinished*)

(*b*) Utkaṇṭhitā Kāyikā
(*Finished*)

PL. XXIII

(a) Vāsaka Sayyā Nāyikā
(*Unfinished*)

(b) Vāsaka Sayyā Nāyikā
(*Finished*)

(*a*) Plucking the banana flower

(*b*) Abhisārikā

(a) Mastāni

(b) Sitār bajāvata hai

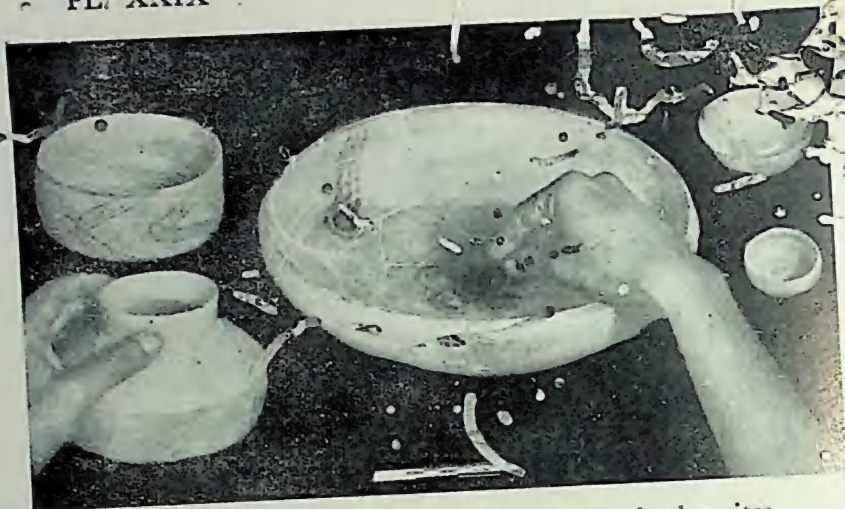
PL. XXVI

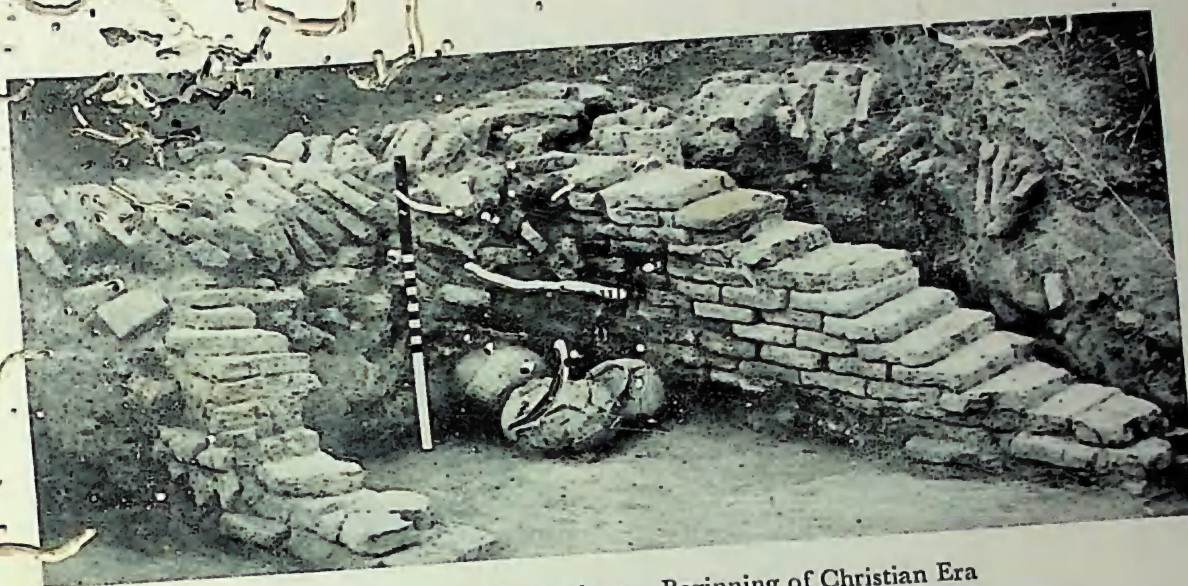
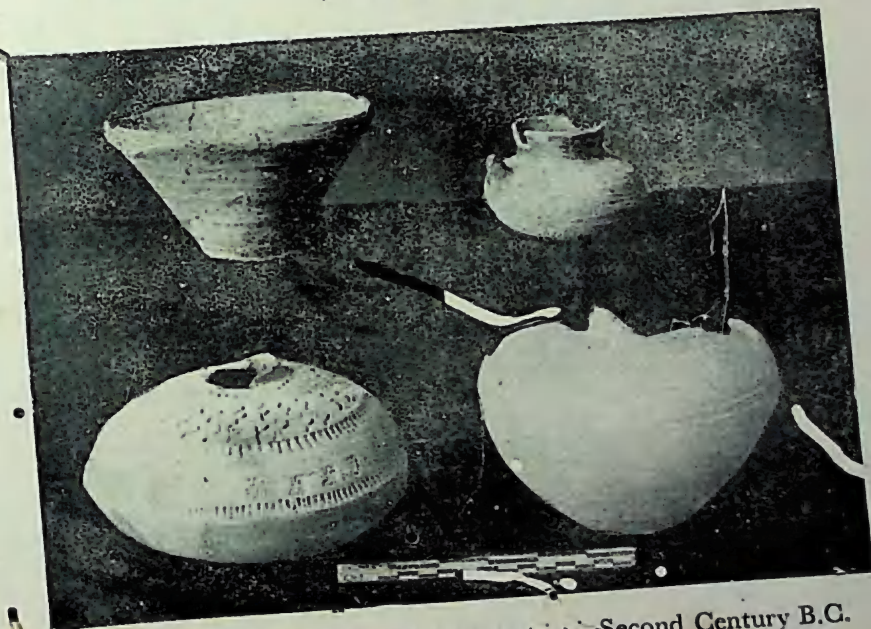
Nṛisiṁha-Avatāra

PL. XXVII

Kāliya Damana

Palāśa, Sculpture in Concrete
(*By Sudhir Khastagir*)

PL. XXIX

(*a*) Painted grey pottery from Ahicchatra and other sites
(*Safdarjung Museum, New Delhi*)

(*b*) Remains of a house of Kiln-burnt bricks with terracotta ring-well, C. Third-fourth Century B.C.
(*Purānā Quilā, New Delhi*)

(*a*) Collapsed walls of a house, Beginning of Christian Era
(*Purānā Quilā, New Delhi*)

(*b*) Plain and stamped red ware pots. c. Second Century B.C.
(*Purānā Quilā, New Delhi*)

PL. XXXI

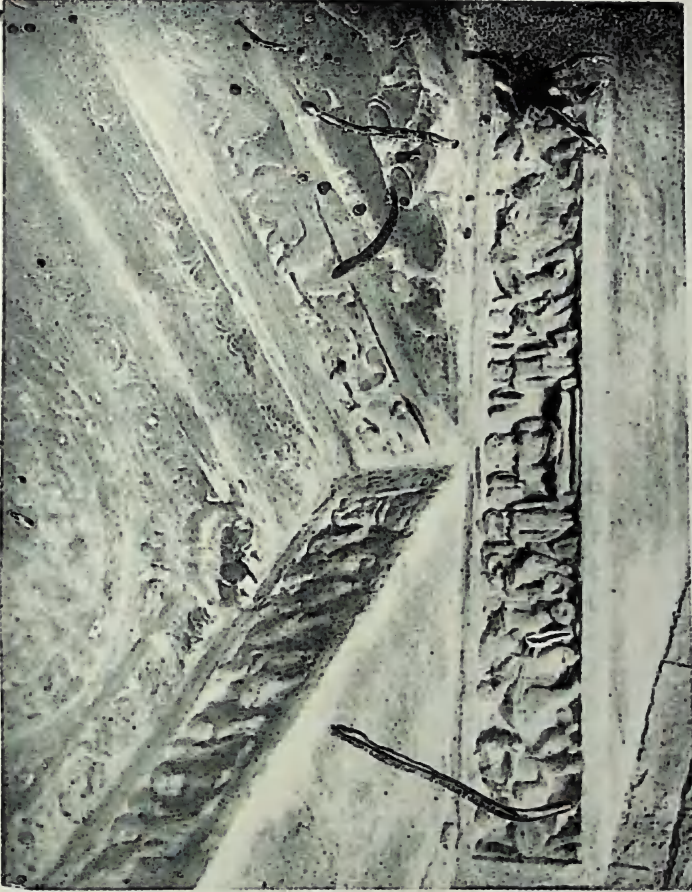
Latest discovered Inscription of Aśoka
(*Shriniwaspuri, New Delhi*)

PL. XXXII

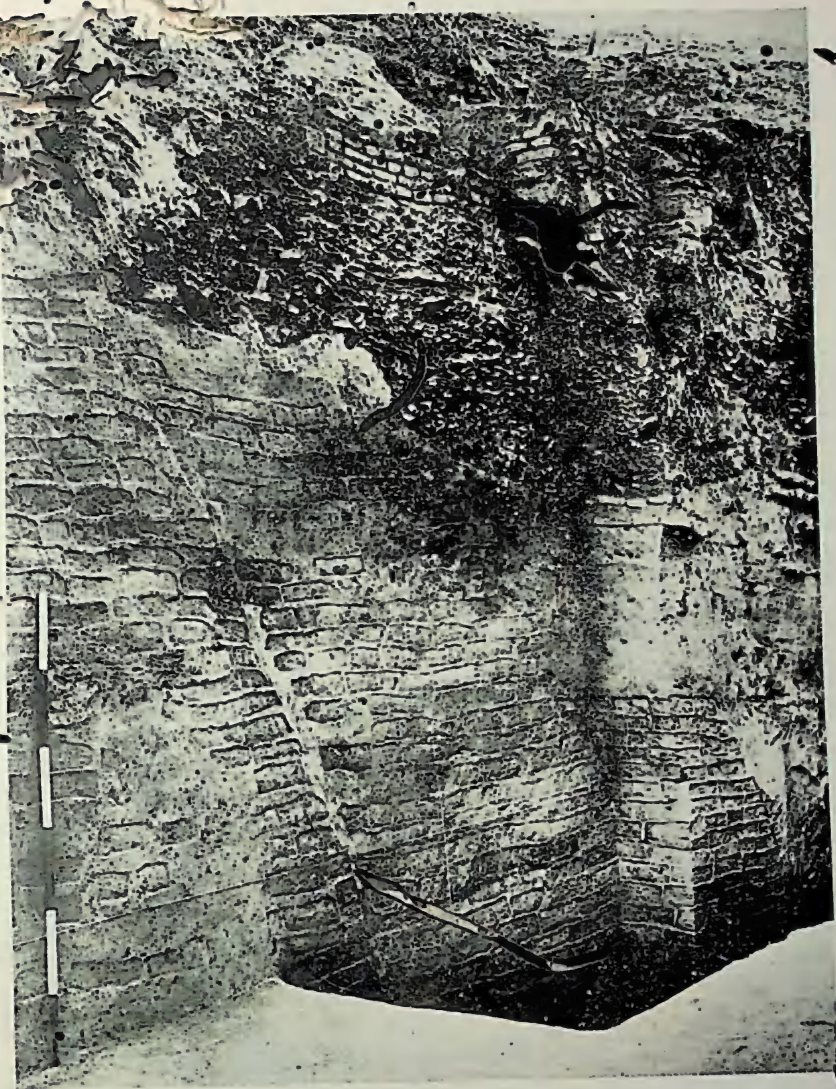
(*a*) Yakṣī from [illegible]uli,
C. Second Century B.C.

(*b*) Terracotta figurines,
C. Second Century B.C.
(*Purānā Quilā, New Delhi*)

PL. XXXIII

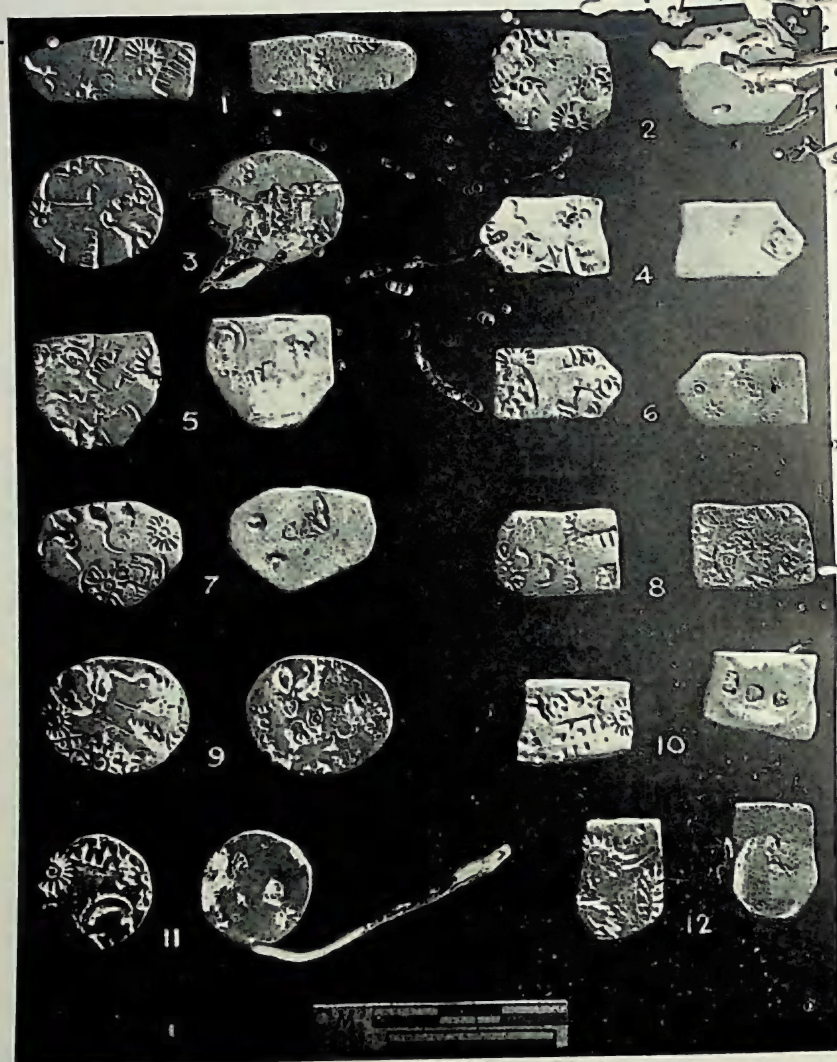
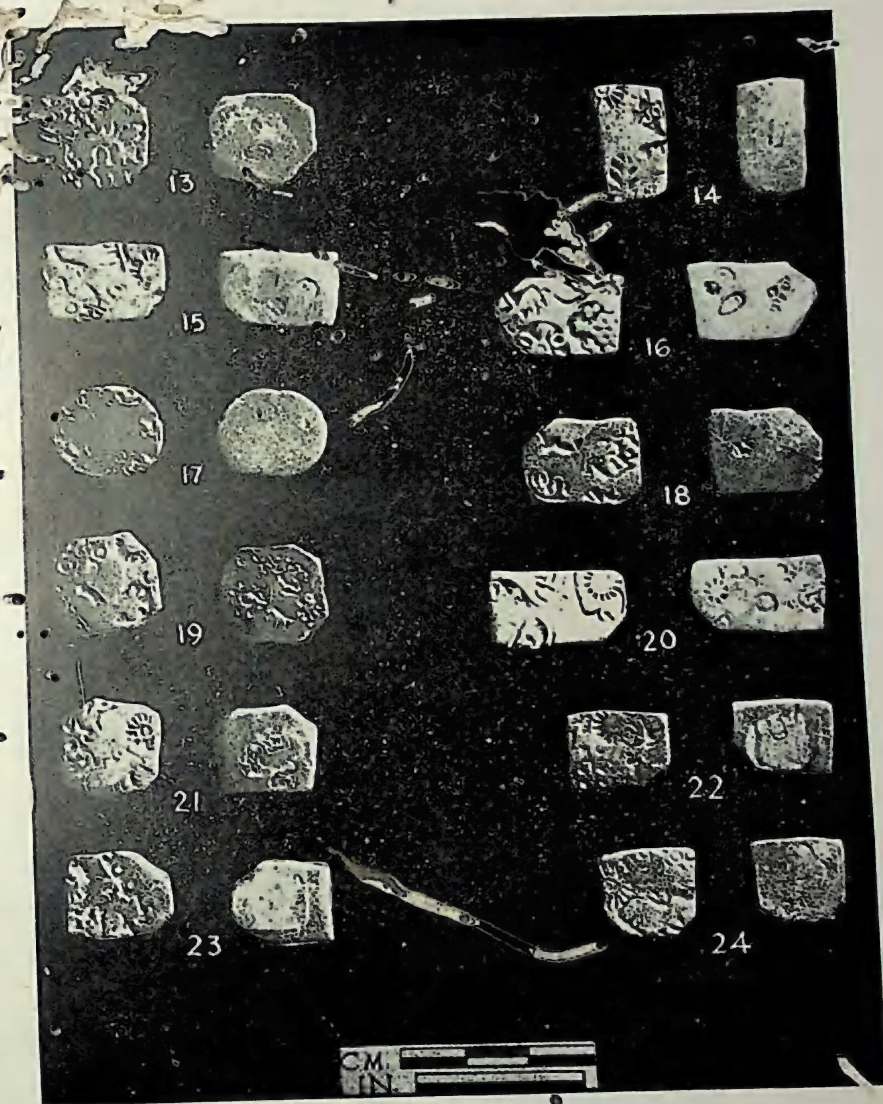
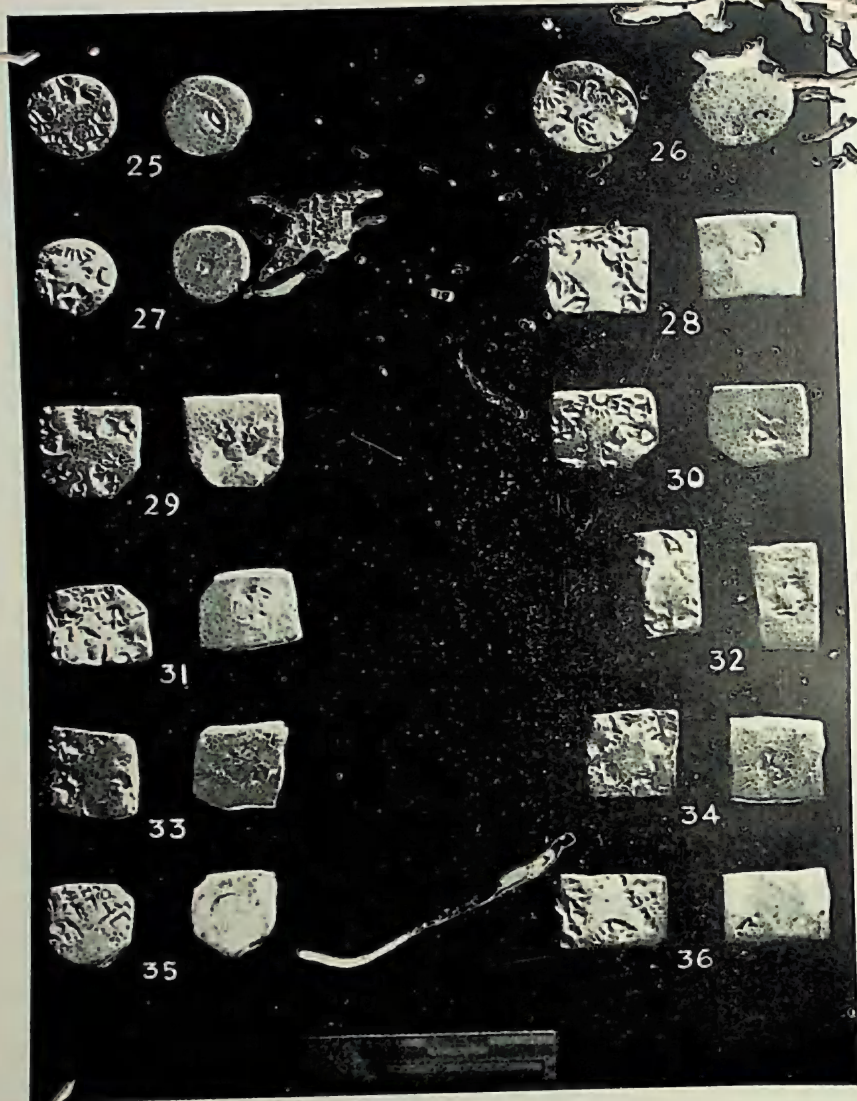
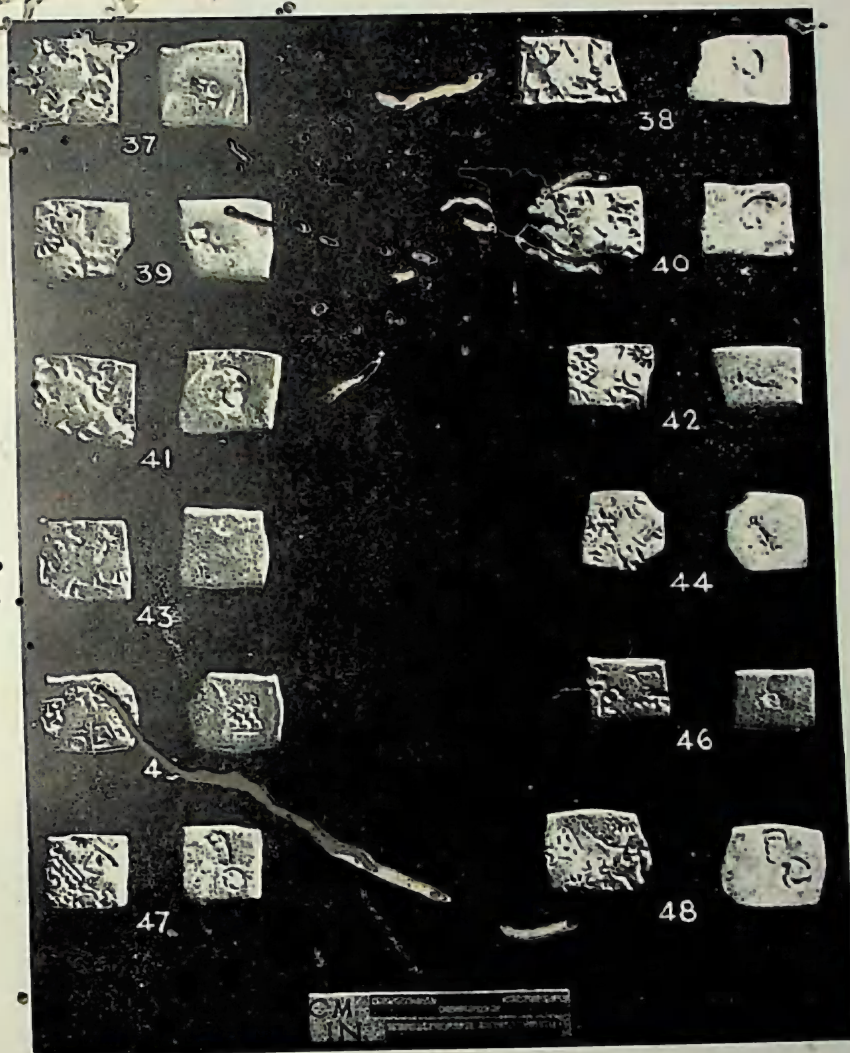
Viṣṇu from Mehrauli, 1147 A.D.
(*National Museum New Delhi*)

A Frieze from the lintel of *Qūwat-ul-Islam* Mosque
C. 12th Century A.D.

PL. XXXV

Ornate temple pillars used in the construction of the *Qūwat-ul-Islam* mosque, C. 12th Century A.D.

Section of Harrappa Evcavations
(*By Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India*)

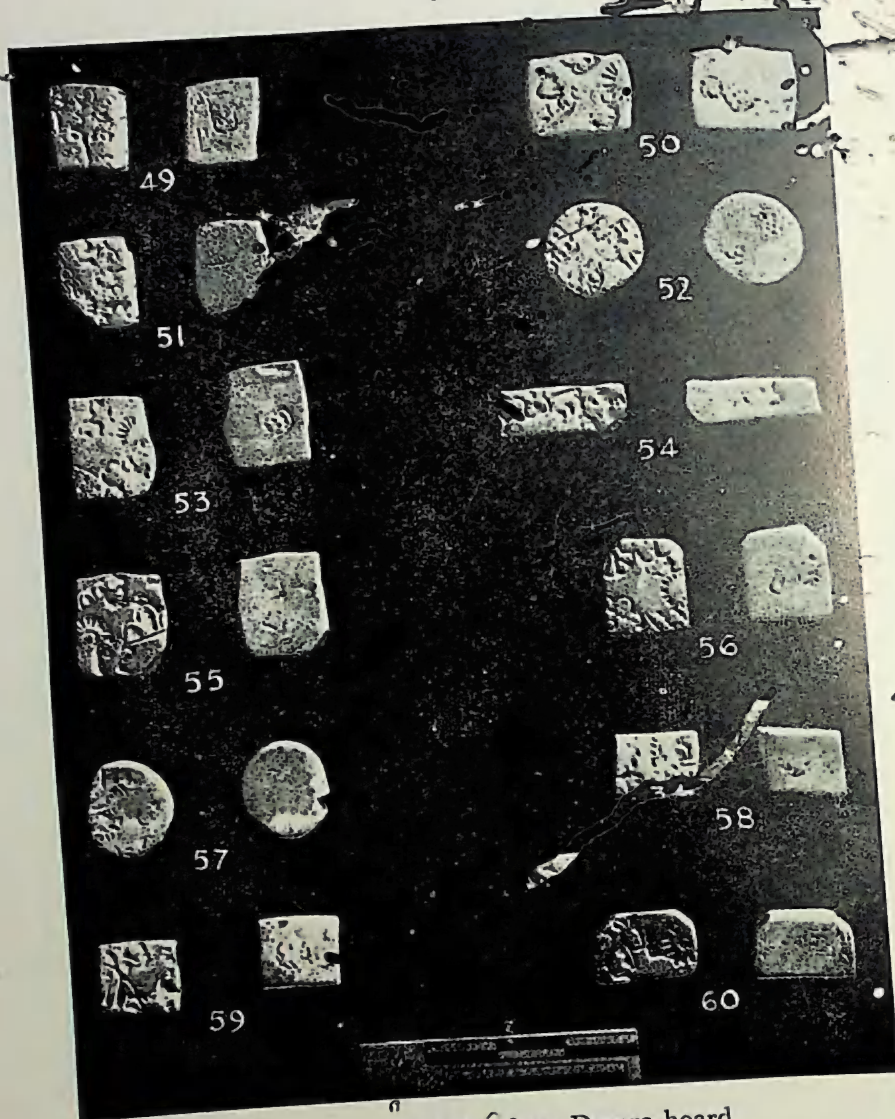
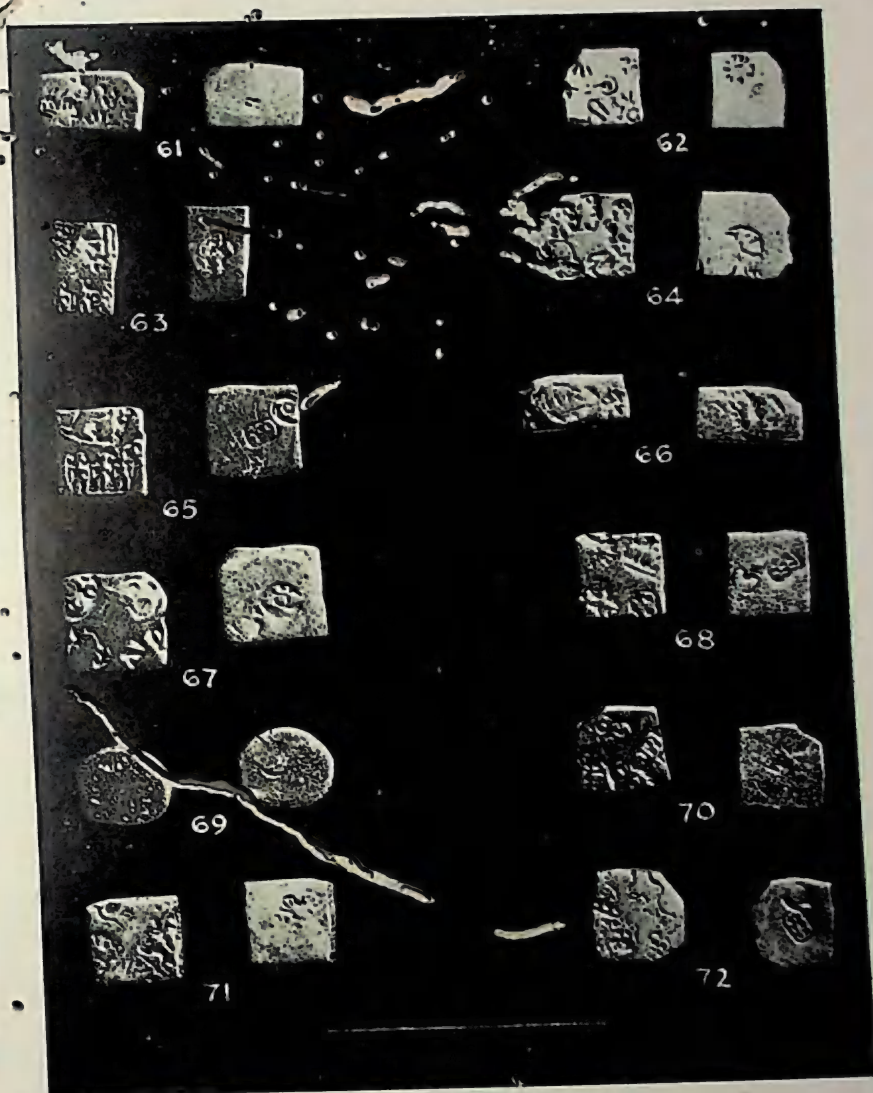
PL. XXXVII

Punch-marked Coins from Darora hoard

PL. XXXVIII

Punch-marked Coin from Darora hoard

PL. XXXIX

Punch-marked Coins from Darora hoard

PL. XL

Punch-marked Coins from Darora hoard

Punch-marked Coins from Darora hoard

Punch-marked Coins from Darora hoard

Punch-marked Coins from Darora hoard

Fig. 1. Obverse symbols of the Punch-marked coins of Darora hoard (*Symbols 1 to 11 d*)

Fig. 2. Obverse Symbols of the Punch-marked coins of Darora hoard (*Symbols 12 to 25*)
Reverse symbols of the Punch-marked coins of Darora hoard (*Symbols 1 to 5c.*)

Fig. 3. Reverse symbols of Punch-marked coins from Darora hoard. (*Symbols 3 d to 20 i*)